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Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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

Vol. 4: Letters 1445-1447 (nos. 166-225)

Preliminary version

Abstract

The present volume contains Enea Silvio Piccolomini's personal letters from the years 1444-1447, altogether 45 letters. These letters cover a period when he became an imperial diplomat, being sent on important imperial missions to the pope and to Milan, was instrumental in the process leading Germany to recognise the Roman papacy, lost his secular powers, entered clerical orders, and was appointed Bishop of Trieste.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papst Pius II; Papa Pio II; Church schism 1438 ff.; Emperor Frederick II (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich II (Habsburg); *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

In the period 1445-1447, the imperial court was - as seen through the letters of Piccolomini - occupied with three military conflicts, Ladislaus' the Posthumous' accession to the throne of Hungary, and the settlement of the schism in the Church.

1.1.1. Wars

1.1.1.1. *The Armagnacs*

The first concerned the end of the affair of the Armagnacs, an invasion of German lands by Armagnac soldiers led by the crown prince, Louis (XI), see vol. 3, sect. 1.1.5.

In a letter to Giovanni Campisio of 21 May, Piccolomini wrote:

The dauphin brought an army from Alsace. The mediators in this affair were the archbishops of Cologne and Trier. I do not believe this was the only matter they settled [with the dauphin], for these princes would not have negotiated such a great affair without including other matters. When the French returned to Lorraine and the army was mustered, it turned out that 12,000 soldiers had been lost: the people of Strasbourg hold many of them captive, and the peasants had killed a great number. In a valley at Schlettstadt, three captains were killed with all their companions. (Letter 168: 5).

In a later letter, of 13 September, to Cardinal Le Jeune, Piccolomini wrote contemptuously of the prince:

Louis, unprovoked, invaded another country and laid waste to the fields as long as he found no resistance. But as soon as he heard an army was being raised against him, he timidly fled the country he had proudly invaded. (Letter 182: 1).

1.1.1.2. *Expedition against Güns*

In the summer of 1445, the emperor undertook a short military expedition against a number a robber bands based in Hungarian border territories that had been plundering Austria. In his *De Viris Illustribus*, Piccolomini wrote about the expedition:

The summer after his return from Nürnberg, the king brought an army against the people of Güns, who had broken the truce and were harassing his lands. But they were in Hungary. In

short order, the king besieged, stormed, and took Güns and the neighbouring castles. (DVI, 176).¹

And in his *De Europa*, Piccolomini wrote about the campaign:

The town of Günz is in Hungary, very close to Styria and Austria. This place and many surrounding castles were seized by brigands, who forayed from them into Austria and drove off a large quantity of livestock and people. Disturbed by this, Frederick rapidly put together an army and crossed into Hungary, where he sacked the strongholds and hanged eighty of the brigands on three gallows. (Europa (Bisaha/Brown), p. 59. See also DVI, 176; Szalay, p. 92.)²

Piccolomini commented on the expedition in several letters. On 21 May 1445, he wrote to his friend Giovanni Campisio:

The king will shortly march against the people of Güns, notorious thieves and highway robbers. The cavalry and infantry have already been mobilised. (Letter 168: 5).

And on 13 September, to Goro Lolli:

Our king led an expedition to Hungary and executed many robbers, whose castles he added to the dominion of Austria. (Letter 178: 3).

The emperor's campaign in Hungary inspired hope that he would show himself to be willing to use military means when needed - as he had not done in a conflict with the Tyroleans.³ In a letter of c. 10 September, again to Campisio, Piccolomini expressed his satisfaction with this development:

This year, the King of the Romans expelled the robbers, either by himself or by his captains, and gained 17 castles in Hungary and Moravia. Finally, we have begun to campaign. We know what arms can achieve and how great pleasure there is in military exploits. We shall no longer be slow to take arms when needed. (Letter 183: 14).

Such hopes were to be disappointed since Friedrich would prove to be not at all warlike. However, the emperor's show of strength did have the effect of gaining a number of castles in Hungary for the emperor and bringing the Hungarians to the negotiation table, as Piccolomini wrote in a letter of 28 October to Bishop Laiming:

In the meantime, the people of Güns in Hungary, who had committed many robberies in Austrian lands, became ever more ferocious and turned the emperor's clemency into anger. Having prepared an army, he, in a few days, drove them back behind their walls, laid siege to their city, and forced them to surrender. When this was known, the Hungarians decided to speed up the arrival of their ambassadors, so - after negotiations - the emperor, who had intended to advance to Buda with his army, dismissed the soldiers and returned to Vienna for the audience with the Hungarians. (Letter 190: 13).

¹ See also his oration to Pope Eugenius IV "*Tritum est sermone*" of January 1437 (COR, 3,

sect. 7-10). See also EUR (HE), 749.

² See also Szalay, p. 92.

³ See oration "*Si putarem*" (COR, 2: 5, 6).

1.1.2. Ladislaus the Posthumous' accession to the throne of Hungary

The death of the Polish-Hungarian King Wladislaw III in the Battle of Varna (10 November 1444) made the now five-year old Ladislaus the Posthumous of the House of Habsburg the obvious - but not unopposed - choice for the throne of Hungary. This whole affair had a predominant place in Piccolomini's letters from the period.

In a letter of 21 May 1445 to Giovanni Campisio, he wrote:

I would have many things to write to you now if my occupations allowed it, for though they may not be great, they seem immense to me, born as I am to small affairs. So you will forgive your Enea if he does not write what he should like but what he can. I shall begin with Hungary, mother of lies (even though Poland is even more fertile in that regard). The prelates, barons and other subjects of the kingdom met in Buda across the Danube, for the Palatine, who held the castle and still favoured the party of the King of Poland, did not want to admit them to New Buda. I already told you about this meeting when in Rome. In this assembly, Ladislaus, son of Albrecht, was unanimously called to the kingship with the stipulation that the King of the Romans¹ should turn him over to the Hungarians, and the crown with him. Ambassadors from the kingdom are expected here any day to request their king and set forth their conditions, for they also made many decisions useful and necessary about resisting the Turks and keeping peace in the kingdom. They do not really expect the King of the Romans to hand over the boy, but nonetheless they hope for some kind of agreement, for though they will not get all they want, many things may be settled by negotiation. The decisions made in the Kingdom of Hungary were confirmed by 100 or more seals.

Now I must explain why I called Hungary the mother of lies lest I appear to contradict myself and undermine the credibility of my written statements. I did not call Hungary the mother of lies in the sense that she herself is mendacious - such judgments are for others to make, including you, who stayed with these men for some years. No, I said so because infinite lies flow from her womb as if she herself provided the substance of the lies. When, recently, I was in Rome, you know how many lies came from Hungary. According to some, the King of Poland had succumbed, and all his army was crushed, whereas others claimed the Turkish ruler had been killed with all his men and Adrianople taken and Christian rites celebrated there. Some said the King of Poland was killed while manfully haranguing his men and fighting in person or that he was wounded and fled and died in Bulgaria. Others said he was taken prisoner and beheaded, and his head sent to Karaman, prince of the Tartars, related to the Great Turk. And, finally, some claimed he had fled to Constantinople and married the sister of the Greek emperor. Similar - and possibly even less credible - things were told about the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, that holy and most wise man. As you know, a letter arrived with the message that this great Father had not only been taken prisoner but also died, having been flayed alive like Saint Bartholomew.

All these mendacious rumours arose in Hungary. Some may be true, but then more by accident than by design. But I impute them all to the Poles rather than the Hungarians. However, some Hungarians, fearing for their own position, claimed various things concerning the King of Poland, hoping that this would make them safer. Among them was the Palatine Laurentius. When he heard about the assembly, he endeavoured to distract the minds of people with a new

¹ Friedrich III (Habsburg).

fabrication: he pretended he had received a letter from the Polish king, a letter that he had, in fact, written himself and sealed with a false seal. The gist of it was that the king had overcome great difficulties and arrived in Poland safe and sound. He would now, as soon as possible, raise [another] army and return to Hungary to resume the fight against the Turks whose forces were depleted. Therefore, the Palatine wanted supplications to be made to the heavenly beings, masses to be held, and public thanks to be given to God. But his words were not believed, wherefore he later passed over to the multitude but managed it so that an envoy of the kingdom was sent to Poland to inquire whether the king was alive. The messenger had to return in the week after the Feast of the Trinity. In the meantime, all other matters were held in abeyance. Unless the King of Poland himself came to Hungary or the messenger reported to have seen him alive, they would proceed along the course already decided. This is what happened in Hungary. (Letter 186: 1-3).

Eventually, the Hungarian estates decided to send an embassy to the emperor to negotiate Ladislaus' accession to the kingship of Hungary. In a letter to Guiniforte Barzizza of 1 June, Piccolomini wrote:

Later, on the Feast of Saint George, the Hungarians assembled in the city of Pest, which is a part of Buda, on the other side of the Danube, There, they unanimously voted to call Ladislaus, son of Albrecht, late King of the Romans and uncle of the present emperor, to the kingship. To negotiate this matter, they are sending an embassy to His Imperial Majesty consisting of the Archbishop of Esztergom, Voivode Miklos, Ban Ladislaus, Jiskra and many other distinguished and eminent men to the number of about 1,000. They shall probably be with His Imperial Majesty within 15 days to negotiate the future government of the kingdom. (Letter 172: 4).

In a letter to the cardinal primate of Hungary, Dénes Szécsy, written as an oration to the members of the Hungarian embassy, Piccolomini presented the arguments for Ladislaus's kingship and even dispassionately discussed the alternatives. He concluded:

The one in Austria is him I have been talking about and whom you have summoned, Ladislaus, son of Albrecht. If you seek nobility, nobody in the whole world is more noble than him, whose paternal family descends from Julius Caesar. For this is the origin of the House of Austria which counts many kings of the Romans and often gave kings to Poland and other kingdoms. His maternal family descends from your own kings, his mother being your Queen Elizabeth, his grandfather Emperor Sigismund, and his great-grandfather Karl IV. Karl's father was King Johann of Bohemia, and his father again Heinrich VII, the most outstanding of the German emperors after the translation of the empire. Where can you find such great nobility and such a distinguished bloodline?

He is surely the most worthy in all of Christianity to be the king of your illustrious people. He was born among you and crowned as an infant. None but this boy has the right to your kingdom. He will make all the Germans your friends and join you with the Bohemians. He will give you peace at home. He will unite the despot¹ and the count of Cilly with you. He will dispose his cousin, Emperor Friedrich, most favourably towards you. He will ally the Austrian domains, his relative the Duke of Burgundy, and the House of France with you and call on their help when needed.

¹ Durad I Brankovic, Despot of Serbia.

Royal majesty shines forth in this boy. A child, he shows singular liberality and wisdom. He is more handsome and becoming than I can say. He already gives signs of his father's magnanimity and his grandfather's sagacity. Soon he will grow up and be able to speak for himself, ride and govern. With him, you can root up the schismatics from the kingdom, repel the Turks, reclaim Dalmatia, bring alienated lands back to the crown and enjoy holy and excellent peace.

If you continue with Ladislaus as king, you will gain great benefits. I do not believe you will return [to Hungary] without the desired results. However, to put an end to this small oration, I ask, beg, and implore you, circumspect men, to consider carefully the many and great advantages for your kingdom in coming to an agreement with our emperor and not pressuring him unduly if your petitions are not granted in full, as long, as King Ladislaus is allowed to reside in some place in your kingdom acceptable to His Imperial Majesty. Indeed the emperor will not refuse what is just since it is also to his advantage to have your kingdom as a friend. (Letter 187: 21-24).

Concerning the negotiation between the emperor and the Hungarians and its aftermath, Piccolomini gave this report in a letter of 28 October to Bishop Laiming of Passau:

When the emperor returned from the siege,¹ the ambassadors sent by the kingdom arrived. [First,] Cardinal Dénes, Archbishop of Esztergom, a Father of great wisdom and integrity. With him came Ban Lazlo, a man of a great family. Voivode Miklos was detained by the palatine and sent four of his friends. They were joined by Jiskra, as if he were a subject of the kingdom. In the meantime, also Count Georg, the counts of Croatia, and Oswald Rozgon arrived at the imperial court to know what would happen in the Hungarian matter. This was the ambassadors' petition: "Since the kingdom, assembled in Pest, has chosen Ladislaus, son of Albrecht, as its king, we ask you, emperor, to entrust him to us to bring him to Székesfehérvár with the holy crown, for we will crown him there and pay him homage as is proper. After that, it will be enough if we keep him and the crown in the kingdom." The words were different, but this was the meaning. In answer, they were told that one who has been crowned need not be crowned again. Ladislaus was owed the Kingdom of Hungary by rights of his father, his grandfather and his mother. The emperor would not be unwilling to let him be kept in the kingdom, although he also had other kingdoms and lands. Many other things were said since posturing is customary in princely courts rather than truth

When, after much discussion back and forth, no agreement could be reached, they decided to summon Voivode Miklos, to whom they sent Ban Lazlo and some others. ... Miklos entered Vienna on the Feast of Saint Jerome. He was accompanied by Matthias, Bishop of Vezprem, old chancellor of the kingdom, a man of short figure but with a distinguished appearance and venerable grey hair. Present was also Emerich Marczali, lord chamberlain of the former royal court and dear to the late kings. Many other nobles had come, too. There were about 500 mounted knights, 200 with cuirasses and 24 chariots.

The emperor went to meet him before the gates with all his guards and Duke Siegmund, a lively and spirited youth. ...

¹ The siege of Güns.

After the welcome ceremonies, they resumed the negotiations. Miklos made the same demands as the cardinal and his colleagues, and various meetings were held. On one occasion, the Hungarians, having entered the king's council, began to quarrel between themselves. Jiskra reviled Miklos for demanding a new coronation because he wanted to show that his change of loyalties was justified and to blame those who had stayed loyal. Moreover, Jiskra was chagrined that the Hungarians no longer wanted his counsel but kept him apart from their discussions. Then he was invited to join the emperor's council, and though, through the intervention of Chancellor Kaspar, he became reconciled with Miklos, he no longer wanted to be part of the Hungarians' deliberations.

Later, when the Hungarians had dined with the emperor, and the negotiations appeared to be failing, they demanded the emperor's final answer, which he gave. It ran as follows: Although a new coronation was not necessary, he would permit it for the sake of peace and harmony in the kingdom on the condition that there would be no unction. But he required an open letter from the kingdom attesting that the second coronation in no way violated the first one and guaranteeing that the coronation would be secure. He also required guarantees that both the boy and the crown would be returned to him after the coronation. [Furthermore,] he wanted the boy to be raised in Pozon, a prominent city in the kingdom, if the fortress would be handed over to him in the boy's name since it belongs to him. The guarantee sought by the Hungarians that the boy would not be removed [from Pozon] without the assent of the vicars of the kingdom was not acceptable since the boy had been entrusted to the emperor as his closest relative both by the mother and by others. But the emperor also promised and would confirm it by a letter that in case of the boy's demise, neither the crown nor the castle of Pozon would be alienated from the kingdom. Finally, the emperor would welcome that the prelates and the barons of the kingdom met in Pozon to decide on security measures for the coronation and on the government of the kingdom. If the Hungarians were empowered to settle these matters on behalf of the kingdom, the emperor would immediately make a formal agreement with them. If not, he exhorted them to refer the matter back to the estates of the kingdom and send him their answer. He urged them to avoid political disturbances, declaring that Ladislaus was the true king of Hungary and that there could be no peace without him since peace builds on justice.

Upset by this answer, the Hungarians said they would leave soon. However, before returning to their lodgings, they summoned Count Ulrich of Cilly, a brave and clever man, who had come because of these negotiations, and Chancellor Kaspar, in whom they had great faith since they knew him to be a conscientious person close to the emperor who had used him to deliver almost all his responses. The Hungarians told these two men the emperor's response was unjust and unacceptable to the kingdom. Kaspar and Ulrich countered that all that the emperor had replied was just and that they were surprised the Hungarians had come so lacking in powers that they could not even assign a single castle to Ladislaus where he could live in royal style after his coronation: "That is really not much!" The Hungarians replied, "We do not want to return empty-handed. There are other possibilities for an agreement. We are not empowered [to offer] the castle of Pozon, but we shall hand over Alba Regalis¹ to the emperor for the duration of the coronation so that he may fortify it as he wishes and not admit more people than he wants to. We who are here from Hungary and you, Count of Cilly, and Jiskra will swear to the emperor that after the coronation, we shall return the boy to Hainburg, a town in Austria. As for the crown, we want it to remain in the hands of the

¹ Székesfehérvár.

vicars of the kingdom or, if that is not acceptable, in your custody, Ulrich. Afterwards, Alba Regalis must be returned to Voivode Miklos.”

These [proposals] were reported to the emperor [in council]. Some praised them, and others criticised them. The counts of Croatia and those who most disagreed with the proposals said that the Hungarians had become more humble and made some equitable promises but they would promise even more if the emperor kept his ground. In the end, it was decided to change nothing in the first response, for – as it was argued - a king’s word must be unchanging and firm. Inconstancy must be avoided in private people, and it is detestable in kings whose words have the force of law.

The Hungarians repeated the offers mentioned above, adding that they would return the crown to the emperor. However, they demanded that it must not be alienated from the kingdom in case of the boy’s or the emperor’s death,. When this was related to the emperor in council, he said, “It is serious, my counsellors, if we do not trust the Hungarians and therefore lose the kingdom for the boy. But it is even more serious if we trust them and therefore lose the boy for the kingdom. Please give your counsel on this matter, my sworn and loyal men.” Some then said that if the Hungarians were not trusted, the kingdom would surely be lost. Concerning the boy, it was uncertain what would happen, but they could see no reason to believe that the Hungarians would let him perish. [In the end,] the result of the council’s deliberations was the same as before.

Then the Hungarians left, having failed in their mission. The emperor accompanied them out of the city. When Miklos was invited to visit his king, who was staying in a place close to the travel route, he answered, “I do not yet know which king I shall have, and I will not honour this boy before I know him to be my lord.” Some of the Hungarians said they considered Ladislaus their king and that he could not be blamed since he was too young to speak [for himself]. Therefore, several of them went to see their king. They brought gifts to the boy, gazing at him as if he were a divinity, and, kneeling before him, they cried. The bishop of Vezprem said, “O, Most Noble Boy, will God grant me to see you in the kingdom before this old age shall fail? Grow up, boy, grow up, and nobody shall take the Kingdom of Hungary from you as long as you live.” Cardinal Dénes gave a big golden cup into his hands, and kissing the boy, he said, “Alas, how many troubles I have suffered on your behalf, how many losses, and how many dangers. But all will be fine if only I see you in the kingdom.” Afterwards, he stayed for three days with the emperor. This is how things went with the Hungarians.

Later, I heard that the Hungarian estates would assemble soon in Alba Regalis¹ to be informed about the emperor’s answer. For the sake of the realm’s safety and the boy’s rights, I hope God will grant that what was left unfinished in Pest will be finished in Alba. I am somewhat optimistic since the despot of Rascia, the count of Cilly, Jiskra, the archbishop of Esztergom, and Count Georg Rozgon support the boy’s cause so firmly that the Hungarians cannot sway them by arguments or violence. And I do not see which other king the Hungarians can have but the boy Ladislaus, who should rule Hungary by rights of his grandfather, his father and his mother. (Letter 190: 15-24).

¹ Székesfehérvár.

After the Hungarian embassy returned to Hungary, there were continued dissensions on the succession to the throne and some even awaited - or pretended to await - the return of the Polish-Hungarian King Wladislaw although by now it was clear to the large majority that he had died at Varna. In a letter to Campisio of 4 January 1446, Piccolomini had this witty commentary:

There is little news from here. The Hungarians disagree among themselves just as they disagree with our emperor, and they cannot reach a decision that is prejudicial to Ladislaus. Thus the child who is deserted by men gets help from God. The Pole¹ seemingly inspires hope of his return though he is dead. Maybe some Pole may be able, like another Orpheus,² to mollify the harsh lords of the shadows by songs and humble prayers and make them return Wladyslaw, but then he should take care not to lose him forever while he hastens to bring him back! A messenger has been sent to bring back Hercules.³ We shall hear whether the chaos of eternal night will admit him and send back shadows once received. (Letter 206: 3).

On the continuation of this affair and the intrigues of the Hungarian Palatine, Hédervary, Piccolomini informed Campisio, and through him the papal court, in a letter of 6 March 1446:

I believe you have heard that the Hungarian nobles, who - together with the cardinal of Esztergom - were here last summer, went home having achieved nothing, for neither did the king accept their offers nor did they accept the king's response. I have already told you all of this.

When, afterwards, Voivode Nikolaus of Transylvania, returned to Hungary, he tried many things but was unable to persuade his compatriots to follow a course that excluded Ladislaus. So he met with the other voivode, János, and together they decided to support the rights of Ladislaus. Having sent secret messengers to our emperor, they obtained the confirmation of their own offices with authority to confirm the offices and ranks of those of their compatriots they brought over to Ladislaus' obedience. Then they summoned an assembly of the kingdom's estates to be held in Alba Regalis⁴ at the present time, and many are now there waiting for the others.

Palatine Lorenz realised that his fabrications were not useful anymore, for all were convinced that Wladyslaw, King of Poland, had died, and a lie cannot remain undiscovered for long. Still, he had not forgotten his intrigues and devised a new deception, spreading a rumour among the people that he had come to an agreement with the duke of Burgundy that the duke would send his son to Hungary by ship. He also claimed that some Spaniard had brokered the agreement, a man who had commanded a Pontic⁵ fleet in Philippe's name and had recently passed through on his way to Rome. But nobody now has faith in the Palatine, and after so many lies, he is no longer trusted. Moreover, all know that the duke has only one son and would not risk losing him. Also, he is a very wealthy and powerful noble prince and related by blood to King Ladislaus, whom he would not want to harm. And finally - and most of all - his lands are so far

¹ The Polish-Hungarian King Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon) who had died in the Battle of Varna, 1444.

² Orpheus: Mythical bard. Orpheus went to the underworld to recover his lost wife Eurydice. En-

chanted by his music, the lords of the Underworld released Eurydice, but Orpheus lost her again when he gazed on her before she crossed the threshold out of Hades.

³ Hercules: Mythical hero. Here, presumably Wladyslaw.

⁴ Székesfehérvár.

⁵ The Black Sea.

from Hungary that they could be of no use to the Hungarians. All this made the palatine appear not just mendacious but delirious. (Letter 207: 2-4).

After this, Piccolomini would for a year be occupied with ecclesiastical matters and lost contact with the Hungarian affair.

1.1.3. The schism

At the Diet of Nürnberg August-October 1444, it had been decided to hold a council in Konstanz and ask Pope Eugenius in Rome and the Council in Basel to consent to this plan.¹ Piccolomini stayed in Rome from January to 1 April and was reconciled with Pope Eugenius IV² - thus officially joining the papalist cause - before he submitted the emperor's request for a new council. The pope roundly rejected the request, but used the opportunity to send representatives to the emperor to initiate negotiations that would, in 1447, result in the Germans abandoning their neutrality in the schism and declaring their obedience to the Roman pope. There are no letters from the mission in 1445, though Piccolomini, in later letters, briefly mentions his stay in Rome.

In a letter to Bishop Laiming of Passau of c. 24. May 1445, he reported on the pope's refusal to authorise a council in Germany:

Now I shall say something about the state of the Roman Curia. Its head is Eugenius, and when I came to him, he was as healthy as old men can be. When I left, he was weakened by an attack of podagra and gout in the hands. He did not approve the king's petition and did not and will not authorise a council in Germany. If His Royal Majesty had asked for anything else, he would have obtained it. But nothing was requested except what concerned the peace of the Church, and Eugenius replied that what was requested³ was not peace but a major rebellion. (Letter 166: 2).

Piccolomini was disappointed at the pope's refusal and feared it might lead to a worsening of the schism if the German church or part of it, abandoned its neutrality and joined the conciliarist cause. In a letter of 21 May, he wrote to Campisio:

In the affairs of the Church, I cannot write much since anything may yet happen. If my mission to you had had another result, the whole matter would have been on safer ground, and all would more easily have agreed to the union. But now I see a large wing developing separately, which I fear will have many feathers. We shall not be able to avoid a major schism, and I do not know how solid France will be. (Letter 169: 5).

He now put his hope on a diet to be held in Frankfurt, which he trusted would bring about a solution. On 24 May, he wrote to Bishop Flieger:

¹ COM, 1: 11, 6; DVI, 174; DRBG (WO, 2 / 1, p. 206).

² See Piccolomini's oration "Prius sanctissime praesul" (COR, 3: 7).

³ A new council.

It is not a small thing that the church affairs are now being dealt with. Three ways remain: to side with the conciliar party, to side with the party of Eugenius, or - the third - to continue the state of Neutrality. Wherever I turn, I see thorns. In this matter, the choice is not between three good things; nay, we must seek the lesser evil. The choice is difficult and perilous, but it must be made, for nothing is worse than always being in suspense. Thinking about various courses, one may be worried, but once the choice has been made, anxiety ceases. But since you will be present at the diet, [in Frankfurt] I have great hopes that the least harmful way will be chosen.. (Letter 169: 3).

He trusted that the German solution would influence the other Christian nations, as he wrote to Johann Vront on 1 June:

My travel to the City¹ was in a worthy cause, viz. the holy union and the decisions made in Nürnberg. What I could achieve there will be announced in Frankfurt, but my own silence on the matter indicates what happened. It will now be decided in Frankfurt. I fear nothing more than a division in the nation, for it is most shameful, not to say fruitless, if the Germans who for five years have endeavoured to unite the divided Church now themselves become divided. In my opinion, Germany has such great importance and prestige that it will draw the rest of Christianity in whatever direction it chooses, as long as it is undivided. (Letter 174:4).

In a letter Campisio of c. 10 sept. 1445, Piccolomini told Campisio of the Diet in Frankfurt:

The Diet of Frankfurt had another result than hoped and wished by the emperor: it was decided to hold another diet or a national council on the Sunday Invocavit² in Nürnberg and there to determine whether to hold a general council or to make a declaration.³ In the meantime, the apostolic envoy you know, Juan Carvajal, auditor of the [apostolic] palace, has arrived. He has addressed the king and, being eloquent and diligent, said much to influence this decision. They will have further talks. I neither know nor dare guess what might happen then. As you know, the Germans do not readily make a decision, and when they have made it, they do not readily change it. The Neutrality⁴ makes sense to many, and therefore they want it to continue. But it is odious to the king,⁵ who would gladly abandon it if his princes agreed. A way to achieve this may possibly be found. (Letter 183:13).

The difficult negotiations on ending the schism continued and were further complicated by the pope's deposition of the archbishops of Cologne and Trier. Piccolomini was deeply involved in these negotiations and went on two further missions to the pope. During the last one, January-March 1447, the emperor and many German prelates and princes finally declared their obedience to the Roman pope. Piccolomini had greatly contributed to this result and was soon rewarded by being appointed bishop of Trieste. There are very few letters from this period and none of them deal with Piccolomini's diplomatic activities except for his ambassadorial report to the emperor on his mission to Rome in 1447 and a later mission to Milan.⁶

¹ Rome.

² First Sunday in the season of Lent.

³ A declaration for one of the two parties in the church schism: the Roman papacy (Eugenius IV) or the schismatic council in Basel with its antipope (Felix V).

⁴ The German neutrality in the church schism, declared in 1438.

⁵ Friedrich III.

⁶ See CRDM, 1-2.

1.2. Personal

1.2.1. Life changes

In the year 1445-1447, some fundamental changes, a conversion,¹ occurred in Piccolomini's life.

1.2.1.1. Ecclesiastical

The change from conciliarism to papalism happened gradually from 1444 and was both inspired by Piccolomini's mentor, Chancellor Kaspar Schlick, and made necessary by the development of the emperor's ecclesiastical policies to which Piccolomini contributed actively. Piccolomini's conversion was completed when he met Pope Eugenius IV in January 1445.

In his first letter of retraction, to Jordan Mallant, Rector of Cologne University, of 13 August 1447, Piccolomini gave this apology for his ecclesiastical conversion:

Two days ago,² I heard you had been at a dinner party with the Venerable Father, the suffragan bishop of the Church of Cologne, and several specialists in divine and human law. While you drank and ate, you discussed the affairs of the Church, and some expressed their amazement that I had passed from one camp to the other and not observed what I myself had said and written. You defended me splendidly and said it was an honest and just change [of opinion]. Still, I am stung and roused, so I must answer them plainly, seriously and vigorously. Let this letter be a message to all who criticise me and a permanent testimony that I left Basel out of necessity and renounced all its errors after I had realised that the city was a harlot fit for judgment. God's grace shone for me, opened the darkened eyes and enlightened me with the rays of its splendour because it was out of ignorance that I had sinned.

I confess that I erred with the Basileans and walked on in their sins. I was not an insignificant council member: puffed up, arrogant and full of empty air, I fought among the first, I spoke foolishly and wrote even more foolishly. And since I considered myself to have much knowledge, I was not ashamed to write treaties and revile the Roman Pontiff with insolent speech. I thought what was said was true, and I wrote things that I had heard but were unproven. The name of Aeneas counted for something among the enemies of the Roman curia. The Basileans praised and loved me, the others reviled and hated me, but their scorn did not worry me, for I thought that I was suffering for the cause of Christ.

The lies of many nourished my error. No one who defended the rights of the Apostolic See, commended the Roman curia and praised Eugenius was heeded by the Basileans. But those who disparaged the authority of the Roman see, made accusations against Eugenius and abhorred his curia were considered great and excellent men. I was impressed by the names of Panormitano and Ludovico, considered the two greatest lights of law. I was then a young bird flown in from the University of Siena and knew nothing of the ways of the Roman curia nor of

¹ Helmroth: *Zweite*, pp. 338-347.

² 11 August 1447.

Eugenius' life. I thought that all I heard was true. I trusted what they said and, raised on their errors, I stood with them. When they suspended Eugenius,¹ I participated in the deposition, and when he, whom they call pope, was abused, I did not leave. But I was wretched and foolish. I had become infected with their foolishness and was sunk in the pit of sin, and I would never have come out of it if merciful God had not reached out to me. Those who sin out of ignorance often find mercy, whereas those who sin knowingly cannot find favour with God. The wicked man when he is come into the depth of sins, contemneth: but ignominy and reproach follow him.

So let my detractors hear about my conversion and be converted, too. But since a fool receiveth not the words of prudence, I write to you, not to them. I regret but do not deny that I was a Basilean. But though I do not deny it, what I said and wrote horrifies me. I fear that I shall be punished for it. May God have mercy upon me according to His great mercy. May he not remember the sins of my youth and my ignorances. May he forgive my sins since I set my mouth against Heaven and spoke against Christ the Lord. I erred, and I acknowledge my error, giving thanks to God who did not allow me to err any more. Let no one consider me bound by my writings in such a way that I cannot change my views. It would not be good for men if one could not change one's opinion. Augustine wrote books of retractions. We are free until death: it is our final conviction that judges us. But hear now how I obtained God's mercy.

As Saul went to Damascus as an enemy of the Christians, thus I went to Frankfurt as an enemy of Eugenius. I was called to the emperor's service; I became a secretary; I served loyally. At the emperor's [court], the Romans and the Basileans² were free to say what they wanted. Socrates held that truth was more easily found after the matter had been disputed on both sides. I lent my ears and endeavoured to learn from the wisdom of the great men who came to the emperor's court. My Basilean fervour had now grown tepid. Having become one of the neutrals,³ I began to consider the matter and examine and compare what was said by the two parties. I realised that I had been as far from the truth as the East is from the West. I was much enlightened by the two cardinals of Sant'Angelo.⁴ The first⁵ said to me, "If you followed me while I was erring in Basel, Enea, why do you spurn me now that I am admonishing you to follow the truth?" The second one⁶ - an eminent jurist - showed me that Parnormitano and Ludovico's statements were not wholesome declarations but horrible deliriums.

You would like, I think, to know more clearly what I saw and found, and why I finally embraced the papal cause. Some murmur that I was not moved by reason, and they object that I was motivated by an ambition to become a bishop. God forgive them! I converted to the papal cause three years before I was appointed bishop, and it was not Eugenius - the pope who forgave me - but Nicolaus who appointed me in my absence. When I changed my views, I left much with the Basileans without receiving anything from the other party. But it was of the utmost importance for me to be readmitted into the Church. Since I had, above all, sought the Kingdom of God,

¹ The rump council in Basel suspended Pope Eugenius IV on 24 January 1438 and deposed him on 25 on 1439.

² I.e., the papalists and the conciliarists.

³ On 17 March 1438, the German nation had declared its neutrality between Pope Eugenius IV in Rome and the rump council in Basel.

⁴ Cardinals Giuliano Cesarini (-1444) and Cardinal Juan Carvajal (1446-).

⁵ Cardinal Cesarini.

⁶ Cardinal Carvajal.

various charges were given to me, and, in the end, I was entrusted with the episcopacy. I cast my hope upon the Lord and He sustained me. Thus God will do to all who seek Him, while He may be found, and who call upon Him, while He is near. The Lord is near now and should be invoked under Nicolaus, a pious and most holy pope and the true vicar of Jesus Christ, whom God on high gave as a shepherd to his Church - according to his word and promise to Jeremiah - to nourish us with his knowledge and learning. (Letter 224:3-8).

As for Piccolomini's formal criticism of the rump council in Basel, he gives the following summary at the end of the letter to Mallant:

But, Jordan, my excellent friend, when I clearly saw that the Basileans did not constitute a council, that Eugenius had been deposed as a pope with false and mendacious arguments, and that the Basileans did not dare to defend their just cause everywhere, as they ought to, but only trusted themselves there in Basel, then I undertook to speak from the depths of truth. If anybody wishes to argue against me, he is not a serious disputant but a blathering fool. At any rate, I did not want to share the Basilean madness anymore. I did not want to follow the blind. I did not want to remain with them any longer and to condemn my soul with them. (Letter 224: 26).

1.2.1.2. Sexual

From 1445 to 1446, the now 40-years old Piccolomini underwent another important life change: from happy enjoyer of sexual pleasure - by then mostly with prostitutes - to moralistic condemner of free love.

An exchange of letters with his friend, Giovanni Campisio in Rome, in May-June 1445, would be the last testimonial to the pleasures of the flesh. Apparently, he had left Rome (on 1 April) without saying properly goodbye to Pippa, a courtesan, which prompted a gentle rebuke from Campisio. For reasons of discretion, both men preparing to enter the ecclesiastical state, Campisio in his letter replaced Piccolomini with his familiar, Johann Steinhoff, giving rise to a jocular exchange between the two.

In his letter of 8 May, Campisio wrote:

Pippa is tearing out her hair and filling Heaven with complaints, ceaselessly accusing Johann Steinhof of cruelty. She accepts no excuse and cannot lament enough that he could leave her without saying farewell. "I knew," she says, "that a time would come when I would no longer see him, and now the affairs of his master¹ and my fates have decided that he be recalled to his country. So, it is not because he wished it himself that he left both the house next to mine and poor me. But - as they say - he should have greeted his host, said farewell to me, and consoled me with a few words. Then, at least, I could have given him a proper sendoff." Such, if you believe me, are her complaints about Steinhof. She often calls him truly made of hard stone and other such things as angry lovers say. Therefore, if there is any decency among men and if you are a pious Enea, you should summon Steinhof and make him change his mind (not his name) and, while absent, do in letters what he failed to do in words while present. You will forgive me, dear Enea, most serious of men, for including such a frivolous matter in this letter when it would have been more honest and kind to write to Steinhof himself. However, I did not have

¹ Piccolomini.

much leisure to write, for this year, I have been occupied with many most arduous matters. I had actually decided to write something to our Steinhof himself, but then I preferred to write to you instead so that you could laugh at my jesting and afterwards rebuke him for his great cruelty. (Letter 167: 3).

On 1 June, Piccolomini replied:

I avidly read your humorous news of Pippa. I really do not know why she became so infatuated that she could fall in love with a somewhat corpulent and ruddy man, not knowing Italian – I am talking of Johann Steinhoff, or rather Pippius, if it is as you say! I am ashamed that I did not become aware of their love and was so dim-witted and dim-sighted that I did not realise they were lovers though they were with me every day. Either I was slow-witted, nay stupid, or their flame of love was hidden. I am considerate and soft-hearted by nature and cannot bear tears, so if I had known about it, I would never have left Pippa ungreeted, nay, taken Johann away, for - by the immortal gods - what on Earth is more bitter, cruel and inhuman than to separate two lovers?

I am not surprised that humans passionately desire other humans and seek someone similar to themselves, for that is human, and it is nature that has given us this desire.¹ If a man never loved a woman or burnt with love's passion, he was either a god or a beast. Some people love horses, dogs, gems and gold and are not shamed for it. So, why would it be disgraceful to love a human since humans surpass all animals? I commend Johann for loving this beautiful woman full of vitality. And I also commend Pippa. Together with them, I lament their separation. As for you, you should not imitate those tamers of lions who raise dogs together with the lions and kill them when the lion fails. When I was a boy, a priest came to our country house. As the sun was burning cruelly, he said to my father: "Silvio, please have a drink brought to my assistant, for he is very hot and cannot bear the thirst." Wine was brought. However, it was not the assistant but the priest who emptied the beaker. (Letter 171: 3-4).

In the last passage, Piccolomini intimates that Campisio is using Steinhof for another person – indeed Piccolomini himself. Piccolomini would then be the lion and the priest, and Steinhof the dog and the assistant.

Less than a year later, the tune had completely changed. In a letter of 8 March 1446, Piccolomini, now in holy orders, gave advice to his love-sick friend, Johann Vrungt, in Cologne:

A few days ago, I received your letter, elegant and comprehensive. I do not know what items to answer first, so I shall take them up in your own order.

First, the girl you let go to another man. I praise what you did, for what is better than to join [people] in marriage that produces offspring and fills the cities with children? But to afterwards be grieved by it goes against nature, for, usually, one does not deplore virtuous acts. The man who acts virtuously is happy. It is the man who has committed a sin who regrets it. So, why do you deplore having acted virtuously? I believe it is not because you did something good, but because you did not do it well. For it is adverbs, my Johann, not verbs or nouns or

¹ On this view of sexuality, see also Piccolomini's letter to his fa-

ther of 20 September 1443 (letter 77).

participles that make us happy. We should not ask what a man does, but how he does it, and in all things we must look to the end. If you let the girl marry because you wished to avoid reproach, you did well if you also acted out of fear of God. But if you only did it fearing what people would otherwise say, it is not enough, for we should not please men only, but God.

You ask for remedies but do not want the poet's antidote, so here you have the Gospel's. What is fornication but death? You are blessed if you know yourself and have cast away the cause for sin. Be at peace, I say, and do not remember the sins of your youth. I know that you will now say, "Oh, how severe Enea is. Now he preaches chastity to me, but in Vienna and Neustadt he praised marriage!"¹ I do not deny it, my dearest Johann, but time passes. Soon we grow old, the day of death approaches, and we must consider not how to live but how to die. ... Cast this girl from your mind. Pretend she is dead: would you then not like to live on? What comfort could you possibly get from her.

*How brief is the pleasure you get from women! How short the joy! Isn't he a fool who loses the eternal [joys] because of the passing and brief ones? In saying this, I follow the theologians since you do not want to hear what the poets say. This is the remedy that is found in the shops of Vienna.² I beg you to recover yourself. You who could barely be defeated by the emperor³ should not be defeated by a woman. It is disgraceful for someone who was a victor in great things to succumb in small. Do not quote Ovid's *Remedia* and speak to me of your next love, for to leave one woman to love another is the same as jumping from one fire to another. So, I beg you, flee all women, avoid this plague. When you see a woman, think of her as the devil.*

But why I am telling you this? I know that I am speaking in vain and that you do not believe me, for you see me as a man with a full stomach who urges others to fast. I admit, beloved brother, that I am full, I am disgusted, and I am nauseated by women⁴. It is also true that my strength is waning, I have grey hairs everywhere, my virility shrivels, my bones are decaying, my body is furrowed by wrinkles, I can no longer please a woman, and a woman can no longer please me. An old man is closer to Bacchus than to Venus. Wine nourishes, cheers and delights the old man⁵. This sweet drink lasts until death. But here, too, there is sin if we drink for pleasure rather than need. But, my Johann, if you are strong and healthy and full of blood and juice, I am not surprised that you want to make love (though I believe you to be more a man of words than acts since both your age and occupations deplete your strength). On the other hand, if - as you say - you are strong, lusty, energetic and bold, then it would be good to reject the sin [of sexual pleasure]. When you abandon that, you do not flee from yourself.

¹ Instead of "*conjugium laudabat*" (*praised marriage*) the original version of this letter had "*aliter mecum loquebatur*" (*said quite different things to me*). The original version would not be suitable to Piccolomini's later status as a high-ranking prelate, which is why it was changed in the later

version, like other passages in the letter (see below).

² A reference to the theological faculty in Vienna?

³ As the representative of the City of Cologne in a case before the emperor, Vront had argued the city's case vigorously against the imperial position.

⁴ The early version had "venus" (sex) instead of "femina" (woman).

⁵ The early version had "me" (me) instead of "senex" (an old man). It would not do for Bishop/Cardinal Piccolomini to be suspected of bibulousness.

As for me, by Hercules, there is little merit in chastity, for, in truth, I am no longer fit for Venus¹. But I thank God that my sexual desire is even smaller than my sexual prowess. You say that one should not leave the battle before the enemy has won. This does not apply to battles in which the victor is actually the vanquished one. The man who has won many erotic battles has really suffered as many defeats. But why I am so severe? It is the healthy who give right advice to the sick. But you could answer me with Terence's objection, "If you were here, you would feel otherwise." I once felt as you do now. And when you are as old as I am now, you will feel as I do. If you acted now and did the difficult thing, you would most praiseworthy, and Cicero's sentence would apply to you, "The more difficult, the more glorious." (Letter 209: 1-3).

Towards the end of the year, in a fictive letter to an Ippolito,² Piccolomini developed the themes in his letter to Vront into a full-fledged essay on the cures of love, with references to Ovid's *Remedia amoris*. The letter is given *in extenso* since it fully documents Piccolomini's farewell to sexuality that had formed such an important part of his life:

During our conversation, last night, you lamented that you are much too occupied with love and cannot free your infected and vanquished mind from it. You told me that you do not love a maiden, a married woman or a widow but a woman who, though beautiful, is a prostitute and lies with any man for money. This disturbs you, you said, and you would gladly put this infatuation behind but did not know the way nor the means to become rid and free of this love. You had consulted several priests, but none of them had proposed remedies you considered useful. So you asked and even begged me to give you some medicine against this illness and show you how to flee the burning flames of this love.

I shall fulfil your wish and give you remedies if you will accept them. And I shall not hesitate to take on responsibility as your physician if only you behave as an obedient patient - though I think you would have been satisfied with the priests you consulted if only you had followed their precepts. But maybe these seemed insufferable, for when the priests said "Flee her, do not talk to her, do not hear her," you could not accept their advice. Indeed, a person with a fever cannot bear being denied a cold drink. But if he wants to be healed, he must diligently follow the doctor's orders. So, my Ippolito, if you want to be released from this passion and become a free man again, then be prepared to do what I prescribe. Know that you are sick and in the throes of a serious illness and will have to suffer many hardships and afflictions to regain your health. For you are sick, my Ippolito. Indeed, anyone who loves is not just ill but has lost his mind and is insane and deranged.

I am talking about illicit love, for worshipping God and loving one's parents, wife and children is virtuous, not sinful, and healthy, not ill. But you are pursuing the [course of] illicit love. What is that love, do you think? The old ones believed that it was a boy born of Venus and Vulcan, blind, winged, with arrows in his hands that he shot at men and women, striking them with burning love. In Virgil we read that, "now I know what love is: on hard rock Tmarus bore him, or Rhodope or the farthest Garamantes - a child not of our race or blood." But this was human wrongheadedness that could not grasp the truth. In his tragedies, Seneca said that, "love is

¹ "venus". The early version had: "magis me venus fugitat, quam e-go illam horreo" (It is more a

matter of Venus fleeing me than me being disgusted by her) instead of "non aptus sum veneri" (I am

not fit for Venus). See Martels: *Fruit*, p. 231.

² Date uncertain.

simply a powerful impulse in the mind, a seductive warmth in the mind. It is generated by youth and fostered by leisure and high living amid Fortune's genial bounty." It robs men of their senses, perverts all judgment, dulls perception and extinguishes the spirit, for when you fall in love with a woman, you live in her, not in yourself. What is worse than not living while alive? Than not sensing while you have senses? Than not seeing while you have eyes? Indeed, the man who loves changes into someone else and neither speaks nor acts as he used to. Thus, Parmeno says in Terence, "Good gods, what kind of disease is this? To think that people can be so changed by love that you wouldn't recognise them as the same person!" Thus, the Comic writer believes that love is a sickness, and he is right. And Macrobius quoted Hippocrates as saying that "lust is the mother or daughter of love and part of an utterly repulsive illness."

This sickness attacks many young men, but it also plagues grown men and old men, and the older and more learned the captivated person is reputed to be, the more perilous and laughable it is. So, Ippolito, since you have been caught and are love's slave, you will know you are sick. And if you are sick, you want to be free of the sickness, for when does a sick man not want to be healed? Indeed, the more serious, painful and dangerous the illness, the greater the need for healing. Your illness is grave, so care intensely about your cure. My Ippolito, think of the state you are in. You neglect yourself, you do not care what happens to you. You are only concerned about your lover. You do not treasure your parents, relatives and friends or benefactors. You only think of your lover. It is her that you love, favour, dream of, think of, speak about and sigh after. Everything you do aims at keeping her focused on you. Is that not foolishness, madness, and a most terrible illness? Should you not search for a cure? Who does not want to be cured of such an illness? What follows is necessary for your health, Ippolito: if you do it, you will be healed. If you ignore it, your illness will be fatal, and no one can help you.

First, think how far you have moved from God's commands: you ought to love God with your whole heart, but instead you love a creature and have placed all your delight and enjoyment in it. Thus, you have become a worshipper of idols, for one who puts a creature above God is idolatrous. Will you deny that you who put a creature above the creator are idolatrous? Be honest and admit that you love your lover more than God, and neglect, reject and despise God's commands while eagerly doing all that she wants. That is, indeed, to prefer a woman to God. Oh, what great, perilous and detestable evil it is to love a creature and disdain God. God made you out of nothing, and he did not make you a stone or a wild animal or a gentile or a Jew, but a Christian who could know the divine sacraments and the way leading to Heaven. When, due to your first parent's fault, you and the rest of mankind had lost paradise, God wanted to be born for you, become a man, be captured, beaten, reviled, crucified, die and save you with his precious blood. It is, indeed, ungrateful, evil, inhuman and barbaric to abandon him, who has done so much for you, for a vile little woman. This should be enough to admonish you and other Christians to give up illicit loves and serve God alone.

But think further of your actions, Ippolito. You think your lover is beautiful: do you think that she will always remain so? Beauty is fugitive, as the Tragedian says. The woman who is beautiful today will be ugly tomorrow. Why will you exchange eternal and unchanging benefits for perishable and changing ones? You may think the woman is beautiful, but, in reality, it does not mean much. A woman's beauty is nothing unless supported by her character and behaviour. You do not care about chastity but only love beauty. But beauty withers like the flowers in the

field. The rose blooms in the morning and wilts in the evening. Nothing is more beautiful than virtue and decency. If you look closer, it will seem more beautiful than your lover. Even Lucifer and Hesperus are not as beautiful as the face of decency. If you abandon it for a woman, then consider, I ask you, how delirious and insane you are.

Besides, Ippolito - and I shall not use many words on this - the woman you love is not yours alone; she belongs to other men, too. She does not love you alone but others, too. What do you want to do in such a crowd? Consider that you are now in your [life's] evening, you are old, and death is approaching. Do you want to compete with young men? Do you want to fight strong men? What do you seek in a battle where you will be defeated even if you win? It is most difficult for an old man to wrest a woman from young men.

But, let us say that you are strong enough to wrest [your woman] from them: why want such a victory when it is a battle where the victor is defeated? For, I ask you, what is a woman but the despoiler of young men, the robber of grown men, the death of old men, the devourer of patrimony, the destroyer of honour, sustenance for the devil, the gate of death, the appendage of hell? Consider, Ippolito, how many evils were caused by women when Solomon, Holophernes and Samson were deceived by a woman. Do not delude yourself into thinking you are as strong as them. The weaker you are than these men and the more careless and imprudent, the more you should remove yourself from the place where you may be deceived. A woman's love is nothing if it is sinful. There is no faithfulness in women: she who loves you now will love another tomorrow and others with you. Why do you treasure love shared with many? No woman loved a man so firmly that she would not change her love for another when a new suitor turned up, with new pleas and gifts. Woman is an imperfect, changing and deceitful animal, subject to many weaknesses and passions, without loyalty, without fear, without constancy, without piety. I am talking, of course, about those women who entertain shameful affairs. They are never faithful, but once they have left the right path, they consider themselves free to roam wherever they will and no longer fear their husband or friend.

I think that since you are now worn down by old age, you take little enjoyment from the putrid pleasure of copulation. Indeed, what can this senseless and foul pleasure, soon followed by regret, give to you old and dried out man and even to a young man, full of sap. The rebuke, the summons and the threat that torment a man soon after the sinful act, are they not a serious matter? It is an evil man who does not desist when warned, improve himself when punished, or better himself when corrected. What is the result of carnal intercourse but the destruction of the flesh? I wish it would only kill the body and not also the soul. When a man and a woman have intercourse, they seem like two clay plates being ground against each other until they break and are destroyed,

But maybe you do not enjoy intercourse as much as sight and speech. But what sight, I ask, is so beautiful that you cannot find something even more beautiful? The beauty we should seek is in Heaven and has no match in this world. All perfection is in that world, whereas in this world, there is only imperfection. There, beauty is eternal; here, it is fleeting. There, it is constant; here, it is changing. The beauty you admire now will soon be taken away by fever, and if there is no illness, old age will not fail to appear, changing her smooth face full of sap into a wrinkled and furrowed face. The limbs that you now adore will, in time, become shrivelled, black,

squalid, filthy and smelly. The eyes will not keep their splendour. The mouth will stink, the neck will bend, and the body will be like a dry and arid trunk. Think of this, abandon hope and flee before you are despoiled. It is much better

You claim you enjoy your lover's sweet, pleasant, gentle and mellifluous conversation, but I greatly wonder why, for what sweetness is there really in female conversation? What does your lover say to you? She complains or cries or threatens and tells you empty nonsense. She keeps blathering about what the neighbour woman did, what she dreamed about, how many eggs the hen laid, and what flowers her wreath is made of. All female conversation is vain and superficial, and those who enjoy it must themselves be superficial. Sometimes she tells you about her being with another lover, how they lay together, what gifts she received, what meal she had, and what sexual practices she used. Such things do not give you joy; no, they torture you! But whatever pleasure you get from your lover's conversation: will you be so foolish and senseless as to not take greater joy in the conversation of any learned man?

Now, if you consider all love's pleasures and frustrations, you will find that the frustrations are many, the pleasures few. You will admit the truth of the saying, "Love has little honey mixed with much bile." So, Ippolito, since all the love we are talking about is empty, cruel, bitter, harmful and keeping a man in the grips of a severe sickness, you must endeavour to be freed of it. Persuade yourself that love is bad. Afterwards, refuse to hear your lover's conversation, flee leisure, be always occupied, follow the instruction of good men, and do not participate in games and feasts. If your lover has given you anything, get rid of it. You should have nothing that was hers. Think of her as the messenger of the devil who wants to bring you to perdition. Remember the favours of Christ towards you. Consider the many rewards in Heaven¹ awaiting the man who does good and the many punishments in Hell awaiting the man who does evil. Consider that your days grow shorter and that the last one is approaching. Consider how ridiculous is the man who loves and especially the older man. Consider woman's fickle mind. Consider the waste of time, the most precious thing of all. Consider the dissipation of your possessions. Consider that the life we live in this world is very short, though given to sensual pleasures, and that the life we seek in the next world has no end. If you often think of this and follow these precepts, you will soon be freed of the love that tortures you and become another man, dear to God and worthy of Heaven.

Farewell. This is what I had to say, in haste, against love. On another occasion, when we have more time, I shall instruct you further. Again farewell, and strive to avoid what harms you. From Vienna, 31 December 1445. (Letter 210).

As the reader will have noticed, Piccolomini's farewell to sexuality is couched in a strongly misogynistic language, reminiscent of monkish and moralistic church fathers of a earlier age. Apart from the relevant passages in the above texts, the following from a letter to Johann Vrut of 20 November 1445 may be quoted as a summary of his condemnation of – loose – women:

A man must arrange his life so that no reversal can trouble him. He must foresee all that may happen and prepare his mind for any possible mishap, for the darts foreseen hurt less. If your

¹ "caelestes sedes": the heavenly seats.

friend has died, you knew that he would die. If you lost your fortune, you knew that fortune's gifts disappear at fortune's whim. If your girlfriend has left you, you should consider the fickleness of women, who change their minds every hour. Indeed, nothing is more changing than the female mind. A woman's love does not last long. Woman is a deceitful animal, shifting, cruel, disloyal and treacherous. Women betray all, but most of all old men.

You, my Johann, are moving towards your [life's] evening: you should have no commerce with women. You are a laughingstock and a joke: women only follow you to exploit you. Banish this cursed race that only empties your purse and destroys your soul. Indeed, my Johann, if a woman has left you, she did not harm you but left to harm another man, and you should be happy she fled. (Letter 191: 1-3).

Here, Piccolomini is speaking of loose women, and not of the the rest of womankind.¹ Still, his acerbic condemnation is surprising, when one considers how affectionately he previously he wrote about his courtesan lovers.

But there were other women than loose women, of course. In a letter to Bishop Laiming of c. 24 May 1445, gives the description of woman whose charm, intelligence and wit were a great asset to her husband:

Genesio della Porta² has to make a living out of various missions, and he was not in Rome,³ having been sent on a mission to Trient. Now that his wife has died, he may not be as prosperous as he was when she was alive, for many then employed him as an advocate and patron in order to meet him at home and converse with his beautiful and fair-spoken wife. She was, indeed, a highly intelligent woman, who spoke now modestly, now pleasantly and now boldly, and her delightful humour and salient wit had great charm. But as she was preparing to go from Novara to Rome, she died before she could leave. Thus, her husband, at the same time, lost both his wife, his friends and eloquence. (Letter 166: 4).

And, in a later section (1.3.5.), we shall meet a hard-working self-supporting artisan, the victim of a husband whose abuse she had fled.

1.2.1.3. Clerical

The third fundamental life-change that Piccolomimi underwent during this period, was leaving the lay state and joining the clerical order. This decision may to a large extent have been motivated by career concerns since it had become evident to him that his chances of a great career at the imperial court as an impoverished non-German layman of insignificant family were nil. He also needed ecclesiastical prebends of some importance to manage financially, and his waning sexuality was no longer an impediment.

¹ On Piccolomini's views on women in general, see COR, 1: 6.7.1. and 6.7.2.

² Genesio de la Porta da Novara: Milanese jurist, doctor utriusque juris. Consistorial advocate, appointed by Eugenius IV.

³ During Piccolomini's stay in 1445.

On 25 May, he wrote to Campisio:

There is one thing that I would ask you to obtain for me¹ as soon as possible. I now have a parish and must be ordained a priest,² and it is already half a year since I gained possession. I am afraid that I cannot be ordained before a year has passed, for the king will not give me leave.³ I, therefore, require a prolongation of the term for another year and permission to be ordained by any bishop.⁴ Our Tolner will tell you what to do. Please lay out the sum needed, and write to me how much: I shall repay you quickly. My church is the Saint Mary in Aspach, in the diocese of Passau. It has been assigned to me by authority of the ordinary bishop. (Letter 168: 12).

1.2.1.4. *Religious*

Some scholars have maintained that Piccolomini's conversion in 1454-1446 was simply an opportunistic career move. Like many of his contemporaries, Piccolomini did have an authentic devotion to the Virgin Mary. Otherwise, his piety was at that time not of the deeply emotional kind, though during his pontificate he appears to have developed a deeply felt religious sentiments and repentance of the errors of his youth. To the mind of the present editor, however, there is no reason not to accept his own words in the letter to Johann Vrungt of 8 March 1446:

Miserable is the man who lacks God's grace, who does not find back to his own soul, who does not recollect himself, who does not emend his life, and who does not think of the other world that will follow this one. I, my Johann, have erred enough and more than enough. Now I have recollected myself, and, hopefully, it is not too late. Now it is the lenten time, now the day of salvation, now the time of mercy. (Letter 209: 2).

A sign, that he meant this conversion seriously is his acquisition of a Bible, of which he would make extensive use (see letter 192: 1).

Another is his preoccupation with pious works, as expressed in letter 214:1.

The life changes experienced by Piccolomini in the years 1445-1446 were closely connected: the loss of his sexual powers and his change from the conciliarist to the papalist party opened the way to an ecclesiastical career and the development of a religious sentiment that would grow deeper as he became older and eventually the supreme pastor of Christianity.

¹ From the papal curia.

² Apparently, persons who were not priests when appointed to a parish had to become ordained

priests within a year after the ordination.

³ Piccolomini probably means that the emperor would not give him leave to become ordained because

he was occupied with other, important imperial affairs.

⁴ Piccolomini was finally ordained a priest on 4 March 1447 in Rome (Diener, p. 526).

1.2.2. Exile syndrome

With the passing of years, the onset of old age and thoughts of death, Piccolomini developed a strong sense of being in exile and a longing for Italy that would become a recurring theme in his correspondence until he finally managed to return, in 1455.

He put this in vivid terms in a letter to Campisio of 8 October 1444:

... you made me cry when you said that I would sometime in the future be together with you and our Conte if I returned to the fatherland. But, my Giovanni, when will that be, when shall I see you again, when shall I return to the fatherland? I wish I had not been there this year since I had to leave so soon and might never return, as I greatly fear. I recently read that Flaccus had left Rome for Brindisi.¹ On the way, he was joined by Maecenas and Coccejus, then Plotius, Varius and Vergil. Oh the many embraces. Oh the rejoicing.² But when they arrived at Canusium, Varius left them, and all joy disappeared. As the poet says, "Here Varius leaves us, to the grief of his weeping friends."³ But if Varius was sad, who only had a small journey to make and would soon see his friends again, how do you think I felt when leaving Rome for a long travel without knowing if I would ever return and see my friends again? I saw you, Pietro da Noceto, Conte, Jacopo Calvo, Giuliano, Niccolò of Viterbo and spent many happy hours with you. Then I left, but to go where? To Germany. But which Germany? To the part of Germany which borders Hungary. Here I make my home, here I must stay, here I must live and die without family, friends and acquaintances, without the company of you and our other friends.

I wish I had never seen Basel. Then I would have died in my fatherland and lain in the bosom of my parents. There, one morsel of bread tastes better than the rich dishes I devour now. If destiny had not brought me Basel, I might have gone to the Roman Curia and found some decent position there, and lived together with you and our friends. I have many reasons to hate Basel, where I wasted so much time. While there, I was influenced by the opinions of the majority and did not know how to get away unless I went deeper into Germany.

Thus I can say that I am dead and have the same kind of life as Naso⁴ while exiled in the territory of Tomis.⁵ I admit that I am esteemed here and enjoy unmerited means and opportunities that suit me. But what are they [worth] without companions? "But don't you have companions there?" you ask. I certainly do, but they do not love literature as I do and do not take pleasure in the same things as I. Moreover, the food is very different, although it is easier for an Italian to eat German food than for a German to eat Italian. (Letter 183: 8-10).

¹ The following passage is based on Horatius: *Satirae*, 1: 5.

² Horatius: *Satirae*, 1: 5, 43.

³ Horatius: *Sermones*, 1: 5, 93.

⁴ Ovid.

⁵ In 8 CE, Emperor Augustus banished the poet Ovid to Tomis at

the Black Sea, where he remained to his death in 17/18 CE.

1.2.3. Fortune

In his letter treatise / dream dialogue of 26 June 1444 (letter 152), often called the *Somnium de Fortuna*, Piccolomini had defended the traditional thesis that Fortune favours the bold. In the following years, he repeatedly returned to the theme of Fortune.

In a letter to Campisio 10 September 1445, a period when he was joining the clergy and felt the need to align his former classically based tenets with Catholic teaching, he endeavoured to reconcile the concept of fortune with the idea of an omnipotent and benevolent God. He wrote:

... if we look at the world as it is, we see that wealth often belongs to those who deserve it less. Therefore, I agree with Theophrastus when he says that life is ruled by fortune, not wisdom, which I find is irrefutable, though Cicero disagrees in his Tusculanae. For Theophrastus was not talking about the philosopher's life, dedicated to virtue, but the ordinary life that pursues riches, honours and power, things that Fortune distributes, which Cicero does not deny. The theologians may deny that Fortune exists, for they believe there is only one ruler and governor of the world machine and no other power able to resist the will of the first mover. I will not and cannot disagree with their belief. But in God, who rules and moves all, there are many modes of action: if some call one such mode Fortune and others permission or ordination, the disagreement becomes one of name, not of matter. Let us now say, in the old way, that it is Fortune which makes some rich, others poor, and, by its breath, now raises up men and now humbles them, as Cicero, Aristotle, Boethius and all Antiquity believed. But let us not call it a goddess, for that is silly, but some superior force at whose will the worldly goods are distributed, nor let us not say, as the ancients, that Fortune is blind and senseless.

Though the unworthy are made rich and the worthy poor, I think it is difficult to blame Fortune for distributing [wealth] badly. For how can you judge who is worthy and who is unworthy? Man is an inconstant, cunning and treacherous animal with a thousand subterfuges, and his heart is inscrutable. Therefore, those who believe some to be worthy and others to be unworthy are often mistaken. But there is another reason [why it is difficult to blame Fortune]: if it were true that Fortune makes the wicked rich and persecutes the good, it would not be strange that often, in this short, fragile and doomed age, lasting only for a moment, some joy be allowed the wicked since afterwards, in another world, they will live a miserable and wretched life without end. Moreover, foolish and wicked men with little sense would not be able to console themselves if they were poor and heartbroken, for they lack virtue that alone can provide tranquillity to men. Therefore, they would immediately despair, not know how to struggle on, and soon fail. So, Fortune favours fools so that they may have in this world what they will lack in the next. Thus, the fools are enticed with riches to live morally, like children are enticed with fruit and caresses. But good and wise men know how to bear with either kind of fortune. And since poverty fosters virtue, they do not berate it but accept it patiently and always find ways to make a living. (Letter 183: 5-6)

In a letter, also to Campisio, from December 1445, he tries another approach: learning is better than wealth, so learned but poor men are better off than wealthy unlearned men. It is doubtful whether this philosophical approach would console his poor friend, who might have preferred learning with - at least - some wealth:

You revile Ramnisia¹ for not giving you much and not smiling upon you as she does upon many unlearned and foolish men, but consider whether you are justified in this claim. Often a somewhat more profound conception of this goddess, whom we call Fortune, presents itself to my mind, and when I consider her deeds, I think that she is not blind, as the poets have imagined her, but, on the contrary, truly keen-sighted. For when people say she is the evil dispenser of the goods of this world, I see it is not true. They say that industrious men are burdened with poverty, whereas ignorant men are enriched through Fortune's favour. I do not agree, and I will take you as an example. I hold you a wealthier man than – I won't say Cosimo de' Medici – but many kings, for the greatest wealth is, by natural law, a well-ordained poverty. I know, my dear Giovanni, that 30 ducats mean more to you than 30,000 do to others. This is because Fortune, knowing human nature, does not wish to heap riches upon those capable of living modestly, for they do not need them. But if fools have little money, they become despised, dejected and miserable, so why should Fortune be reviled for helping them?

But to whom am I saying these words? To someone who knows this much better than I and would not exchange his own knowledge with the riches of Croesus. I shall only add this – and ask for your judgment. The common view of philosophers, unless I am mistaken, is that the goods of the mind are beyond Fortune's sway. I ask whether this view can somehow be invalidated? If you put your mind to it, I am sure you will say that some intellects would not shine so brightly without Fortune's blessing. For if Fortune had [not] given a person in question such faculties, and he had not been raised well after she helped him, he would never have turned out this way. So, let learned men be content with having acquired great learning without great riches, for if they had to choose between the two, no wise man would prefer wealth to knowledge. This matter is so profound that it cannot be dealt with adequately in a short letter, and therefore I shall say no more – and anyway, with you, only a few words are necessary.

1.2.4. Humanism

1.2.4.1. Use of classical authors

The first mark of a humanist mindset was, of course, the use of classical authors. Two letters from this period witness how effectively and appropriately Piccolomini used such quotations from such authors in his letters.

The first one is a letter of 21 October 1445 to the newly appointed Bishop von Eich, where he urges the bishop to not always be concerned with affairs, but to take time for relaxation and to cultivate friends:

Moreover, since I know you inside out and the moderation of your soul, I do not doubt that your honour will last forever since your virtue is eternal. And since – as Bias says – the office shows the man,² you will, in your episcopal office, show your eminent qualities of mind, latent until now. But all this you will do with much labour and diverse worries. But in this whole situation, I advise, urge and beg you to endeavour to not live more for your people than for yourself.

¹ Ramnisia = Fortune.

² Aristoteles: *Ethika Nikomacheia*, 5: 1, 26: *archa ton andra deixei*.

Measure your time and allocate some to your public affairs and some to yourself. Do sometimes relax from the cares and refresh your mind. Though Scipio and Laelius, whom I mentioned above, were great men sustaining the state with their intellects and efforts, they sometimes went out to the Laurentum and, giving themselves to leisure and quiet, collected mussels and top-shells¹ and spent a large part of the day throwing stones. You should do similarly, believe me, excellent bishop, for the man who is always occupied with serious affairs, dies alive though not dead. Therefore, you who have gained the highest office should ensure that it is you who possess the office and not the office that possesses you. There are many ways to relax one's mind, to enjoy books, for example, or to go on non-forbidden hunts² and fishing. The mind has many places it can escape to.

Take care to have faithful friends with whom you can speak as if with yourself. Among the pleasures of men, none is greater, none more joyful and none more safe than the meetings of faithful friends. Finally - as Seneca says - no good thing is pleasant to possess without friends to share it.³ The greater someone is, the richer and the more powerful, the more he needs a faithful friend.⁴ (Letter 188: 5-6).

The second one is a letter from October 1445 to Cardinal Szécsy, where Piccolomini shows that he does not use classical authors, *in casu* Aristotle, indiscriminately:

*I, too, would consider it advantageous for your kingdom to pass over Ladislaus if, without him, concord would reign among you and your kingdom be safe from enemies. But if that is not possible, then what advantage can you have? Let us look closer at this. If you desire peace and concord in your kingdom, you must be ruled either by the people or by a king. (Here, I shall not consider what Aristotle wrote about the forms of government in his *Politica*,⁵ for basically there are only these two forms). So, which of them – I ask - will you choose?*

On the other hand, the subsequent reference to Marius indicates that to Piccolomini the conditions of 1,500 years were still applicable in his own time.

As there is war all over your kingdom, it is necessary to have a king responsible for everything. Where there is peace, the many can govern; where there is war, everything falls apart unless there is only one leader. When the Cimbrians came to Italy with 300,000 soldiers, the Italian cities, free until then, voluntarily decided to become subject to the Roman people, and the Romans appointed Marius⁶ the supreme commander. When weapons reign, the provinces cannot be defended without one leader. Thus, you, who are continuously fighting the Turks, must have a king. (Letter 187: 16).

¹ Cicero: *De Oratore*, 2: 6, 22

² The Early Version just had "hunts".

³ Seneca the Younger: *Epistolae*, 6: 4.

⁴ Von Eich would have understood that Piccolomini was offer-

ring himself as such a faithful friend.

⁵ In his *Politica*, Aristotle distinguished between three forms of government: democratic, aristocratic and monarchical. Here, Piccolomini only accepts two:

democracy and monarchy, considering oligarchy as belonging to one of the other two, probably monarchy as opposed to democracy.

⁶ Gajus Marius (157-86 BC): Roman politician and general.

1.2.4.2. *Collection of books*

Another humanist occupation was the development of a personal book collection. In 1445, Piccolomini was still concerned with the acquisition of a complete copy of Aristotle's *Politica* (see letter to Giovanni Campisio of 21 May 1445 (Letter 168: 11).

But as he was now entering the clerical phase of his life, he could no longer depend mainly on classical authors but would also have to rely on the Bible, the Fathers and other Christian sources.

Since bibles were to be had cheaply in Prague (a legacy of the University of Prague in its heyday), he charged his Bohemian friend, Jan Tuschek with acquiring a Bible. In a letter of 23 August 1445, he wrote:

Concerning the acquisition of the Bible, this is my wish: if it is on paper, I will give 8 florins; if on parchment, the double. Please check that it is [written] correctly and worth the price. Concerning the other books, I shall write to you at another time. (Letter 176: 3).

And in a letter to the same of 20 November 1445, Piccolomini thanks him for acquitting himself well of this charge:

Prokop, a Bohemian knight with the family name Rabenstein, a man of singular modesty, has brought me the Bible I requested of you. I send you many thanks, for it is a volume that is easy to carry around. Moreover, the price was less than such a volume merits. You have acted as a friend and taken care of my business as if it were your own. I have immediately paid the money to Prokop, who will give it to you.. (Letter 192: 1).

1.2.4.3. *Literary activity*

In 1445, Piccolomini wrote a treatise in the tradition of court critique, entitled *De Miseria Curialum* (*On the miseries of Courtiers*), dedicating it to von Eich. He mentions the work in a letter of 21 October 1445:

So, do what you know is necessary. Recently, I wrote a long letter to you On the Misery of Courtiers, but you are now in a position where you do not need such writings. Still, I shall take care that you may see that letter, for great are the worries of those who, as servants of princes, are subject to the miseries of court life, so you will be happy that you have been freed from them. (Letter 188: 7)

His previous works were being individually copied, gaining a remarkable circulation, as witnessed by his letter to Campisio of 21 May 1445:

If Jacopo Calvi has copied my Cinthia,¹ I ask him to have it sent to me. (Letter 168: 9).

¹ A collection of early love poems by Piccolomini.

Following Petrarch's example, the humanists were fond of using the classical literary form of invective, which lent itself easily to their intense conflicts and debates. Though Piccolomini was no stranger to sarcasm and irony, he rarely indulged in this pursuit. An exception, however, is his letter to the chancellor of the Polish Queen Sophia of June 1445.

I do not know who you are and have never seen you nor found anyone who knows you within and on the skin.¹ I trust you are a Christian but do not know how good you are though you, evidently, have little learning. I have recently seen a letter you wrote in the queen's name addressed to the prelates and barons of the illustrious Kingdom of Hungary. It is a stupid, inept and also – I hope you do not take it badly – a malign and wicked letter. ...

However, I do wonder about one thing: she is called Sophia, a Greek word that means "wisdom" in Latin. So, why has she not appointed a well-spoken, eloquent man as her chancellor? When she was young, she had beautiful, golden dresses brought to her from faraway foreign countries. So why does she not, now, seek someone who can dictate elegant letters? A dress is only seen in one's own country, and nobody talks about it outside the kingdom. But letters are looked at carefully in foreign provinces; they come into many hands and are judged by many. If they are elegant, both the authors and the senders are praised, but if they are stupid, they are a great shame to both. You ought to have done better for the queen and yourself and not remain in an office for which you have no greater aptitude than a pig for sitting in a magistrate's chair. Even if you were a doctor or licentiate of law or a specialist in the arts, you should not have become a chancellor, for to dictate letters - the proper function of a chancellor - you do not need those studies but the teachings of Cicero and Quintilian. (Letter 183: 1-2).

1.2.4.4. Humanist relationships

Piccolomini knew of the humanists in Italy and had met some of them on his travels at the end of his university years. He had met Giovanni Aurispa in Ferrara (Letter 2: 1), Maffei Vegio in Pavia (Letter 14a: 1), Lorenzo Valla possibly also in Pavia in 1430 (Letter 48), and Francesco Filelfo whose lectures he may have followed for a period in Firenze (Letters 19, 29 and 74). In Firenze, he may also have met or seen Leonardo Bruni whom he much admired.

For Piccolomini, living in Austria made it difficult to maintain and develop his relationship with these men, though he tried. His missions to Rome in 1445, 1446 and 1447 gave him an excellent opportunity to take contact with the humanists there. In the letter to Campisio of 21 May 1445 written shortly after his return from the first mission to Rome, he asked - though with some diffidence - Campisio to greet Cencio dei Rustici and Poggio Bracciolini from him:

And unless Cencio and Poggio, most learned and eloquent men, scorn my acquaintance (you know how I admire them!), then greet them and recommend me to them. (Letter 168: 10)

¹ Persius: 3, 30

1.2.5. Some lesser themes

1.2.5.1. Marital abuse

Having entered clerical orders and filled with new-found religious zeal, Piccolomini was eager to perform pious works, and when he met a woman who had left her abusive husband, he undertook to reunite them, as God would wish. He recounts the episode in a letter to Heinrich Stotter of October 1446

Among the works of piety, one of the greatest is to reunite a wife with her husband lest they live apart who ought to be united in one flesh. He who separates those united in marriage goes against the divine commands, for it is written that What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.¹ But some husbands are so hard, unkind, cruel and fierce that they do not consider their wife as their companion in the divine and human home, but keep her as a servant or even a vile slave. Now they hurt them in words, now in acts. They hit the poor little women, maul them, torment them and threaten them with death. Therefore, many women leave their husbands, and, with no living, they have commerce with men who take care of them. These women - gentle, fragile and timid - are not to be blamed as much as their husbands, who ought to be more constant and better in all ways.

Now I will briefly say why I write. I recently visited a friend in Franconia, and when I had been for some days in his town, I met a woman, beautiful but little. I had seen her often and spoken with her in Basel, for a colleague of mine was infatuated with her. I asked what she did to subsist and who her lover was. She replied that she lived very well as a seamstress specialising in silken clothes and that she had no lover. She took me to her home and showed me the clothes and things she had made. She has one servant girl, and as far as I could see, they both lived chastely. Then I asked her, "Do you have a husband?" "I wish I did not," she replied, "for as it is now, he and I are living in danger of our souls." When I asked her where her husband was, she said that he was in Basel and was called Hermann Appel. She had not lived with him for several years, for "he is a violent man," she said, "who beat me days and night, sometimes with fists, sometimes with a stick. In the end, he even threatened to kill me, and then I fled." Then I: "Oh, my good woman, if he would now want to take you back and live with you as a husband ought to live with his wife, would you then be willing to return to him?" "Oh, I wish he would," she said, "but I know the man, and he will not do it. He loves another woman, lives with her in his home and has some sons with her." "Well, what do you know?" I said. "Maybe he repents his sin, and if he could get you back, he would receive you with joy, mend his ways and live with you. Do you wish me to inquire how he feels?" She replied, "After I fled him, he often came here, but he did not want me but my possessions. He would come, I think, and take away all I have now - which actually amounts to something. The only thing he would leave me would be the lash and wounds and bruises." "He will not do that," I said, "for I will sound him out through a trustworthy person, and only if it looks good will I persuade him to come to you to take you back and put an end to sin." To this the woman said, "I ask you to do as you propose, for I would be happy to live with my husband so that both his and my soul could gain merit." I partly spoke to her directly and partly through an interpreter.

¹ Matthew, 19: 6.

Now, Reverend Father, I ask you to engage yourself in this work of piety so that - if possible - the woman may be reunited with her husband. Please seek information about this Hermann¹: is he alive? Does he have a concubine? Does he live decently or sinfully? If he still lives in sin and has a concubine at home, then appeal to his conscience and inspire fear in him. Make him see how short, treacherous and uncertain human life is, how certain death awaits him, how uncertain the hour of one's death is, and how eternal bliss is promised to those that live virtuously, whereas eternal punishment, consuming fire and suffering without end is promised to evildoers. Exhort him to come to his senses and return to God, who saved him with his own blood. Persuade him to remember God as long as he lives so that God will remember him when he dies. Convince him to cast out the concubine with whom he lives in sin and take back and keep his legitimate wife, whom he can have with merit so that God will favour him and not abandon him when he needs Him.

It is human to sin, angelic to mend one's ways, and diabolical to persist in sin. Let him finally come to his senses, return to God and say, "I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost: seek thy servant, because I have not forgotten thy commandments."² May he take pity on himself and his banished wife. May he forgive his wife her sins so that his wife forgives his, too. Let him know that he has obligations towards his wife as his wife has obligations towards him. Let him not be proud and say, "But I am a man!" for both men and women are creatures of God. God does not make any distinction³ of the genders, and the Lord was born, suffered and crucified and died both for women and men. If the man is more sensible than his wife, it is fitting that those who know more tolerate the shortcomings of those who know less, for the Apostle Paul commands to "bear ye one another's burdens; and so you shall fulfil the law of Christ." If Hermann follows your advice and agrees to take back his wife, to live with her chastely, piously and respectfully, and to abandon his former violent and odious behaviour, then write quickly back to me, and I shall inform you where the woman is. Her name is Catherine. I shall arrange that she comes to her husband, or, if he wishes to, he can come to her and stay with her there. For she has a decent income from her silk business, and if they are together, they can both live comfortably and contentedly and save their souls as well as their bodies.

In any event, write to me, as soon as possible, how the matter stands with Hermann, what he does and what he intends to do. This I shall consider a special favour. Indeed, I should very much want to be deserving of God by restoring a broken marriage and leading two persons living in sin to the fruits of a praiseworthy life. I do not doubt that this would please God and earn a great reward which you and I will share if you perform this task diligently, prudently, gladly and carefully. (Letter 214).

There is no further mention of this episode in Piccolomini's correspondence, and since Herr Appell seems to have been not a very pleasant fellow - at least towards his lawful wife - Piccolomini hopefully failed in his endeavour to reunite the unhappy couple.

Notice the passage where Piccolomini spoke with the woman *partly ... directly and partly through an interpreter*. This passage would seem to indicate that by 1446, Piccolomini had acquired at least some German.

¹ It is not clear why Piccolomini would ask a parish priest in Plet-

tenberg to seek information about a man apparently living in Basel.

² Psalms, 118: 176.

³ Romans, 10: 10.

1.2.5.2. Portents

In general, Piccolomini was somewhat skeptical concerning portents. In a letter to Leonhard von Velseck of July (?) 1445, he - with many reference to classical authors (see section 1.2.4.1.) - comments on the inundations occurring in Austria/Germany in the summer of 1445. He observes, that it can be difficult to interpret omens since they may at the same time mean something good to some people and something bad to others.

In [Wiener] Neustadt, we have, over the last days, seen such inundations as have not been heard of for many years. You were in Vienna, procuring military equipment and provisions needed for His Royal Majesty's campaign. A storm raged for almost two hours, and it was so violent that the Donau was expected to flow past the walls into the city, and neighbours did not dare to visit neighbours. Hail as big as eggs fell from heaven, lightning was everywhere, and thunder was heard. At the same time, the small stream that runs past Vienna's walls swelled so much that it carried off several houses with the fathers and their families. At Straubing in Bavaria, the tempest killed both cattle and men. Many fields adjoining rivers lost both crops and soil. God¹ sent much dire snow and hail from Heaven, and smiting with his red right hand the tops of the temples, he filled castles, people and cities with terror, and men were fearing that there should come again the gruesome age of Pyrrha and Deucalion, or, as ours would say, Noah. Then, the flood overflowed the high mountains.² Then, marvels strange were seen on Earth. Then, Proteus, god of the sea - as the pagans³ claimed - drove all his herd of fishes to visit the lofty mountains. Then whales lodged in elm-tops that till then had the wonted haunt of doves. And then, terror-stricken does swam in the waters overflowing the earth.

When Augustus was emperor, the yellow Tiber, its waves hurled back, inundated the Tuscan coast and reached King Numa Pompilius' Memorial and Vesta's shrines, as it often did afterwards, which is shown by inscriptions on stones at the Brothers of Minerva in Rome.⁴ Then, the Romans feared that the river, like a God, wanted to avenge the death of Julius to console Ilia, the mother of Romulus and Remus, from whose line Caesar descended. Some thought that Ilia (or Rhea), a vestal virgin, gave birth after being raped by Tiber, though it was more commonly thought to have been Mars. Thus, the fond river-god was believed to avenge the crime.⁵ People surmise that the inundation portended the later civil wars when Augustus fought Antonius at Actium, Brutus and Cassius in Greece, and Sextus Pompejus in Sicily.

But we, Leonhard, peering into the future,⁶ what do we say this inundation means? Unusual events always portend something terrible. But, no evil is universal: that which harms one man profits another. Emperor Friedrich has now taken his army against the Hungarians. Many enemies have been caught and hanged, as is done with robbers. The terrified enemies are suing for peace. The conflict will be settled now unless the parties disagree. This is what I think the storm portended. (Letter 175).

¹ The following passages quote heavily from Horatius: *Carmina*, 1: 2.

² Genesis, 7: 17-19.

³ The heathen authors of Antiquity.

⁴ The Convent of the Dominicans with the Church of Santa Minerva in Rome.

⁵ Caesar's murder.

⁶ Silius Italicus: *Punica*, 1: 679.

1.2.5.3. Epistolary communication

In an age of epistolary communication over distances, the messenger was a tantamount importance. In a letter to Campistio of December 1445, Piccolomini describes one such, a professional papal messenger named Guido, whose constant travels to all parts of Europe (or maybe mostly to Northern and Central Europe) made him a precious source of information:

The messenger Guido has finally brought me your letter. He had first taken it with him to Cologne and then carried it through all the Belgian region. Considering the length of the travel, you will be surprised that it has reached me so quickly. Considering the dangers on the road, it is astonishing that it could reach me at all. With regard to the length of the travel, Guido should be commended for his quickness, and with regard to the dangers, for his diligence, and with regard to both, for his faithfulness. But I believe he was helped by his eloquence that enabled him to soften the fierce robbers, and also - much - by his clothes showing him to be a poor man. For a traveller who is empty-handed can sing in the mugger's face.¹ Whatever the cause, I am grateful to him for delivering your letter to me and for telling me all that is happening in Italy. He will do the same for you when he returns from Germany, and from him, you will hear all that the people in Rhineland, the Bavarians, the Austrians, the Bohemians, the Saxons and the Poles are doing, and he will even tell you about the Prussians and the Lithuanians. And if you want to know about Denmark and Norway and the island of Scantia, mother of barbarous peoples, that the Goths left to invade the whole earth, and what happens there, you may just ask Guido, and it will be as easy for him to answer as for you to ask. Indeed, speaking is easy for the eloquent and knowledgeable man. Guido's eloquence is great, but his knowledge is even greater. You will not question him in vain - such is his knowledge of everything. There are many cracks in it, and news continuously flows from his mouth and is thrust even upon those not asking. This is enough about Guido: hearing him, you will no longer need my letters! (Letter 197:1).

One of the dangers to messengers on the road was robbers, a plague on letter carriers - and international trade and travel, as Piccolomini lamented in a letter to Jan Tuschek in Prague (end of 1445 / beg. of 1446):

Recently, I sent you a letter thanking you for the Bible you sent me. I gave the money to our noble knight, Prokop. But some say that the letter I wrote to you and another that I sent to Johann Schindel, philosopher and foremost astronomer of our time, never arrived in Bohemia, for the messenger fell among robbers who took not only the money but also the letters. May the heavenly beings destroy such robbers, who not only seek gain² for themselves but harm others with no profit for themselves. Those are the men who hinder the transportation of goods from one place to another, cause shortages, start wars, break the bonds of human society and do not allow commerce between the provinces.

If travelling were safe and the seas not infested by pirates and forests and fields not beset by brigands, the Italians would often go to Germany and the Germans to Italy. All necessities of human life [produced] in the East would be brought to the West, and likewise, the Westerners would not refuse to send their wares to the East. The whole world would become one community, and it would be pleasant and delightful to visit now one region, now another.

¹ Juvenalis, 10: 22.

² The money.

Indeed, had it been safer to travel to you, I would already have visited Bohemia and seen Prague, famous and principal city in all of Germany, with its temples, houses, castles, bridges, university, and men, and I would have studied the customs of this people. But robbers' horrid wickedness has prevented me and even my letters from reaching [Prague] and forbidden me to speak with Tuschek, Schindel and any other friend there by letter. Oh, how I wish that these bandits would fall into my hands! I should not be afraid of extreme measures, for what can be more pious than to chastise the impious, and what can be more just than to punish the unjust, and what can be more innocent than to oppose the endeavours of wicked men? Indeed, no sacrificial offering is more pleasing to God than when criminals are punished and robbers crucified or tortured on the wheel.¹ (Letter 202: 1-3)

2. Text²

2.1. Manuscripts

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

In some cases, when the manuscript basis for the collation was deemed insufficient, also an incunabula edition (KOB) was used

- **Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)**
 Chis. J.VI.208a.^{3 4} (V2a)
 Chis. J.VI.208b. (V2b)⁵
 Chis. J.VII.251 (V8)
 Chis. J.VIII.287.^{6 7}(V3)
 Urb. Lat. 402.⁸ (V4)
 Vat. lat. 12504 (V1)⁹
- **Dresden / Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB)**
 F.172c.
- **Hall / Franziskanerarchiv**
 Urkunde 95¹⁰

¹ This bloodthirstiness, quite uncharacteristic of Piccolomini, shows the extent of his frustration.

² Only manuscripts and editions used in the present volume are listed. For a comprehensive list of manuscripts and editions of Piccolomini's letters, see vol. 1.

³ 1447. Paper. HE, p. 7; WO, 1: 1, p. xiv.

⁴ https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_C_hig.I.VI.208

⁵ 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).

⁶ C. 1460. Paper.

⁷

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

⁸ C. 1460. Vellum. Copy executed for the duke of Urbino.

⁹

https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_V_at.lat.12504

¹⁰ Containing a letter to Johann von Eich of 1 July 1445, not in

- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB)**¹
clm 70.¹ (M3)
clm 5311 (M4)
clm 12725² (M1)
clm 14134³ (M2)
- **München / Universitätsbibliothek (MUB)**
2o, 667, ff. 122v-; 273v-.
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF)**
Lat. 1034⁴
- **Praha / Národní knihovna České republiky (NKC)**
XXIII, F 112.⁵ (L) *
- **Schwaz / Franziskanerkloster (SCH)**
Urkunde 95
- **Vorau / Stiftsbibliothek (VOS)**
35 *

2.2. Editions

- *Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis.* Edit. Nicolaus de Wyle. Nürnberg: Antonius Koberger, 1481. [With later editions of 1486 and 1496⁶]. [ISTC ip00717000, ip00719000; ip00720000]. (KO)⁷
- Märzl, Claudia: *Neue Texte aus dem Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini (vor 1450).* In: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 73 (2017) 167-192.⁸
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Wolkan. Autograph. Digitised version kindly supplied by the Franziskanerarchiv.

¹ 14. October 1460. Paper.

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

³ 1448. Paper.

⁴

https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bt_v1b10032508r/f1.item.zoom

⁵ (prev. Lobkowitz, 462). C. 1445. Paper HE, p. 6; WO, 1: 1, p. viii..

⁶ <https://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00043819/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00043819&seite=1>

⁷ This edition appears to be based on V2b (*See Letter 154*)

⁸

https://www.digizeitschriften.de/id/345858735_0073%7CLOG_0015?tify=%7B%22view%22:%22info%22,%22pages%22:%5B1%5D%7D

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¹
<https://www.digital.wienbibliothe>

[k.at/wbrobv/content/titleinfo/3081287](https://www.digital.wienbibliothe.k.at/wbrobv/content/titleinfo/3081287)

² <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hprints-00492242>.

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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>

⁴
<https://www.digizeitschriften.de>

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¹
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[dia/gregorio-loli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclope/dia/gregorio-loli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)

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

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Pius II: *Orationes*.

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- *Collected orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schoenberg. 12 vols. 2019.²
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¹
<http://www.rilune.org/images/mono7/Pinotti.pdf>

² Available in HAL Archives.
³
<https://hal.science/search/index?q>

=collected+orations+piccolomini
+2

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

4. Sigla and abbreviations

Manuscripts

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

M1 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 12725

M2 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 14134

M3 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70

M4 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 53

V1 = 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.

¹ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb1115>

6982?q=%28szalay+%29&page=12,13

Early editions

KO = *Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis*. Edit. Nicolaus de Wyle. Nürnberg: Antonius Koberger, 1481. [With later editions of 1486 and 1496].

Libraries

AAV = Archivio Apostolico Vaticano

BRB = Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana

BSV = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

GSB = Gottweih / Stiftsbibliothek

HAB = Wolfenbüttel

MSB = Melk Stiftsbibliothek

MUB = München Universitätsbibliothek

ÖNB = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

SCH = Schwaz / Franziskanerkloster (SCH)

SLUB = Dresden / Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

TSB = Trier Stadtbibliothek

VOS = Voralpe / Stiftsbibliothek

Works

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

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].

- Enee Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii II *de Europa*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2001. (Studi e testi; 398).
- Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Europe (c. 1400-1458)*. Ed. by Nancy Bisaha. Transl. by Robert Brown. Washington, DC, 2013.

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

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

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

KOB = *Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis*. Edit. Nicolaus de Wyle. Nürnberg: Antonius Koberger, 1481. [With later editions of 1486 and 1496].

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).

Others

* As collated by Wolkan / Heck or others.

** Lead manuscript.

BCE = Before Common Era

CE = Common Era

Editions A = Editions 15th to 18th c.

Editions B = Modern critical editions

II. TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

166. Letter to Leonhard Laiming (c. 24 May 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 139v-140r¹ **; M2, ff. 78v-79r².

Editions A: KOB, 98³.

Editions B HE, 168, pp. 425-426; WO, 1: 1, 168, pp. 491-492; (both based on M1).

Translations: RE, 55, pp. 208-210.

{139v} Episcopo Pataviensi.⁴ Reverendissime pater⁵, post humilem recommendationem et obsequiorum meorum perpromptam exhibitionem.

[1] Speravi meo in reditu paternitatem vestram reverendissimam apud Viennam comperisse, quod mihi jucundissimum fuisset, ut de rebus ecclesiae nonnullisque aliis contulisset, ac propterea familiari meo Johanni, quem ad ecclesiam destinavi meam, nihil litterarum commisi vestrae reverendissimae paternitati consignandarum. At nunc, cum oratores regii Pataviam sint petituri dignationemque vestram allocuturi, statui pauca scribere, quibus memoriam vestri ex me non posse deleri sciatis. Nec enim is sum, qui beneficiorum acceptorum ullo tempore valeam oblivisci, namque scio⁶ non esse viros nec etiam homines sed atroces immanesque feras, qui non his⁷ semper afficiuntur⁸, a quibus beneficia receperunt. Stulti quidam fugiunt eos⁹, qui de se bene meriti sunt eorumque conspectum horrent, quibus rependere vices nequeunt. Quidam vero plus humanitatis habentes benefactores¹⁰ suos assidue comitantur et gratitudinem, quam¹¹ factis praestare nequeunt, verbis ostendunt, nec absurde. Nemo est enim tam pauper, ut benefactori suo gratus esse non possit, quia nec auro nec argento ceterisque rebus pretiosis gratitudo praestatur, sed animo. Animus autem tam mendico quam opulento bonus esse potest. Hunc ut ex me suscipiat¹² vestra reverendissima paternitas, supplex oro. Scio me plus debere quam possim persolvere. Sed hoc me scire species¹³ est quaedam solutionis. Meae facultates, corpus meum, vita ac postremo animus in vestra potestate sunt. Nihil in his amplius juris habeo, sic me vestris beneficiis devinctum tenetis. Sed de his alias.

[2] Nunc pauca dicenda sunt de statu Romane curiae. Caput illius Eugenius fuit, dum ad eum veni, satis sospes, si possunt senes esse sospites. In meo recessu podagra cyragraque debilior factus est. Petitioni regiae non annuit, concilium namque in Alamannia nec dedit nec daturus est. Si quid aliud regia majestas cupivisset, optata retulisset. Sed nihil postulatum est, nisi quod pacem ecclesiae concernebat, quamvis ille non pacem sed majorem quaeri seditionem diceret.

¹ SV, 283-284

² SV, 164-165

³ DV, 58v

⁴ Episcopo Pataviensi : reverendissimo patri domino Leonardo, episcopo Pataviensi Eneas Silvius etc M2, KO

⁵ etc. M1

⁶ namque scio : scio nanque M2,

KO

⁷ is M2

⁸ et *add.* M2

⁹ eo M2

¹⁰ nequeunt quidam ... benefactores *omit.* M2

¹¹ in *add.* KO

¹² suscipias M2

¹³ spes M2, KO

166. Letter to Leonhard Laiming (c. 24 May 1445,¹ Vienna).

Context: Piccolomini took care to cultivate his benefactor, Bishop Laiming of Passau, who had granted him a fat benefice, the parish of Haspach, thus ensuring him a decent livelihood. Since the previous letter, Piccolomini had been on his first diplomatic mission for the emperor, to Pope Eugenius IV in Rome, to persuade him to agree to a new council to settle the schism in the Church. The mission was unsuccessful.

Subject: Piccolomini expresses his gratitude to the bishop and informs him of his recent mission to Rome.

To the Bishop of Passau.² Most Reverend Father. After humble recommendation and the expression of my readiness to serve.

[1] When I returned,³ I had hoped to find Your Most Reverend Paternity in Vienna, which would have given me the great pleasure of being able to report to you on ecclesiastical and some other affairs. This is why I sent my familiar Johann⁴ to my church⁵ without a letter for Your Most Reverend Paternity. But now that royal envoys will go to Passau to confer with Your Grace, I have decided to write something to let you know that nothing can erase your memory [from my mind]. For I am not one to ever forget favours received,⁶ and I know that those not devoted to their benefactors are not men but wild and savage animals. Only fools avoid those who have done them favours and fear the presence of those whose kindness they cannot repay. Men of better character assiduously attend their benefactors. If they cannot show their gratitude in acts, then they do it in words, and rightly so, for nobody is so poor that he cannot be grateful to a benefactor even though the gratitude cannot be shown with gold, silver or other precious things but only with the soul. The soul can be good whether you are rich or poor, so I humbly beg Your Most Reverend Paternity to accept my soul from me. I know I owe you more than I can ever repay, but to know this is in itself a form of repayment. My talents, my body, my life and, ultimately, my soul are in your power. I no longer own them as I am entirely in your debt for your favours. But [more] about this another time.

[2] Now I shall say something about the state of the Roman Curia. Its head is Eugenius,⁷ and when I came to him, he was as healthy as old men can be. When I left, he was weakened by an attack of podagra and gout in the hands. He did not approve the king's⁸ petition⁹ and did not and will not authorise a council in Germany. If His Royal Majesty had asked for anything else, he would have obtained it. But nothing was requested except what concerned the peace of the Church, and Eugenius replied that what was requested¹⁰ was not peace but a major rebellion.¹¹

¹ After Genzsch. WO has Anfang Mai.

² Leonhard Laiming von (1381-1451): Prince-bishop of Passau from 1424 to his death.

³ From Rome, where Piccolomini stayed from January to March 1445. He left on 1 April.

⁴ Johann Steinhof von Plettenberg: Member of Piccolomini's household, mentioned in the *Commentarii*: Johannes Steynofius Theutonicus 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.

⁵ Sankt Maria in Haspach, a benefice given to Piccolomini by Bishop Laiming.

⁶ Among these favours was the grant of the benefice of the Parish of Aspach, see VO, 2: pp. 293-294. See also Piccolomini's oration to his parishioners in Has-

pach, the "*Non est apud me dubium*" of 1445 (COR, 3: 6).

⁷ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death.

⁸ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (Styria). Elected emperor in 1440 and crowned in Rome in 1452.

⁹ For a new council to be held in Germany to settle the schism in the Church.

¹⁰ A new council.

¹¹ Against papal authority.

[3] Rex Aragonum similtates primo, post apertum odium cum Eugenio habuit, et ne quid ex regno in urbem veheretur, prohibuit. At haec ante meum ex curia recessum composita sunt et in gratiam utrimque rursus ventum est.

[4] Panormitanus apud ecclesiam suam cum taedio vitam expuit. Cardinales in curia plures sunt, sed non ut solebant divites, nam et omnia officia diminuta sunt et advocatorum praesertim, ac propterea ex his quidam aliis se¹ rebus exercent. Genesius de la Porta jam in legationibus quaestum facit, nec enim nunc Romae fuit, quia Tridentum missus erat. Forsitan non sic ei succedit mortua conjuge sicut antea, dum illa vixit. Multi enim hunc in advocatum patronumque habuere, ut ipsum domi convenirent² et mulierem honesta facie ac sermone blando possent alloqui. Fuit namque magni ingenii femina, quae nunc modesto, nunc molli, nunc procaci utebatur oratione, in cujus facetiis atque salibus plurimus³ lepos inerat. Sed haec, dum ex Novaria Romam petere destinata⁴, prius morbo absumpta est, quam itineri se committeret. Vir ejus et conjugem simul et amicitias et eloquentiam perdidit. Nec ex Roma plus est, quod queam scribere.

[5] De filio ducis Venetiarum non⁵ ambigo vestram reverendissimam paternitatem aliquid audisse⁶, qui Venetias fugiens Tergestum venit. Fama est eum reipublicae consilia Mediolanensium duci revelasse ac propterea laesae majestatis crimine damnatus est. Reliqua in adventum vestrum reservo, me meosque interim vestrae reverendissimae paternitati commendans, cui non minus avide parerem requisitus, quam qui eidem reverendissimae paternitati astant assidue⁷.

Ex Vienna⁸ etc.

¹ in *add.* M2

² convenire HE, WO

³ plurimis aliter *add.* M2; plurimis KO

⁴ festinat KO, HE, WO

⁵ noui KO

⁶ audiuisse KO

⁷ astant astant : astant assidue KO

⁸ Ex Vienna : valete M2, KO

[3] The King of Aragon¹ had some disagreements with Eugenius, which developed into open enmity, causing the king to forbid exports from the Kingdom² to the City.³ But before I left the curia, the conflict was settled and mutual goodwill restored.⁴

[4] Panormitano⁵ has died,⁶ full of grief, in his diocese.⁷ There are several cardinals at the curia, but they are no longer wealthy. All the curial offices have shrunk, especially that of the advocates, and therefore, many have to seek other occupations. Genesio della Porta⁸ has to make a living out of various missions,⁹ and he was not in Rome,¹⁰ having been sent on a mission to Trient. Now that his wife has died, he may not be as prosperous as he was when she was alive, for many then employed him as an advocate and patron in order to meet him at home and converse with his beautiful and fair-spoken wife. She was, indeed, a highly intelligent woman, who spoke now modestly, now pleasantly and now boldly, and her delightful humour and salient wit had great charm. But as she was preparing to go from Novara to Rome, she died before she could leave. Thus, her husband, at the same time, lost both his wife, his friends and eloquence. I have nothing more to report from Rome.

[5] Concerning the son¹¹ of the doge of Venice,¹² I am sure Your Most Reverend Paternity has heard he has fled Venice and come to Trieste. Rumour has it that he revealed some secret plans of the [Venetian] republic to the Duke of Milan¹³ and has, therefore, been condemned for a crime against majesty.¹⁴ The other news I shall keep for your arrival. In the meantime, I recommend myself and mine to Your Most Reverend Paternity, whom I would serve as fervently as those continuously with Your Most Reverend Paternity.

From Vienna.

¹ Alfonso V (Aragón) (1396-1458): King of Aragón from 1416, Count of Barcelona. King of Naples from 1442 to his death. See DVI, ch. 27.

² Kingdom of Naples.

³ Rome.

⁴ In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote about this conflict: *He promised help to Eugenius against Count Francesco [Sforza] and actually provided it, regaining many territories lost by the Church and restoring them to the Roman Pontiff. Later, he had a new conflict with Eugenius: having been promised the coronation and the enfeoffment with the kingdom, he wanted even more, which Eugenius would not grant. Then Alfonso ordered an embargo on vicinals for Rome, intending by this means to bend Eugenius to his will, for everything became expensive in Rome. But this measure hurt himself more than the pope*

since his subjects lost on what they had stored for later sales. So, concord was restored, and the articles of peace were renewed (DVI, sect. 210).

⁵ Niccolò Tedeschi (1386-1445): Archbishop of Palermo 1435 to his death. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V in 1440. See DVI, ch. 4.

⁶ 24 February 1445, while Piccolomini was in Rome.

⁷ In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote: *On his deathbed, he greatly lamented that, at the urging of his nephews, he had deserted the truth of the council* (DVI, sect. 7).

⁸ Genesio de la Porta da Novara: Milanese jurist, doctor utriusque juris. Consistorial advocate, appointed by Eugenius IV.

⁹ Presumably for the pope.

¹⁰ During Piccolomini's stay.

¹¹ Jacopo Foscari (bef. 1416-1457): Only surviving son of

Francesco Foscari, Doge of Venice. Died in exile.

¹² Francesco Foscari (1373-1457): Doge of Venice from 1423 to a few days before his death. He was a driving force in the Venetian political and territorial reorientation towards the mainland (*terra ferma*). Piccolomini wrote an epitaph for Foscari, whom he evidently admired, see Piccolomini: *Carmina*, p. 137

¹³ Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447): Duke of Milan from 1412 to his death.

¹⁴ In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote: *His only son came under suspicion. When he heard the guards arrive - one of his servants, who was party to his plans, had already been arrested and taken away to be tortured - he boarded a rapid ship with 40 oarsmen and fled to Trieste with much gold* (DVI, sect. 67).

167. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (8 May 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 142v-143r¹ **.

Editions A: KOB, 98².

Editions B: HE, 169, pp. 426-428; WO, 1: 1, 169, pp. 493-494.

{142v} Johannes Campisius doctissimo poetae domino Aeneae Silvio, regio secretario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Fuisti, Aenea mi, non minus prudens in hac quam in ceteris rebus soleas, quod redeundum tibi potius ad regem et dominum tuum censuisti, quam necessarium tibi esse duxeris Mediolanum priusquam ad privata rerum tuarum negotia proficisci, maluisti que pudori et famae cedere quam tuae utilitatis rationem ducere. Nam, ut scimus, tu kalendis Aprilis hinc abscessisti, Carvajal vero biduo post te secutus est. Qua ex re fiebat certe honoris tui et famae jactura nimia, si ad rationes precesque medici Mediolanum divertisses et pro privatis rebus tuis, quamvis tibi forte non parvis, publica tanti momenti postposuisses. Recte ergo cuncta me teste provida mente praevidisti.

[2] Ego vero jam triduo mandatum tuum feci, nam cum ex reverendissimo patre nostro, episcopo Novariensi, litteras accepissem, per eum ipsum tabellarum, qui te apud Turrin Vaccani obvium habuit, a quo et ipse litteras ex eodem patre accepisti de rebus non aliis, ut arbitror, quam meae fuerint, per eundem illum tabellarium {143r} ad se redeuntem, multis, ut oportuit, rescripsi, in quibus litteris excusationem tuam accuratissime feci adeo, ut nihil accuratius a me factum jam diu meminerim. Is, ut ad te quoque illum scripsisse puto, brevi tempore in curiam se recipiet et jam multis, qui hic sui sumus, multa mandata dedit, ut sunt illi multa saepe agenda et homo est ingenio ad multa valido atque aptissimo. [*cont.*]

¹ SC, 289-290

² DV, f. 58v

167. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (8 May 1445, Vienna).

- Context:* Piccolomini's first diplomatic mission for the emperor was a visit to Pope Eugenius IV in February-March 1445. The purpose of the mission was to request a new council to settle the schism in the Church. The pope denied the petition, and Piccolomini left Rome on 1 April. He had to return speedily to the imperial court with the news of the pope's reaction. On his way back, he visited the Marquess of Ferrara¹ but did not go to Milan, where a physician, for unknown reasons, had invited him to come. His speedy return to Austria prevented him from meeting with Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti, who, at the time, was manoeuvring to become appointed a cardinal by Pope Eugenius.
- Subject:* Campisio praises Piccolomini for returning directly to the emperor instead of going to Milan on private business. Had he done that, he would have arrived back at the imperial court after the arrival of the pope's representative, which would have been quite embarrassing. Campisio also informs Piccolomini that he had written to Bishop Visconti to excuse his absence. In veiled terms, he refers to an affair touching the bishop, which would probably have been his hoped-for appointment as a cardinal. At the end of the letter, Campisio, with humorous exaggeration, relates the disappointment of Pippa, probably a courtesan, that Johann Steinhof, a familiar of Piccolomini, had left Rome without saying goodbye to her.²

Giovanni Campisio sends many greetings to the most learned poet, Enea Silvio, royal secretary.

[1] My dear Enea, in this matter,³ you have been your usually prudent self, choosing to return directly to your king and lord rather than going to Milan on private business. Thus you put honour⁴ and reputation above personal advantage. For, as we know, you left Rome on 1 April, and Carvajal⁵ followed you two days afterwards. If you had gone via Milan - as that physician⁶ had asked you to for various reasons - and preferred your private affairs⁷ (important as they may have been to you) to the urgent public matters⁸ you were engaged in, it would seriously have damaged your honour and reputation. But you showed proper discernment and foresight.

[2] Three days ago, I fulfilled the charge you had laid upon me: a letter from our Most Reverend Father, the Bishop of Novara,⁹ was brought to me by the same messenger who met you at the Torre Vaccani and from whom you received a letter from the said Father, presumably on the same matter as mine. As the messenger was returning to his master, I gave him a long letter for the bishop in which I made such careful¹⁰ excuses for you¹¹ that I do not remember when I last wrote something so carefully. The bishop will shortly return to the curia - as I believe he has also written to you - and he has given many tasks to his many friends here, as he is always involved in many affairs and, moreover, is a man of keen and versatile intelligence. [*cont.*]

¹ See DVI, sect. 52-53.

² Van Heck was not satisfied with the Latin of this letter: *Latinitas huius epistolae mihi non plana est.*

³ It is not clear from the context what matter precisely Campisio is referring to.

⁴ "pudor".

⁵ Juan Carvajal (c. 1400-1469): Spanish papal official and diplo-

mat. 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.

⁶ Van Heck notes that this physician was Ugo Benzi, but that is impossible as Benzi had died in 1439.

⁷ Possibly the provostship of San Lorenzo.

⁸ The settlement of the Church schism.

⁹ Bartolomeo Visconti [Aicardi] (1402-1457): Bishop of Novara 1429 to his death. Later employer and friend of Piccolomini. See DVI, ch. 5.

¹⁰ "accurate"

¹¹ Campisio excused Piccolomini to the bishop for not having been able to attend him.

[cont.] Credo, fuerit ei huc venisse non inutile, nam ut ad finem suarum ad me litterarum adjecit, dominus Stephanus Varsinus, sanctissimi domini nostri cubicularius, de cujus moribus et ingenio nobili ac vitae modestia et quam sit in sermone gravis plurima tibi mecum otioso dixi, eidem domino episcopo consilium per litteras dedit, omnino non negligat, quin in celebritate Ascensionis Romae se comperiat. Hujus consilii causam arbitror me scire. Tu, si memor es verborum, quae tibi aperui, fuisse mihi ab ipso Varsino de episcopo nostro dicta et quantum paternitati suae homo ille afficitur quantumque ipsi Varsino fidei idem episcopus habeat, ejusdem quoque consilii causam mecum intelliges. Gaudeo ac praestolor avide ejus adventum, quo tam laetor, quantum fui digressu Aeneae veteris confusus amici.

[3] Sed ut finem his faciam, neque enim modo multa scribere constitui, Pippa laceratis ipsa capillis multis caelum questibus implet ac duritiem Johannis Steinhof sine modo accusat, nec ulla valet apud se excusatio. Conqueri non satis potest potuisse illum se insalutata recedere. “Non sum,” inquit, “ignara oportuisse me aliquando ejus aspectum carere et nunc, rebus heri sui et fati meis ita exigentibus, fuisse illum in patriam revocatum nec tam sponte sua quam invitum has meis vicinas aedes et me miseram simul deseruisse. At saltem, ut ajunt, salutandus illi fuit hospes potuitque illud valedicere ac me verbis vel paucis consolari. Ego illi si nihil aliud saltem mandata dedissem.” Haec et plura quæstæ est mihi de suo Steinhof, si mihi credis. Pippa itaque illum nonnumquam prae dolore vere Steinhof et duro ex *silice natum* vocitat et cetera, quae irati solent amantes. Quare si ulla est viris ullis pietas, si pius es Aeneas, adducendus tibi est Steinhof et, si non nomen at saltem animum mutet, et quod verbis coram facere neglexit, id absens per litteras efficiat. Indulgebis tamen, Aenea mi, vir gravissime, si haec levius fortassis his litteris inserui, quae ad ipsum Steinhof honestius ac familiariter scribere potui, nam nec ista scripsi ex abundantia otii, quippe qui vix fui hoc anno tam multis et his quidem molestissimis occupationibus implicitus. Sed cum scribere statuissem aliquid ad Steinhof nostrum, placuit id ipsum potius ad te scribere, qui illum tuis verbis de nimia duritie moneres ac prius me ludentem rideres.

Datum Romae, die 8. Maji 1445.

[cont.] I believe it must be expedient for him to come here, for - as he wrote at the end of his letter to me - Stefano Varsino, chamberlain of Our Most Holy Lord¹ (during a calm moment, I told you much about his excellent character and intelligence, his modesty of life and dignified speech) had written to him and advised him to ensure that he would be in Rome on the Feast of Ascension. I believe I know the reason.² If you remember what I told you, Varsino had said how greatly he estimates His Paternity³ and how much the bishop trusts Varsino, so you will understand the reason for his advice.⁴ I am now looking forward to the bishop's arrival as much as I was saddened by the departure of my old friend Enea.

[3] I shall finish this letter, for I had decided not to write much for now. Pippa is tearing out her hair and filling Heaven with complaints, ceaselessly accusing Johann Steinhof⁵ of cruelty. She accepts no excuse and cannot lament enough that he could leave her without saying farewell. "I knew," she says, "that a time would come when I would no longer see him, and now the affairs of his master⁶ and my fates have decided that he be recalled to his country. So, it is not because he wished it himself that he left both the house next to mine and poor me. But - as they say - he should have greeted his host, said farewell to me, and consoled me with a few words. Then, at least, I could have given him a proper sendoff.⁷" Such, if you believe me, are her complaints about Steinhof. She often calls him truly *made of hard stone*⁸ and other such things as angry lovers say. Therefore, if there is any decency among men and if you are a *pious Enea*,⁹ you should summon Steinhof and make him change his mind (not his name¹⁰) and, while absent, do in letters what he failed to do in words while present. You will forgive me, dear Enea, most serious of men, for including such a frivolous matter in this letter when it would have been more honest and kind to write to Steinhof himself. However, I did not have much leisure to write, for this year, I have been occupied with many most arduous matters. I had actually decided to write something to our Steinhof himself, but then I preferred to write to you instead so that you could laugh at my jesting and afterwards rebuke him for his great cruelty.

Given in Rome, 8 May 1445.

¹ Pope Eugenius IV.

² There was the possibility that Visconti would be named a cardinal.

³ Visconti.

⁴ The pope's chamberlain, Varsino, apparently supported Visconti's bid for the cardinalate, which was, however, destined to fail. In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote: "*When I returned [from Scotland], I did not want to join Eugenius in Bologna, [fearing] that he*

might blame me for the actions of Novara. So, I stayed long in Basel and took part in all [the council's] actions against Eugenius Later, I was engaged as a secretary by Felix, newly elected pope. When he proceeded to appoint cardinals, I worked successfully for Novara's appointment as a cardinal. However, when things later changed, and all abandoned Felix and rejected his papacy, I took myself to Emperor Friedrich, not wanting

to pass directly from one party to the other. Novara renounced his cardinalate in the hope of being reappointed by Eugenius, but he is still hoping (DVI, sect. 12).

⁵ Johann Steinhof von Plettenberg.

⁶ Piccolomini.

⁷ "mandata"

⁸ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 3: 6, 12.

⁹ Cf. Vergilius: *Aeneas*, 9: 493.

¹⁰ Wordplay on Steinhof's name.

168. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (21 May 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 137r-138v¹ **.

Editions B: HE, 170, pp. 428-433; WO, 1: 1, 170, pp. 495-499.

Translations: ME, 56, pp. 211-217.

{137r} Aeneas Silvius [Johanni Campisio²]. Amantissime frater.

[1] Multa essent modo scribenda, si occupationes sinerent, quae etsi non sunt magnae, mihi tamen ad pauca nato ingentes videntur. Dabis itaque veniam tuo Aeneae, si non, quae vellet, sed, quae potest, scribit. Incipiam ab Hungaria, mendaciorum matre, quamvis Polonia fecundior sit. Illic praelati et barones ceterique regni accolae apud Budam convenerunt trans Danubium. Palatinus enim, qui arcem tenebat, adhuc partem regis Poloniae fovens, noluit eos in Novam Budam intromittere. De hoc conventu jam tibi Romae nonnihil dixeram. In eo communi consensu vocatus est in regem Ladislaus, Alberti filius, adjectumque est, ut per Romanorum regem consignari Hungaris cum corona debeat, venturique sunt huc oratores regni propediem petaturi regem et, quas inter se leges dixerunt, exposituri. Plurima namque inter eos decreta sunt et ad resistendum Teucris et ad pacem in regno tenendam utilia et necessaria, et quamvis Romanorum rex non credatur puerum traditurus, concordia tamen nihilominus speratur. Non enim, quae partes petunt, omnia fiunt, sed per transactionem plurima componuntur. Ea vero, quae in regno Hungariae conclusa sunt, centum sigillis et amplius firmata sunt.

[2] Nunc cur Hungariam mendaciorum matrem nuncupaverim, exponendum est, ne mihi ipsi derogare videar meisque scriptis adimere fidem. Non dixi matrem mendaciorum Hungariam, tamquam ipsa mendax sit - hoc enim aliorum esse iudicium volo et tui, qui apud hosce homines pluribus annis versatus es - sed idcirco matrem dixi mendaciorum, quia ex ejus ventre infinita mendacia manant et ipsa quasi materia quaedam mendaciorum est. Nam dum nuper Romae forem, scis quam multa exinde mendacia conscriberentur: Nunc enim succubuisse Poloniae regem et omnem ejus exercitum esse prostratum, nunc vicisse illum et imperatorem Teucrorum cum omni militia interemptum ac Andrinopolim captam et ibi Christiano cultu fieri divina referebatur. Quidam occidisse in bello Poloniae regem, dum viriliter suos hortatur ac rem manu gerit. Quidam fugisse illum accepto vulnere et in Bulgaria mortuum. Quidam captum fuisse ac exinde truncatum capite, quod et Caramano Tartarorum principi, quia sororius est magni Teucris, missum esset. [*cont.*]

¹ SC, 278-281

² *em.* HE, WO

168. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (21 May 1445, Vienna).

Context: During his visit to Rome in February-March 1445, Piccolomini had made acquaintance with important men, especially cardinals, whose friendship he would henceforth cultivate, partly through letters to Campisio with news from the empire, destined for a wider audience at the papal curia.

Subject: Piccolomini reports on the situation in Hungary after the defeat of the crusader army at Varna and on recent negotiations between the Hungarians and the Bohemians on the one side and the emperor on the other concerning Ladislaus the Posthumous' accession to the kingship.

Enea Silvio [to Giovanni Campisio]. Beloved brother.

[1] I would have many things to write to you now if my occupations allowed it, for though they may not be great, they seem immense to me, born as I am to small affairs. So you will forgive your Enea if he does not write what he should like but what he can. I shall begin with Hungary, mother of lies (even though Poland is even more fertile in that regard). The prelates, barons and other subjects of the kingdom met in Buda across the Danube,¹ for the Palatine,² who held the castle and still favoured the party of the King of Poland,³ did not want to admit them to New Buda. I already told you about this meeting when in Rome. In this assembly, Ladislaus,⁴ son of Albrecht,⁵ was unanimously called to the kingship with the stipulation that the King of the Romans⁶ should turn him over to the Hungarians, and the crown with him.⁷ Ambassadors from the kingdom are expected here any day to request their king and set forth their conditions, for they also made many decisions useful and necessary about resisting the Turks and keeping peace in the kingdom. They do not really expect the King of the Romans to hand over the boy, but nonetheless they hope for some kind of agreement, for though they will not get all they want, many things may be settled by negotiation. The decisions made in the Kingdom of Hungary were confirmed by 100 or more seals.

[2] Now I must explain why I called Hungary the mother of lies lest I appear to contradict myself and undermine the credibility of my written statements. I did not call Hungary the mother of lies in the sense that she herself is mendacious - such judgments are for others to make, including you, who stayed with these men for some years.⁸ No, I said so because infinite lies flow from her womb as if she herself provided the substance of the lies. When, recently, I was in Rome,⁹ you know how many lies came from Hungary. According to some, the King of Poland had succumbed, and all his army was crushed, whereas others claimed the Turkish ruler had been killed with all his men and Adrianople taken and Christian rites celebrated there. Some said the King of Poland was killed while manfully haranguing his men and fighting in person or that he was wounded and fled and died in Bulgaria. Others said he was taken prisoner and beheaded, and his head sent to Karaman,¹⁰ prince of the Tartars, related to the Great Turk.¹¹ [*cont.*]

¹ End of April, 1445 (Szalay, p. 87).

² Lőrinc Héderváry: Palatine of Hungary 1437-1447.

³ Wladyslaw III (1424-1444): King of Poland from 1434 and of Hungary from 1440 to his death.

⁴ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440-1457): Duke of Austria, King of Bohemia and

Hungary. Cousin of the emperor, and his ward to 1452.

⁵ Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439): Duke of Austria (Albertinian line) as Albrecht V (1404). King of Hungary and Croatia (1437). Elected King of the Romans (Germany) in 1438.

⁶ Friedrich III (Habsburg).

⁷ The Crown of Saint Stephen.

⁸ As a secretary to Cardinal Cesarini on his papal mission to Hungary, see letter 54: 1.

⁹ On his first mission for the emperor to Pope Eugenius IV, in the beginning of 1445.

¹⁰ Ibrahim II (Karamanid) (d. 1464): Bey of Karaman.

¹¹ Mehmed II (1432-1481): Sultan of the Turks 1444-1446, 1451-1481. Conquered Constantinople in 1453.

[*cont.*] Quidam apud Constantinopolim fuga vectum nuptias cum sorore imperatoris Graecorum contraxisse astruebant. Sororia his et fortasse magis incredibilia de cardinali¹ Sancti Angeli, viro sancto et sapientissimo, narrabantur. Scis enim litteras allatas esse, quae hunc tantum patrem nedum captivitatem incidisse, sed etiam in morem divi Bartholomaei decoriatum periisse confirmabant.

[3] At haec omnia in Hungaria nascebantur mendacia, quamvis aliqua inter haec vera fuerint magis {137v} casu quam studio dicta. Sed haec omnia magis Polonis adscribo quam Hungaris. Fuerint tamen et inter Hungaros, qui statui suo timentes vitam regis Poloniae multifariam praedicarunt, ut qui exinde tutiores se reddi sperabant. Inter hos Laurentius palatinus fuit, qui, ut congregari multitudinem sensit, novo figmento avertere populorum animos studuit. Litteras enim regis Poloniae ad se delatas confinxit, quas ipsemet conscripserat et sigillum adulterum impresserat. Earum tenor erat regem superatis magnis difficultatibus in Poloniam sospitem appulisse velleque quam citissime delectum exercitus facere et in Hungariam reverti, iterum contra Teucros, quorum vires attenuatae forent, pugnaturum. Quibus ex rebus supplicari superis et rem divinam fieri ac publice reddi gratias Deo palatinus volebat. Sed non habuit sermo fidem, quocirca et is postea ad multitudinem defecit tantumque illic egit, ut nuntius regni ad Poloniam mitteretur, sciscitaturus de vita regis ea sibi lege data, ut intra² octavam Trinitatis reverti debeat, infra quod tempus expectari debet super ceteris rebus, et nisi vel rex Poloniae in Hungariam venerit vel nuntius eum se vidisse spirantem retulerit, ad ea, quae supra dixi procedendum est. Habes, in Hungaria quid actum sit.

[4] Nunc in Bohemiam transeo, ubi, quo sunt viri et ingenio et doctrina praestantiores, eo interdum major stultitia reperitur. Est hoc in regno rus quoddam haud procul a Praga, quo ex loco prisci reges Bohemiae originem trahunt ac propterea rustici, qui illic sunt, integra libertate fruuntur nec aliud tributi pendunt quam annis singulis ex avellanis, quae apud eos ubertim crescunt, exiguam quandam mensuram. Ad hos venit nuper rusticus quidam, *sacco* ac *cilicio* vestitus, ascendensque arborem casulam vimineam fecit sibi, quam frondibus et culmo texit ac post dies aliquos affatus plebeculam rusticanam, fuisse se dudum in eremo dixit sanctumque Wenceslaum, regni patronum, et Johannem Baptistam ad se venisse, qui eum futurum Bohemiae regem asseveraverant atque idcirco se eo profectum dicebat ad eos, ex quibus jus regni pendebat. Assensit insulsa rusticitas deceptaque verbis blandis et specie sanctitatis mox regem acclamavit custodesque corporis dedit ac studio, ut quisque potuit, suum principem honoravit. Affuit evestigio alius litterarum sciens, qui in cancellarium assumptus epistolas in regnum scripsit, hortatus nunc istos nunc illos, ut ad regem suum venirent, quem superi in rure stirpis regiae revelassent. [*cont.*]

¹ cardinale WO

² inter HE

[*cont.*] And, finally, some claimed he had fled to Constantinople and married the sister of the Greek emperor.¹ Similar - and possibly even less credible - things were told about the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, that holy and most wise man.² As you know, a letter arrived with the message that this great Father had not only been taken prisoner but also died, having been flayed alive like Saint Bartholomew.³

[3] All these mendacious rumours arose in Hungary. Some may be true, but then more by accident than by design. But I impute them all to the Poles rather than the Hungarians. However, some Hungarians, fearing for their own position, claimed various things concerning the King of Poland, hoping that this would make them safer. Among them was the Palatine Laurentius.⁴ When he heard about the assembly, he endeavoured to distract the minds of people with a new fabrication: he pretended he had received a letter from the Polish king, a letter that he had, in fact, written himself and sealed with a false seal. The gist of it was that the king had overcome great difficulties and arrived in Poland safe and sound. He would now, as soon as possible, raise [another] army and return to Hungary to resume the fight against the Turks whose forces were depleted. Therefore the Palatine wanted supplications to be made to the heavenly beings,⁵ masses to be held, and public thanks to be given to God. But his words were not believed, wherefore he later passed over to the multitude but managed it so that an envoy⁶ of the kingdom was sent to Poland to inquire whether the king was alive. The messenger had to return in the week after the Feast of the Trinity. In the meantime, all other matters were held in abeyance. Unless the King of Poland himself came to Hungary or the messenger reported to have seen him alive, they would proceed along the course already decided.⁷ This is what happened in Hungary.

[4] Now I move on to Bohemia, where there are men of great intelligence and learning but sometimes also great foolishness. In this kingdom, there is a rural territory⁸ near Prague, from where the old kings of Bohemia came. Therefore, the farmers of that area enjoy complete freedom, and the only tax consists of a small measure of hazelnuts⁹ that grow there profusely, which they pay annually. Recently, a peasant came to them, clothed in *sackcloth*¹⁰ and *ashes*¹¹. He climbed a tree and made himself a hut of wickerwork covered with leaves and straw. After some days, he addressed the rustic rabble. He told them he had been staying for a long time in the desert where Saint Wenceslas,¹² patron of the kingdom, and John the Baptist had come to him and declared he was the future king of Bohemia. Therefore, he had gone to the people on whom the right of the kingdom was founded. The foolish farmers agreed and, deceived by his smooth words and saintly appearance, acclaimed him as king, appointing bodyguards and striving to show honour to him as their prince. Soon afterwards, someone arrived who was literate. He was appointed chancellor and began to write letters to [people in] the kingdom, exhorting now some, now others to join the king whom the heavenly beings had revealed in the country of the royal line. [*cont.*]

¹ Johannes VIII Palaiologos (1392 - 1448): Second-last Byzantine emperor, reigning from 1425 to his death.

² Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444): Cardinal 1426. Papal legate and president of the Council of Basel. Later papal legate to Hungary. VO, 1: 1, pp. 49-51.

³ Bartholomew the Apostle: According to one legend, he was skinned alive and beheaded.

⁴ Lőrinc Héderváry.

⁵ "superi"

⁶ See letter 172: 2-3.

⁷ On this mission, see letter 172.

⁸ Stadic.

⁹ "avellanum"

¹⁰ Daniel, 9: 3,

¹¹ Matthew, 11: 21 / blanket of goats' hair?

¹² Saint Wenceslas: Vaclav I (ca. 907-929/935): First duke of Bohemia.

[*cont.*] Fuit res multis credibilis, nam rex primus, qui apud Bohemos imperavit, ex {138r} aratro ad regnum, sicuti de Cincinnato legimus ad dictaturam accersito, cujusdam pythonissae¹ monitu vocatus fuit. Itaque similia de isto nunc credebantur. Convenire ergo plures, oboedire regi, jurare, hortari alios, seditiones in urbibus movere magnumque jam in metum totum regnum adducere. Quod malum postquam invalescere principes senserunt, risu in timorem verso, conventum in propinquo faciunt immissisque satellitibus hominem in vincula conjiciunt, qui, ut captus est, ab omnibus est desertus regnumque non parva formidine liberatum, quia non facile ferrum reconditur, ut semel foras venit. Ille jam vesanus est nec ulla nisi stultitiae verba profundit.

[5] Communitas autem Bohemiae cum principibus concors est regemque nostrum magnis precibus adhortatur, ut regni curam patruelis nomine suscipiat. Rex autem in brevi contra Guinisenses, famosos latrones viarumque spoliatores, castra metabit. Jam enim et equitatus² et peditatus habitus est delectus.

[6] In rebus ecclesie non possum multa scribere, quia in cute sunt. Si mea legatio alium finem apud vos habuisset, erat res admodum tutior faciliusque in unionem omnes conscendissent. Nunc autem video magnam alam segregari et timeo, ne multas pennas habeat. Non erimus absque gravi schismate, nec scio, quantum Gallia constans sit. Dalphinus ex Alsatia deduxit exercitum, cujus rei mediatores fuerunt Coloniensis et Treverensis. Non credo id solum esse actum, nec enim principes illi tantam rem absque alio tractatu peregissent. Gallici, postquam in Lotharingiam redierunt, exercitu recensito ex suis duodecim milia desiderarunt, Argentinenses plurimos habent captivos, rustici quam multos interfecerunt. Apud Slestat in valle quadam tres ductores cum omni comitatu trucidati fuerunt. Palatinus Rheni sororem ducis Sabaudiae sibi in secundo gradu conjunctus uxorem ducet et in rebus ecclesiae mutaturus sententiam creditur.

¹ *em.*; fethonisse cod.

² comitatus WO

[cont.] Many found it credible, for the first king to rule the Bohemians was called directly from the plough to the kingship by a seeress,¹ just as we read that Cincinnatus² was summoned to the dictatorship at the counsel of a seeress. The same was now believed of this man. As a result, many assembled there, obeyed him as king, swore to him, exhorted others, instigated uprisings in the cities, and made all the kingdom tremble with fear. When the princes saw this evil grow, their laughter turned to fear. Assembling nearby, they sent soldiers who threw the man into chains. When he was taken, he was abandoned by all, and the kingdom was delivered from great fear since the sword is not easily sheathed once it has been drawn. That man has now gone mad and only spews forth insanities.³

[5] The Bohemian community agrees with the princes and implores our king⁴ to take charge of the kingdom in his cousin's⁵ name. However, the king will shortly march against the people of Güns,⁶ notorious thieves and highway robbers.⁷ The cavalry and infantry have already been mobilised.

[6] In the affairs of the Church, I cannot write much since anything may yet happen.⁸ If my mission to you⁹ had had another result, the whole matter would have been on safer ground, and all would more easily have agreed to the union.¹⁰ But now I see a large wing¹¹ developing separately, which I fear will have many feathers. We shall not be able to avoid a major schism, and I do not know how solid France will be. The dauphin brought an army from Alsace.¹² The mediators in this affair were the archbishops of Cologne and Trier.¹³ I do not believe this was the only matter they settled [with the dauphin], for these princes would not have negotiated such a great affair without including other matters.¹⁴ When the French returned to Lorraine and the army was mustered, it turned out that 12,000 soldiers had been lost¹⁵: the people of Strasbourg hold many of them captive, and the peasants had killed a great number. In a valley at Schlettstadt,¹⁶ three captains were killed with all their companions. The Count Palatine of the Rhine¹⁷ will marry the sister¹⁸ of the Duke of Savoy,¹⁹ a second-degree relative, and is expected to change sides in the affairs of the Church.²⁰

¹ In his *Historia Bohemica* from 1468, Piccolomini tells this story in greater detail, naming the first king Premysl (HBO, pp. 47 ff.)

² Livius, 3: 26, 9

³ Palacky, pp. 134-135.

⁴ Friedrich III (Habsburg).

⁵ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

⁶ The Austrian campaign against Güns and some other frontier cities in Hungary occurred 19-28 July 1445. Friedrich III was back in Vienna on 11 August 1445. In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote about the campaign: *The summer after his return from Nürnberg, the king brought an army against the people of Güns, who had broken the truce and were harassing his lands. But they were in Hungary. In short order, the king besieged, stormed, and took Güns and the*

neighbouring castles (DVI, sect. 176). See also his oration to Pope Eugenius IV "*Tritum est sermone*" of January 1437 (COR, 3, sect. 7-10). See also EUR (HE), 749.

⁷ "viae"

⁸ "in cute sunt".

⁹ Piccolomini's diplomatic mission for the emperor to the pope January-March 1445. The German nation requested a new council to settle the church schism.

¹⁰ Church union.

¹¹ "ala": wing, faction.

¹² The Armagnac campaign.

¹³ Dietrich von Mörs and Jakob von Sierck.

¹⁴ It was rumoured that the two archbishops had made certain secret agreements with the French.

¹⁵ The French king may have been quite satisfied at this loss since a

major purpose of the dauphin's expedition into the empire was to free France of these murderous and pillaging Armagnac trouble-makers.

¹⁶ French: Sélestat.

¹⁷ Ludwig IV (Wittelsbach) (1424-1449): Elector Palatine of the Rhine from 1436 to his death.

¹⁸ Marguérite de Savoie (1420-1479): Married Ludwig IV on 18 October 1445. See COM (HE), 368, 8.

¹⁹ Louis I (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 to his death.

²⁰ The bride's fathers was antipope Felix V.

[7] In festo beati Johannis Baptistae convenient electores apud Frankfordiam nec quisquam est, qui non illic magnam novitatem futuram putet. Quae omnia cesassent, si petitioni regiae per amplius delatum fuisset. Sed ita vult forsitan Deus et melius, quam nos velimus, res diriget.

[8] Habes ex me, quae potui scribere, quae tu, reverendissimis dominis meis Tarentino atque Cumano ut communicata sint, cura. Litterarum autem nulli copiam facies, quia fortasse non est mihi usui. Reverendissimum dominum cardinalem, dominum camerarium, cupio meo nomine te adire sibi que dicere, vera omnia esse, quae sue reverendissimae paternitati de patriarchatu Romae significavi. Nec enim regia majestas pro illo in Basilea promotum unquam scripsit nec ei vult assistere, sed ipsum reverendissimum dominum patriarcham, si optata concordia fiat, de qua {138v} non desperatur, benigno prosequetur affectu. Scriberem suae reverendissimae paternitati manu mea, sed volui haec nova sibi communicari, et per me rescribi non ferebat tempus. Itaque tibi prius demandavi hoc non absque fiducia, quia et te sibi dilectum et mihi affectum sciebam. Reverendissimo domino cardinali de Columna, quamprimum suam reverendissimam paternitatem offenderis, commendatum me facito nec aliter de Nicaeno me velle scias, cujus si quando translationes viderim, non parum voluptatis sumam.

[7] The prince-electors will meet in Frankfurt¹ on the Feast of John the Baptist,² and all believe a great upheaval will result. All that would not have happened if [consideration of] the king's petition³ had been delayed for some time.⁴ But this may be God's will, and he will direct matters better than we would.

[8] This is what I could write. Please share it with my Most Reverend Lordships of Taranto⁵ and Como,⁶ but do not make of copy of the letter since that might not be expedient.⁷ Please visit His Most Reverend Lordship, the Lord Camerlengo⁸ and tell him from me that everything I said to His Most Reverend Paternity while in Rome concerning the patriarchate is true: His Royal Majesty has not written in favour of the man appointed in Basel and will not assist him in any way. On the contrary, he will favour His Most Reverend Lordship, the Patriarch,⁹ if the desired union¹⁰ is achieved as hoped. I would write personally to His Most Reverend Paternity, but I wanted him to have this news [quickly] and do not have time to write to him now, which is why I have asked you to do it, trusting in his fondness for you and his sympathy for me. When you meet His Most Reverend Lordship, Cardinal Colonna,¹¹ recommend me to him and the same to the Cardinal of Nicaea,¹² whose translations I shall much enjoy when I get to see them.

¹ Diet of Frankfurt, June 1445.

² 24 June 1445.

³ Presumably, the petition to the pope for a new council that Piccolomini had himself brought to Rome.

⁴ Piccolomini appears to think that the pope should have delayed his response to the imperial petition instead of outright rejecting it. Such a delaying tactic would have given the emperor further time to push through his ecclesiastical policies.

⁵ Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo (1380-1449): Archbishop of Taranto, 1421. Cardinal, 1439.

⁶ Gerardo Landriani (1390/1400-1445): Bishop of Lodi 1419, transferred to the see of Como in 1437. Cardinal 1439.

⁷ Piccolomini would probably not want news reaching back to the imperial court of his relations with the curia.

⁸ Ludovico Trevisan [Scarampo] (1401-1465): Appointed patriarch of Aquileja in January 1440, somewhat later camerlengo of the Roman Church, and on 12 July 1440 cardinal. Apparently, the council in Basel had appointed their own candidate to the see, and the cardinal wished to have the emperor on his side in this matter. When Piccolomini visited Rome in 1447, he spoke again with the cardinal on the matter and reported back to the emperor in a diplomatic report: *The Patriarch of Aquileia entertained us most honourably three times, and more than any other offered [his services] to Your Royal Highness. We did mention the matter of the patriarchate to him, making excuses for the past but saying little about the future. All was satisfactory to this generous man. But when we heard that the Bishop of*

Pedena had been made administrator of the patriarchate by the Basileans and accepted by Your Royal Majesty, we feared saying more to him so as not to appear to have lied. For those who are not considered reliable in small things are thought to be liars in great (CRDM, 1: 13).

⁹ As noted above, the emperor later supported the conciliar candidate.

¹⁰ "concordia": settlement of the schism through a new council.

¹¹ Prospero Colonna (ca. 1410-1463): appointed cardinal *in petto* by Pope Martin IV, formally announced in 1430

¹² Bessarion (1403-1472): Greek humanist and theologian. Played an active role at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Appointed cardinal in 1439.

[9] Domino Conti scio te non neglecturum dicere, quod me cupere nosis. Ego rem suam magnis verbis marchioni Estensi commendatam feci gratumque responsum obtinui. Julianum meum, quem quasi animae partem meae censeo, ut salvus sit meique memor, jube. Si Jacobus Calvus *Cinthiam* meam rescripsit, precor, ut illam ad me cures mitti sibi vice mea cum Petro Noxetano salutes dicas. Virum praestantem magistrum Johannem Caldissen, qui cathedram apostolici palatii regit, ex me salvum dicito. Viris probis et tui ac meis amantissimis domino Johanni Tolner et sociis, quae dici ab amicis solent, tamquam sis ego, exponito. Cincio atque Poggio, viris doctissimis et eloquentissimis, nisi familiaritatem meam fastidierint, quantum me affici nosti, referto et me commendatum facito. Vellem et reverendis patribus Georgio Cesarino et Baptistae protonotariis, quos tamquam dominos colo, meum animum aperies, et quae solent suis dominis nuntiare servi, mea ex parte referes.

[10] Sed hi cupiunt aliquod nosse de cardinali Sancti Angeli. Ego vero nihil plus scio, quam Romae sciverim. Jam enim super his rebus omnes silent, quamvis et silentium hoc periisse virum illum, sui splendorem saeculi, significet, quia non posset vir tantus non sui notitiam in tanto tempore praebuisse. Utcumque sit, bene cum eo actum puto, qui causam Christi tuebatur.

[11] *Politicorum* libros non reperi apud ordinarium, sicut speravi, quia vir ille nihil hic dimisit. Scripsi sibi ad Pozonium, nescio quid responsi dabit. At de his satis.

[9] I know you will not neglect to tell Conte¹ what you know me to wish. I have highly recommended his affair to the Marquess d'Este² and received a favourable answer.³ Give my best to Giuliano,⁴ whom I consider as my other half, and ask him to remember me. If Jacopo Calvi has copied my *Cinthia*,⁵ I ask him to have it sent to me. Greet him and also Pietro da Noceto.⁶ Also, greet the distinguished Johann Kalteissen,⁷ master of the Apostolic Palace. And give such greetings to the excellent men, our friends Johann Tolner⁸ and his companions, as are common among friends (such as I am!). And unless Cencio⁹ and Poggio,¹⁰ most learned and eloquent men, scorn my acquaintance (you know how I admire them!), then greet them and recommend me to them. I would also be remembered to the Reverend Fathers, the protonotaries Giorgio Cesarini and Battista,¹¹ whom I consider as my masters, and give such greetings to them as servants use to give.

[10] They all, of course, wish to know about the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,¹² but I know no more now than I knew when in Rome. At present, all are silent about his affairs, but that silence in itself shows that this man, the splendour of his age, has perished. Indeed, so long time has passed that such an important man would undoubtedly have sent news of himself [had he still been alive]. In any case, I believe that he had a good end since he was defending the cause of Christ.

[11] I have not found the books of the *Politika* with the ordinary,¹³ as I had hoped, for that man has sent nothing. I have written to him in Pozon¹⁴ and know not what answer I will get. But enough of that.

¹ Conte Cacciaconti (d. 1450?): Sienese noble and canon. Later abbot of San Galgano.

² Leonello d'Este [Lionello] (1407-1450): One of the three illegitimate sons of Niccolò III d'Este and Stella de' Tolomei, a relative of the Piccolomini family. He was legitimated by Pope Martin V. Marquess of Ferrara and Modena from 1441 to his death.

³ Piccolomini had visited the marquess on his way back from Rome in April 1445. They spent an evening together, talking about a number of affairs, including, apparently, a matter relating to Conte dei Cacciaconti. In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote: *When Leonello heard that I had arrived, he ordered that I should be lodged in his father's house and served a sumptuous meal. Then, as I was*

still seated, he came out from the fortress and was looking at his boys playing ball, as if expecting me. When I joined him, he received me with gracious words. Then, I told him the emperor's messages that concerned matters of great importance, and we spoke together for two hours (DVI, sect. 52).

⁴ Giuliano Romano.

⁵ A collection of love poems by Piccolomini.

⁶ 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 pope. On Pietro, see VO, 2, pp. 296-297.

⁷ Heinrich (not Johann) Kalteisen (ca. 1390-1464): at the time, an official at the court of Pope Eugenius, later appointed Archbishop of Bergen (Norway).

⁸ Tolner, Johann: The emperor's procurator in Rome (Heinig, 1: p. 809).

⁹ Cencio dei Rustici [Cencio] (1380/1390 - 1445): Italian humanist. At the end of his life, he became a papal official.

¹⁰ Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459): Florentine humanist, papal secretary, and author. Piccolomini probably met him during one or more of his missions to the papal court in 1445, 1446, 1447, 1450 and 1452. See DVI, sect. 82.

¹¹ Not identified.

¹² Giuliano Cesarini.

¹³ A bishop (ordinarius)? It is not clear to whom Piccolomini is referring.

¹⁴ Pressburg = Bratislava.

[12] Nunc unum est, quod te mihi quam citius impetrare velim. Ecclesiam habeo parochialem fierique me presbyterum oportet, jam vero medius annus est adeptae possessionis. Timeo, ne infra annum possim promoveri, quia rex non indulget mihi. Cupio ergo prorogationem ad alium annum et cum hoc facultatem, ut a quocumque episcopo possim ordinari. Quomodo id fieri debeat, instruet te noster Johannes Tolner. Tu et eam pecuniam confer, quae necessaria fuerit, et mihi rescribe, mox enim reddam. Ecclesia mea vocatur Sanctae Mariae in Aspach Pataviensis diocesis, quae auctoritate ordinaria mihi collata est.

Vale et mihi quam primum rescribe. Ex Vienna, 21. Maji 1445.

Scis quam benignus mihi fuerit reverendissimus pater episcopus Adriensis. Huic me totum dato suamque rem curaturum diligenter dicito. Nec Zenonem absque salutatione mea praetereas cum domino Abbate Leodiensi.

[12] There is one thing that I would ask you to obtain for me¹ as soon as possible. I now have a parish and must be ordained a priest,² and it is already half a year since I gained possession. I am afraid that I cannot be ordained before a year has passed, for the king will not give me leave.³ I, therefore, require a prolongation of the term for another year and permission to be ordained by any bishop.⁴ Our Tolner will tell you what to do. Please lay out the sum needed, and write to me how much: I shall repay you quickly. My church is the Saint Mary in Aspach, in the diocese of Passau.⁵ It has been assigned to me by authority of the ordinary bishop.^{6 7}

Farewell and write to me soon. From Vienna, 21 May 1445.

You know how kind the bishop of Adria⁸ was to me. Give him my cordial greetings and tell him I shall diligently care for his affair. Also greet Zeno⁹ from me together with the Lord Abbot from Liege.¹⁰

¹ From the papal curia.

² Apparently, persons who were not priests when appointed to a parish had to become ordained priests within a year after the ordination.

³ Piccolomini probably means that the emperor would not give him leave to become ordained because he was occupied with other, important imperial affairs.

⁴ Piccolomini was finally ordained a priest on 4 March 1447 in Rome (Diener, p. 526).

⁵ See COM (HE), 57, 15. See also Piccolomini's oration to his parishioners in Aspach, the "*Non est apud me dubium*" written the same year (1445) (COR, 3: 6).

⁶ Bishop Leonhard Laiming of Passau.

⁷ On this section, see Diener, pp. 528-529.

⁸ 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.

⁹ Jacopo Zeno: in letter 186, he is given the title of abbot. Bishop of Belluno Feltre from 1447-1460.

¹⁰ Possibly, Henri delle Cheraux, abbot of Saint Laurent in Liège (1434-1459). Papal judge.

169. Letter to Silvester Pflieger (24 May 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 139r **.

Editions B: HE, 171, pp. 433-434; WO, 1: 1, 171, pp. 500-501; (both based on M1).

Translations: RE, 57, pp. 217-218.

{139r} Domino Chiemensi. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem ac servitorum meorum exhibitionem.

[1] Si scivissem, dum ex Frisaco Johannem, familiarem meum ad ecclesiam misi meam, vestram reverendissimam paternitatem esse Salczburgae, non dimissem illum absque litteris meis ad eandem vestram paternitatem. Nam cum honores, beneficia, facultates et omnia fere, quibus impraesentiarum fruor, ex vestra me obtinuisse gratia recognoscam, non est consentaneum, meos nuntios scriptis vacuos illac¹ transire, ubi paternitas vestra moratur. Sed habeo nonnihil excusationis, quia paternitatem ipsam apud majestatem regiam esse sperabam, ac me verbis potius quam litteris agere confidebam. Sed quaeritis fortasse, quid scripturus fuisset, nam papirum et atramentum in nugis consumere hominis est plus otii quam prudentiae habentis. Absolvam breviter quaestiunculam.

[2] Enarasse vestrae reverendissimae paternitati, quae per me Romae sunt gesta, quid petiverim, quid illic responsum, et, quid replicatum fuerit, significassem, quod et nunc facerem, nisi quod eidem paternitati vestrae Francfordiam petiturae singula in scriptis jussu regio destinantur. Veniet quoque illuc singularis doctrinae sanctaeque vitae pater, magister Thomas, animae vestrae, ut mihi videtur, non minor pars. Is me singula referentem audivit vestraeque sciet paternitati communicare. Non dicam igitur aliud, nisi me magno gaudio affectum singularique voluptate commotum, quod Australem cancellariam vestrae curae commissam percepi. Nam et honori est paternitati vestrae, [ut]² negotia regia accuratius dirigantur et, quod mihi jucundius est, visione vestra ac colloquiis saepius fruor. Res ingentes, arduae, difficiles senatum regium dietim vexant nec sunt, qui omnia capere, ne dicam perficere queant.

¹ illac WO

² em. WO

169. Letter to Silvester Pflieger (24 May 1445, Vienna).

Context: Since both the pope and the schismatic council in Basel had rejected a new council to settle the church schism, a diet had been summoned in Frankfurt to determine the course to be followed by the German nation.

Subject: Piccolomini compliments Bishop Pflieger and defines the three courses concerning the schism open to the German nation.¹

To His Lordship of Chiemsee.² Most Reverend Father in Christ and my Worshipful Lord, after humble recommendation and assurance of my services.

[1] When I sent my familiar Johann³ from Freisach⁴ to my church,⁵ I did not know that Your Most Reverend Paternity was in Salzburg. Had I known it, I would have sent a letter with him to Your Paternity. For since I acknowledge that I have obtained the honours, benefices, means, and almost all that I now enjoy through your favour, it is not proper for my messengers to pass such by places where Your Paternity is staying without letters for you. My excuse is that I hoped Your Paternity would be joining His Royal Majesty⁶ and trusted that I would be able to communicate with you by mouth rather than letters. Maybe you ask what I would have written since wasting paper and ink on trifling matters is for men of greater leisure than wisdom. I shall answer the question briefly.

[2] I would have told Your Most Reverend Paternity what I did in Rome, what I requested, what they answered, and what I replied. And this I would do now if everything were not related in detail⁷ in the documents sent by royal command to Your Paternity, as you are now going to Frankfurt.⁸ Magister Thomas,⁹ a Father of outstanding learning and holiness of life and your close friend, I think, will be going there, too. He has heard me relate all in detail and will be able to inform Your Paternity. So, for now, I shall only say how glad and delighted I am to hear that the Austrian Chancery¹⁰ has been entrusted to your care. It will be to your honour that the king's affairs are managed diligently, and (what gladdens me even more) I shall enjoy seeing and speaking with you often. The royal senate¹¹ is continuously beset by important, troublesome and difficult affairs, and no single councillor can understand or achieve everything.

¹ On this letter, Pflieger's appointment to the Austrian chancery, his relationship with Piccolomini, and his role in the German recognition of the Roman papacy, see Heinig 1: p. 583.

² Silvester Pflieger (-1453): Bishop of Chiemsee 1438 to his death. Councillor and close collaborator of Friedrich III. (Heinig, ad indicem)

³ Johann Steinhof von Plettenberg.

⁴ Freisach: a town in Kärnten.

⁵ Saint Mary's in Aspach.

⁶ Friedrich III.

⁷ Undoubtedly based on a report by Piccolomini on his mission to Rome January-March 1445.

⁸ The bishop would be one of the imperial ambassadors to the Diet in Frankfurt, June 1445.

⁹ Thomas Ebendorfer von Haselbach (1388-1464): Austrian hi-

storian, professor (Vienna), and statesman. Used by Friedrich III as an ambassador.

¹⁰ Friedrich III had two chanceries, the Austrian Chancery responsible for affairs concerning Habsburg lands and the Imperial Chancery responsible for affairs concerning the Empire.

¹¹ The king's council.

[3] Quod si nil esset aliud, non parvum est, quod nunc de rebus tractatur ecclesiae. Tres viae supersunt: aut concilii pars aut Eugenii recipienda est, aut, quod tertium est, neutralitas continuanda. Quocumque me verto, spinas video. Non hic jam inter tria bona, quid sit melius, in electionem cadit, sed quid sit minus malum quaeri debet. Difficilis ac periculosa electio est. Eligendum est tamen, quia¹ nihil miserius est quam semper pendere. Inter deliberandum maxima est anxietas animi, quae postquam elegeris, omnino cessat. Vos tamen, qui praesentes eritis, magnam spem facitis mihi, quod eam viam amplectemini, quae minus habeat nocuenti. Sic enim pro summa prudentia vestra regia majestas confidit, et ego sum certus, qui reverendissimae paternitati vestrae me dedo et cum omni obsequendi promptitudine recommendo.

Ex Vienna, 24. Maji 1445.

¹ quin WO

[3] It is not a small thing that the church affairs are now being dealt with. Three ways remain: to side with the conciliar party¹, to side with the party of Eugenius,² or – the third – to continue the state of Neutrality.³ Wherever I turn, I see thorns. In this matter, the choice is not between three good things; nay, we must seek the lesser evil. The choice is difficult and perilous, but it must be made, for nothing is worse than always being in suspense. Thinking about various courses, one may be worried, but once the choice has been made, anxiety ceases. But since you will be present at the diet, I have great hopes that the least harmful way will be chosen. Given your great wisdom, this is what His Royal Majesty firmly believes, as I, too, am convinced it will. I entrust and recommend myself to Your Most Reverend Paternity, ready to obey you in everything.

From Vienna, 24 May 1445.

¹ The schismatic council in Basel with its antipope, Felix V.

² Eugenius IV.

³ The neutrality in the church schism, declared by the German princes in 1438.

170. Letter to Johann Vront (1 June 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 142r-142v **; M2, f. 73r¹; M3, ff. 403v-404r².

Editions A: KOB, 89³ (KO).

Editions B: HE, 172, pp. 434-435; WO, 1: 1: 172, pp. 501-503; (both based on M1).

{142r} Domino Johanni Vront, secretario civitatis Coloniensis, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.⁴

[1] Fuit apud me tuus familiaris, qui Hollandrinorum negotium multis mihi verbis commendavit. Ego⁵, ut sum tuus cupioque tibi rebus in omnibus morem gerere, coepi curas admovere⁶ nitique, ut ad metam, quod optabas, deduceretur⁷. Sed inveni primo in limine⁸ magnas difficultates, quas cum vellem amovere, plurius offendi. Non possum scribere, quid impeditenti fuerit. Si umquam te videro, planius omnia dicam. Satis est tibi, quod in mediatoris locum vel tractatoris non sum visus⁹ idoneus. Nuntius ipse tibi plura dicit. Ego nihil magis cupio, quam tuis optatibus satisfacere, sed tua humanitas non exigit¹⁰ plus, quam praestari queat¹¹. Rem minimam¹² de commissione causae¹³ tuorum amicorum¹⁴ impetravi facile. Sum enim homo ad pauca natus et in minimis rebus benignos principes invenio. Si quid ponderis¹⁵ habere videtur, in alias manus transfertur.

[2] De rebus Hungariae puto te jam audivisse Ladislaum regem communi voto totius regni postulari. Ob hanc causam venient infra dies 15 ad majestatem Caesaream oratores Hungariae cum equis circiter mille, spesque magna est bonae concordiae, nam oratores ipsi plenam habent in omnibus potestatem¹⁶.

[3] Credo te¹⁷ audivisse me Romam profectum mirarique idcirco. Sed scis parendum esse principibus aut cedendum curiae. Nemo, ut vult, apud principes vivit. Mancipia sumus et fortasse jumenta, qui alienum panem mordemus. Vivunt omnes infeliciter, qui orbem incolunt, nullius tamen vita miserior est quam eorum, qui ad alienum comedunt appetitum, {142v} ad alienam sitim bibunt, et ad alienum somnum dormiunt. Hac de re scripsi nuper epistolam admodum longam, ideo nunc hoc praetereo.

¹ SC, 153

² SC, 808-808.

³ DV, f. 51v

⁴ *Salutatio*

: Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit domino Johanni Vront, secretario civitatis Coloniensis M2, M3, KO

⁵ et M2, M3

⁶ admonere M3

⁷ duceretur KO

⁸ lumine WO

⁹ vsus KO

¹⁰ exigit KO

¹¹ praestari queat : praestare queam KO

¹² amicorum *add.* M3

¹³ *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

¹⁵ pondus M1

¹⁶ ob hanc ... potestatem *omit.* M2, M3, KO

¹⁷ etiam *add.* M2, KO; etiam iam *add.* M3

170. Letter to Johann Vrung (1 June 1445, Vienna).

- Context:* Johann Vrung had asked Piccolomini to help Cologne in the matter of its trade with the Dutch, and some friends in another matter of lesser importance.
- Subject:* Piccolomini informs Vrung that he had not been allowed to deal with the Dutch matter but had succeeded with the lesser matter. He also mentions his travel to Rome and his letter treatise *De Miseriis Curialium*.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Johann Vrung,¹ secretary of the City of Cologne.

[1] Your familiar² has visited me and recommended the Dutch matter at length.³ Wishing to accommodate you in everything, I began to deal with it and bring it to the conclusion you desire. However, I immediately ran into obstacles, and when I began to remove them, I met with more. I cannot tell you in writing what the obstacles were, but if I ever see you again, I shall explain it all to you. For now, it is enough that I was not considered a suitable mediator or negotiator. Your messenger will tell you more. I desire nothing more than to fulfil your wishes, but your humanity forbids you to expect the impossible. [On the other hand], I succeeded easily in your friends' small matter. For I am, [apparently,] a man born to small matters, and in such matters, I find benevolent princes. But affairs of any importance are transferred to other hands.^{4 5}

[2] Concerning the Hungarian affairs, I believe you must have heard that the whole kingdom unanimously requests Ladislaus⁶ as king. Therefore, ambassadors from Hungary will come to His Imperial Majesty within 15 days with about 1,000 horses. There is great hope for an agreement since the ambassadors have full powers in all matters.

[3] I think you may have heard that I went to the City⁷ and wonder why. But, as you know, you must either obey the princes or leave the court. With princes, no one lives as he wishes: all we who eat another man's bread are servants or maybe cattle. All men on Earth live unhappily, but none live more miserably than he who eats, drinks and sleeps in another man's home. Recently, I have written a lengthy letter on this subject,⁸ so I shall not go into it now.

¹ Johann Vrung (Fruendt) (-1465): Protonotary of the city of Köln (1442). A close friend of Piccolomini. See Heinig: *Kaiser*, ad indicem. Piccolomini had become acquainted with Vrung in Basel in 1432. He entered the service of Köln in 1442.

² Ludwig Bruns (WO).

³ *Es handelte sich um die Bemühungen der Stadt Köln, die über die Niederländer ausgesprochene Reichsakt, die dem Handel Kölns mit den Nachbarländern wesentlich beeinträchtigte, rückgängig zu machen; vgl. Beiträge zur Gesch. Kölns, S. 79, 93 f. (WO). See Diemar, pp. 86 ff.*

⁴ Which was evidently quite frustrating to the lowly secretary!

⁵ On this passage, see Reinle, p. 176.

⁶ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg)

⁷ Rome.

⁸ Piccolomini's letter treatise *De Miseriis Curialium*.

[4] Meus itus ad urbem honestam ob causam fuit, propter unionem sanctam¹ et propter illa, quae Norimbergae conclusa fuerunt. Quid autem reportaverim, Frankfordiae videbitur, quamvis et ipsa taciturnitas indicat, quid allatum sit. Nunc in Frankfordia res transigentur². Ego nihil magis vereor, quam nationis divisionem. Valde namque turpe est, ne dicam inutile, Germanos³, qui divisam ecclesiam jam quinque annis unire satagebant, in se tandem reddi divisos. Mea opinio fert tanti ponderis tantique nominis⁴ esse Germaniam, ut in quamcumque partem declinet, reliquam Christianorum portionem ad se trahat, dummodo integra sit. Non dicam plura.

[5] Tu me commendatum fac reverendissimo in Christo patri et illustrissimo principi⁵ domino meo singulari⁶, archipraesuli Coloniensi, ejusque germano, domino meo simili⁷ Trajectensi antistiti. Et quia te audiunt, unum ex me dicito mihi adhuc nihil videri utilius ad pacem ecclesiae resarciendam et auctoritatem ecclesiae conservandam⁸ quam viam illam teneri⁹, quae Norimbergae fuit aperta, si modo iterum possit haberi. Firmarem hoc multis rationibus, si coram essem, sed absentem me nec¹⁰ decet nec expedit omnia committere calamo.

Vale et de rebus Frankfordensibus aliquid mihi rescribe. Ex Vienna, kalendis Junii 1445¹¹.

¹ sed *add.* M3; N. KO

² transient M3

³ inutile Germanos : Germanos inutile M2

⁴ ponderis tantique nominis : nominis tantique ponderis M3

⁵ in Christo ... principi *omit.* M2, M3, KO

⁶ *omit.* M2, M3, KO

⁷ meo simili *omit.* M2, M3, KO

⁸ et auctoritatem ... conservandam *omit.* M2, M3

⁹ tueri KO

¹⁰ *omit.* M2; non KO

¹¹ et de rebus ... 1445 : etc. M2, M3, KO

[4] My travel to the City¹ was in a worthy cause, viz. the holy union² and the decisions made in Nürnberg.³ What I could achieve there will be announced in Frankfurt,⁴ but my own silence on the matter indicates what happened. It will now be decided in Frankfurt. I fear nothing more than a division in the nation, for it is most shameful, not to say fruitless, if the Germans who for five years have endeavoured to unite the divided Church now themselves become divided. In my opinion, Germany has such great importance and prestige that it will draw the rest of Christianity in whatever direction it chooses, as long as it is undivided.⁵ I will say no more.

[5] Please recommend me to the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Illustrious Prince, my eminent lord, the Archbishop of Cologne,⁶ and his brother, also my lord, the Bishop of Utrecht.⁷ And since they listen to you, tell them from me that until now I have seen nothing more useful for restoring peace in the Church and safeguarding its authority than continuing on the path that was opened in Nürnberg if it is still possible. I would prove this with many arguments if I were with you, but I am not, and committing them to paper would be neither appropriate nor expedient.

Farewell, and write to me about the proceedings in Frankfurt. From Vienna, 1 June 1445.

¹ Rome.

² Church union.

³ The Diet of Nürnberg, August – October 1444: to ask Pope Eugenius and the council in Basel for a

new council to settle the church schism.

⁴ The Diet of Frankfurt, June 1445.

⁵ Helmrath: *Zweite*, p. 346.

⁶ Dietrich von Mörs

⁷ Walram von Mörs (ca. 1393-1456): Elected bishop of Utrecht 1434 but could not gain possession. Elected bishop of Münster 1450, which caused the *Münsterische Stiftsfehde*.

171. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (1 June 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 141r-142r **.

Editions B: HE, 173, pp. 435-437; WO, 1, 1: 173, pp. 503-505; (both based on M1).

{141r} Aeneas Silvius domino Johanni Campisio, excellenti philosopho et amico incomparabili, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Probas factum meum, quod recta via potius ad regem venerim, quam vocatu medici Mediolanum petierim. Ego, mi Johannes, etsi medicinae studium magnifacio medicisque honorem impartior, non tamen omnia credo, quae medici praedicant, nam et ipsis nonnumquam esset vena incidenda. Plus mihi ad horas omnes officium dicere quam vel momento studere placet medicinae. Timui, mihi crede, ne Mediolani reperissem Hugonem nostrum Senensem iterum a superis¹ reversum, qui fuit medicorum princeps. Is, si me apprehendisset, totam una in die meis auribus medicinam instillasset. Tu eum aliquando audisti: scis quanta² in eo verborum supellex esset, quantus ornatus, quot sententiae. Nihil vel Avicenna vel Galienus vel Hippocrates scripsit, quod ista una in lectione non repetisset. Me miserum, si Mediolanum petens in manus ejus linguamque incidissem! Nam quando ego illinc evasissem? Nempe non tantum me res apud regem curanda et adventus domini Johannis festinus ex via Mediolanensi detorsit quantum vocatio medici.

¹ a superis: *em.*; ad superos M1, HE, WO

² quantum WO

171. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (1 June 1445, Vienna).

Context: Having returned from Rome in April/May 1445, Piccolomini maintained his correspondence with his close friend, Giovanni Campisio. The present letter is a reply to a letter from Campisio of 8 May 1445 (letter 167).

Subject: In a humorous passage, Piccolomini imagines the famous physician Ugo Benci coming back from Heaven to torture him with verbose lectures on medicine. It is followed by a similarly humorous passage on the courtesan Pippa's pretended infatuation with Johann Steinhof. Then Piccolomini passes on to the weighty matters of the Hungarian succession and the settlement of the church schism. He finally cultivates his relationships in Rome through a series of greetings and recommendations.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio, distinguished philosopher and incomparable friend.

[1] You approve that I returned directly to the king¹ rather than going to Milan at the invitation of that physician. However, my dear Giovanni, though I treasure the study of medicine and honour physicians, I do not believe everything they prescribe, for they, too, sometimes fail.² I would rather say all the hours of office³ than study medicine for one moment. Believe me, I feared that in Milan I would find our Ugo of Siena,⁴ prince of physicians, having returned from Heaven. If he had met me, he would have spent a whole day filling my ears with the complete body of medical learning. You have once heard him and know his great store of words, his exquisite rhetorical elegance, and his many maxims. He would have repeated all that Avicenna,⁵ Galen⁶ and Hippocrates had written in that one lecture. Poor me, had I gone to Milan and fallen into his hands and become a victim of his tongue. When would I ever have escaped? No, the physician's invitation kept me from going to Milan even more than the matter of the king⁷ and the speedy arrival of Juan.^{8 9}

¹ Friedrich III.

² "vena incidenda"

³ "office": the course of eight "hours" each consisting of psalms, prayers, hymns, and readings to be said daily by priests.

⁴ Ugo Benci (ca. 1360-1439): Siene-
nese physician and philosopher,
university professor, physician of
princes. Benci was married to La-
dia, a sister of Mariano Sozzini. In
his DVI, Piccolomini wrote about
him: *Niccolò [d'Este] loved the
liberal studies and favoured intel-
lectuals. With a large salary, he
enticed to his court Ugo from Sie-*

*na, first among the medical men of
his age. Nobody gave better lectu-
res than he nor was happier to
visit sick people in their homes.
Niccolò was very generous to-
wards him and enriched him and
his family with properties and
houses (DVI, sect. 50). See also
EUR, sect. 196. Piccolomini had
apparently met Benci during a
visit to Ferrara (1429/1430), see
letters 2 and 3, and had first-hand
experience of his volubility.*

⁵ Ibn Sina [Avicenna] (980-1037):
Persian polymath and physician.

⁶ Klaudios Galenos (129-216):
Greek physician and philosopher.

⁷ The mission to the pope to ask
for a third council to settle the
schism in the Church.

⁸ Juan Carvajal: the pope's envoy
to the emperor charged with nego-
tiating the conditions of imperial
recognition of Pope Eugenius IV.
It would be quite unfortunate if
Piccolomini, the emperor's envoy
to the pope, arrived back to the
emperor after the arrival of the
papal envoy.

⁹ All this is a joke.

[2] Quod excusatum me feceris reverendissimo patri nostro episcopo Novariensi magnas habeo tuae humanitati gratias et illum ad te venturum gaudeo. Poteris enim omnia sibi referre, quae invicem aliquando communicavimus ac qua fide, quo animo, qua diligentia, quaque denique gravitate ac majestate verborum Stephanus suus ejus rem pertractaverit, ad longum expones. Si quid autem illa celebritas Ascensionis et Quattuor Tempora, quae sequuntur, novitates pepererint, {141v} non negliges ad me scribere. Timeo namque, ne vel laetitia vel invidia quorundam rumpantur ilia.

[3] De Pippa, quae scripseris, percupide legi, facete namque jocus es. Non tamen scio, quo pacto tantus ardor illam incenderit, ut hominem quamvis spissum et rubicundum, ignarum sermonis Italici, Johannem Steinhof inquam, tum immo Pippium, si sic est ut dicis, adamarit. Pudet me non perpenderit amorem hunc ac tam crassi ingenii et tam lipporum oculorum fuisse, ut amantes non cognoverim, quamvis in oculis dietim versarentur meis. Aut ego nimis tardus, immo stupidus fui aut ipsorum nimis occulta flamma. Si scissem, ut sum natura pius mollisque et lacrimarum impatiens, nedum insalutatam Pippam non reliquisset, sed nec ipsum Johannem ullo pacto abduxisset, nam - per deos immortales - quid est, quod in terris acerbius, crudelius aut immanius fieri queat, quam duos amantes disjungere?

[4] Ego non miror hominem ardere hominem et sibi similem querere. Humanum namque hoc est naturaque contingit hic appetitus. Si quis autem nullam umquam mulierem dilexit nulliusque flagravit¹ amore, aut deus fuit aut bestia. Quod si quidam equos amant aut canes aut gemmas aut aurum, nec propterea probro sunt, cur ignominiae detur amari² hominem, animal omnibus praestantius? Faveo ego Johanni, quod illam forma praestantem succique plenam amarit. Faveo etiam Pippae. Separationem autem cum eisdem ploro. Tu vide, ne domitores leonum imiteris, qui canes invicem nutriunt, ac delinquente leone canem caedunt. Me puero sacerdos quidam in rus meum cum appulisset solesque tum fervidissimi forent, genitorem meum compellans: "Age," inquit, "Silvi, potum affer clericulo meo, aestuat enim nec sitim ferre potest." Vino advecto non clericus, sed sacerdos metretam exhaustit. At de his satis.

¹ *em*; fragravit M1, HE, WO

² amare HE, WO

[2] I owe many thanks to your kindness for making my excuses to our Most Reverend Father, the Bishop of Novara.¹ I am glad that he will be coming to you, for then you can tell him at length all that we have spoken about and what loyalty, spirit, diligence, gravity and majesty of words his Stefano² used in promoting his cause.³ If there is news after the Feast of the Ascension and the following ember days,⁴ do not fail to write me. For I fear that some will explode from joy or jealousy.

[3] I avidly read your humorous news of Pippa. I really do not know why she became so infatuated that she could fall in love with a somewhat corpulent and ruddy man, not knowing Italian – I am talking of Johann Steinhoff, or rather Pippius, if it is as you say! I am ashamed that I did not become aware of their love and was so dim-witted and dim-sighted that I did not realise they were lovers though they were with me every day. Either I was slow-witted, nay stupid, or their flame of love was hidden. I am considerate and soft-hearted by nature and cannot bear tears, so if I had known about it, I would never have left Pippa ungreeted, nay, taken Johann away, for - by the immortal gods - what on Earth is more bitter, cruel and inhuman than to separate two lovers?

[4] I am not surprised that humans passionately desire other humans and seek someone similar to themselves, for that is human, and it is nature that has given us this desire.⁵ If a man never loved a woman or burnt with love's passion, he was either a god or a beast. Some people love horses, dogs, gems and gold and are not shamed for it. So, why would it be disgraceful to love a human since humans surpass all animals? I commend Johann for loving this beautiful woman full of vitality. And I also commend Pippa. Together with them, I lament their separation. As for you, you should not imitate those tamers of lions who raise dogs together with the lions and kill them when the lion fails. When I was a boy, a priest came to our country house. As the sun was burning cruelly, he said to my father: "Silvio, please have a drink brought to my assistant, for he is very hot and cannot bear the thirst." Wine was brought. However, it was not the assistant but the priest who emptied the beaker.⁶

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¹ Bartolomeo Visconti.

² Stefano Caccia de Fara.

³ Stefano Caccia de Fara: Doctor utriusque juris. Member of the Council of Basel. Friend of Piccolomini. Later procurator of the emperor at the papal court (Heinig, 1: pp. 535, 809). Stefano had apparently promoted Viscon-

ti's appointment as a cardinal by Eugenius.

⁴ One of the periods when cardinals were traditionally appointed.

⁵ On this view of sexuality, see also Piccolomini's letter to his father of 20 September 1443 (letter 77).

⁶ "metreta"

⁷ Piccolomini intimates that Campisio is using Steinhof for another person - presumably Piccolomini himself who had apparently left Pippa ungreeted (*nedum insalutatam Pippam non reliquissem*). Piccolomini would then be the lion and the priest, and Steinhof the dog and the assistant.

[5] De rebus Hungaricis praecedentibus litteris satis ad te scripsi. Nunc expectantur oratores cum equitibus mille, Dionysius Strigoniensis, Nicolaus vaivoda, Ladislaus banus et Giskra, hisque data plena potestas est cum majestate regia concordandi, totumque regnum in Ladislaum regem consonat, quam rem non ambigo medicorum maximo, magistro Thaddaeo, summe placituram. Semper enim regni illius pacem concordiamque optavit. Vidi ejus diligentiam, dum Romae fui, ut omnes percontaretur omnesque ambiret peregrinos auditorus libenter et cupide, si quid ex Hungaria veniret novi, quo regnum unitum perciperet. Habet jam, *tota quod mente* petivit: pax est, concordia est, unio est, rex unicus postulatur, nemo alius petitur quam Ladislaus, sibi summa regni Hungariae permittitur. {142r} Congratulor Thaddaeo, cujus vota curae sunt diis. Res summi pontificis in bonam spem devenerunt. Majestas Caesarea nihil aliud cupit quam finem videre neutralitatis, quod tamen absque divisione fieri non poterit. Placet mihi, quod de te optime contentus Hartungus, vir doctus et perbenignus, rediit.

[6] Reverendissimo domino nostro communi effice me commendatum non semel, sed decies saltem in die, cui commendatissimus ero, cum te sibi acceptiorem in dies sensero. Dominum Contem nostrum scis, quibus verbis salutatum velim ac dominum Johannem Tollner utere plenis velis. Ricardum tuum ipse resaluta. Julianum cura ut videas meoque nomine salvum dicas. Vegio quoque poetae et Petro Noxetano ac Jacobo Calvo salutes dicito. Imprimis tamen reverendissimo patri domino episcopo Adriensi me deditum facias, cujus rem non neglexi, sed per nuntium, qui affuerit, certus suae voluntati mos gestus erit. Vale et, si quid est novi, quod cadere in calamum possit, mihi significa. Ex Vienna, kalendis junii 1445.

[5] Concerning the Hungarian affairs, I have written enough in my previous letter. We are now waiting for the ambassadors with 1,000 horse: Dénes of Esztergom,¹ Voivode Miklos,² Ban Ladislaus,³ and Jiskra⁴, who have been given full powers to reach a settlement with His Royal Majesty. The whole kingdom agrees on Ladislaus as king, something which will undoubtedly enthrone Magister Taddeo, greatest of physicians.⁵ For he has always wanted peace and harmony for this kingdom. When I was in Rome, you noticed how diligently he questioned everybody and sought out all strangers wishing to hear if there was any news from Hungary concerning the unification of the kingdom. He now has his heart's desire: there is peace, harmony and unity. They ask for one king, Ladislaus, whom they want to rule Hungary. I congratulate Taddeo, whose wishes are heeded by the gods. As for the affairs of the Supreme Pontiff,⁶ hopes are good. His Imperial Majesty desires nothing else than to see the end of Neutrality,⁷ which, however, could not happen without discord. I am glad that Hartung⁸, whom you appear to like, a learned and most kind man, has returned.

[6] Recommend me to our Most Reverend common Lord⁹ not once but ten times a day. I shall be most devoted to him when I hear that he grows fonder and fonder of you. You know how I wish to be remembered to our Conte.¹⁰ Give my best to Johann Tolner. Also greet your Ricardo.¹¹ Take care to greet Giuliano¹² from me, and greet Vegio¹³ the poet, Pietro da Noceto, and Jacopo Calvi, too. But above all, remember me to the Most Reverend Father, the Lord Bishop of Adria¹⁴: I have not forgotten his matter but will inform him when a messenger is available that his wish will be fulfilled. Farewell, and if there is any news worthy of writing, please let me know. From Vienna, 1 June 1445.

¹ Dénes Szécsi (ca. 1410-1465): Archbishop of Esztergom [Gran] 1440 to his death. Cardinal (1439). Supporter of Empress Elizabeth and her son, King Ladislaus.

² Miklós Újlaky (1410-1477): Hungarian nobleman. Voivode of Transsylvania. Later titular king of Bosnia.

³ László Garai (ca. 1410-1459): Hungarian nobleman. Ban of Macsó. Later Palatine of Hungary.

⁴ Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa] (ca. 1400 - ca. 1470): Moravian noble and

military commander. See DVI, ch. 43, and HB, p. 478-482.

⁵ Taddeo degli Adelmari of Treviso: long in the service of Emperor Sigismund, later official of Pope Eugenius IV.

⁶ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁷ The neutrality between Pope Eugenius and the schismatic council in Basel, declared by the German princes in 1438.

⁸ Hartung Molitoris von Kappel (bef. 1420 – after 1476): Doctor

utriusque juris. Official at the court of Friedrich III. See Heinig, 1: pp. 111-119.

⁹ Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Taglicaozzo.

¹⁰ Conte dei Cacciaconti.

¹¹ Possibly Riccardo de Valencia.

¹² Giuliano da Roma.

¹³ Maffeo Vegio.

¹⁴ Bartolomeo Roverella.

172. Letter to Guiniforte Barzizza (1 June 1445, Vienna)

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 140r-141r **.

Editions B: HE, 174, pp. 437-439; WO, 1, 1: 174, pp. 505-507; (both based on M1).

Translations: RE, 58, pp. 218-221.

{140r} Domino Guiniforto, cancellario ducis Mediolani. Eximie juris interpres major honorande.

[1] Ex litteris clarissimi jurisconsulti domini Nicolai de Arziboldis, quantum res praepositurae meae tibi cordi fuerit quantumque illam iuveris et ad quem terminum deduxeris, instructus sum. Non tamen propterea tibi magis afficior nec tuam amicitiam pluris pendo, quoniam sic de te mihi persuaseram, cum primum te coepi amare. Finxi enim te virum probum et qui summum bonum in virtute collocaveris, quique semper amici causam tuam duxeris et ut tuam curaveris. Et hac ductus opinione tantum me tibi ab initio devinxi, ut addi nihil posset. Sed opinionem istam inveniri veram et gaudeo et exulto. Tu, quod restat, ad metam deducito. Non enim sat est placere principi me, sequi jus meum et litis dispendia subire, sed, ut absque vocatu et absque juris ordine meum locum alter intravit, sic aequum est nec leges aliter sanxerunt me ante omnia restitui. Quod te minime latet, qui satis diu legum enigmata speculatus es. Scis, quid velim, non dico plura, pauca semper amicum moneo.

[2] Nunc quae istis ex partibus principi tuo meoque, Mediolanensium duci, referas, nonnulla tibi significabo. Magnus namque illius animus numquam quiescit, sed ut regum mos est, quidquid ubique gentium geritur, {140v} cupit agnoscere, quod est alti sanguinis generosaeque mentis proprium. Is audita morte regis Poloniae Julianique cardinalis, qui bello Teucrorum nuper interiit, cum varia contrariaque dicerentur, plures nuntios in Hungariam Graeciamque destinavit, qui res gestas agnoscerent sibi verum referrent. Ex his unus ad me venit, qui has litteras tibi restituit. Is propter novitates, quae in regno erant Hungariae, noluit ulterius proficisci, non enim tuto se itineri committere poterat. Ideo jam revertitur satis tamen instructus super his, quae fuerat percunctaturus. Quae res deberet me levare scribendi pondere, nisi quod me verius fortasse scripturum quam illum dicturum putabis.

172. Letter to Guiniforte Barzizza (1 June 1445, Vienna)

Context: Piccolomini had decided to resume his campaign to be reinstated in his Milanese provostship and, more broadly, to gain the favour of the Duke of Milan.

Subject: Piccolomini assures Barzizza of his friendship and trust. He sends him important news about the situation in Hungary, demonstrating his worth as a privileged and reliable informant. His offer to continue as such appears to have been neglected by the duke.

Guiniforte,¹ Chancellor of the Duke of Milan. Distinguished and honourable jurist.

[1] In a letter, the distinguished jurist, Niccoló Arcimboldi,² has informed me how much you have had the matter of my provostship at heart and favoured it and what you have done about it until now. This, however, does not make me more devoted to you or treasure your friendship more highly, for this is what I was convinced you would do since I first began to love you. I thought you were a decent man who based the highest good on virtue and would always consider and treat a friend's affairs as your own. So, from the beginning, I have been bound to you by such a close friendship that it cannot become closer. However, it does gladden me exceedingly to see that my belief in you was true. So, please now bring the matter to its conclusion, for it is not enough that I please the prince,³ that I pursue my rights and bear the costs of a trial. Another man has, without being called and without any legal justification, intruded himself into my place, wherefore it is not only right and legally justified that my provostship should be restored to me. Of course, you know this very well since you have studied the conundrums of law for a long time. But you know what I wish, so I shall say no more, for I always admonish friends sparingly.

[2] Now I shall give you some news from these regions that you may report to your prince and mine, the Duke of Milan. For his mind is never at rest but – as is the customs of kings – he desires to know what happens everywhere,⁴ which is the mark of a highborn state and a noble mind. When the duke⁵ heard of the deaths of the King of Poland⁶ and Cardinal Giuliano,⁷ who perished recently in the Turkish war, and various and contradictory rumours were flowing, he sent emissaries to Hungary and Greece to ascertain the facts and report the truth back to him. One of these messengers, who came to me,⁸ will deliver the present letter to you. Because of the turmoil in the Kingdom of Hungary, he did not want to continue his travel there, for it would not be safe. Therefore, he returns now but is amply informed about the matters he was sent to investigate. This should have freed me from the burden of writing, except that you might consider my written report more exact than his oral one.

¹ Guiniforte Barzizza (1406-1463): Italian humanist and secretary to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti until the duke's death in 1447.

² Arcimboldi, Niccolò (1404-1459): Counsellor of the Duke of Milan.

³ Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan.

⁴ In his oration "Audivi" of 16 November 1436, Piccolomini had said about the duke: *For being placed in a highly perilous situation, the prince endeavours to know, through spies, the secrets of many lords and various city states* (COR, 2: 1, sect. 86). And in his diplomatic report of a visit to Rome in 1447, he wrote to the emperor: *Great minds have an*

innate thirst for knowing many things, and nothing more nourishes a noble soul than the knowledge of great things (CRDM, 1, sect. 1).

⁵ The Duke of Milan.

⁶ Wladyslaw III.

⁷ Giuliano Cesarini.

⁸ In Vienna.

[3] De rege ergo Poloniae cardinalique Sancti Angeli sic habeto, quia mortui ambo sunt illumque manus hostis infesta percussit, istum sacrilegus Hungarorum ensis interemit. Namque cum vulneratus ex bello fugisset jamque hostium gladios evasisset, cum apud paludem quandam equo potum permetteret, affuit scelerata manus lixarum arreptoque ferro virum caelo dignum tamquam regni proditorem necavit. Quod autem de rege Poloniae varia dicta sunt, nihil mirum est, nam et Polonorum genus mendax est, et in Hungaria multi fuerunt, quibus mendacia erant usui. Verum non transivisse illum Danubium constat sicque neque in Tartariam neque in Lithuaniam neque rursus in Poloniam potuisse venire. Constantinopolim quoque numquam appulit, nam oratores ducis Burgundiae imperatorisque Constantinopolitani Budam petentes illum apud Hungaros invenire putabant.

[4] Quibus ex rebus secutum est, quod Hungari apud civitatem Pestiensem, quae est pars Budae, trans Danubium in festo Sancti Georgii convenientes unamini voto Ladislaum, Alberti Romanorum quondam regis filium, moderni Caesaris patrualem, in regem suum vocaverint, super qua re mittunt ad majestatem Caesarem oratores, archiepiscopum Strigoniensem, Nicolaum vaivodam, Ladislaum banum, Giskram et alios plures insignes praestantesque viros ad numerum mille personarum eruntque, ut est vero simile, infra 15 dies cum Caesarea majestate ac de modis gubernandi regnum transigetur. Bohemorum quoque sententia in Ladislaum regem consonat. Credo nulli videri consentaneum Hungaros novum regem elegisse, nisi de morte prioris certiores fuissent et praesertim eos, qui Polonorum regi pertinaciter adhaerebant. Habes Hungariae statum.

[5] {141r} Nunc res ecclesiae, quomodo apud Germanos agantur, accipe pauca. Dies dicta est apud Frankfordiam in festo Divi Johannis. Illic Coloniensis et Treverensis archiepiscopi, comes palatinus Rheni et dux Saxoniae, ut rumor est, intendunt se pro concilio Basiliensi declarare. Maguntinus archiepiscopus et Brandenburgensis marchio ac Bohemi regiam majestatem sequi volunt, in quamcumque declinaverit partem. Quid autem rex ipse factururus sit, non scio *nec si sciam dicere ausim*, quia res alias ex arbitrio meo scribo. Quod meum principem tangit, non possum nisi ex suo mandato scribere, nec aliam ob causam secretarii nomen gero, nisi quia secreta atque sepulta esse debent, quae meae fidei committuntur. Plura scriptu digna non sunt.

[6] Si videris principi tuo - ac, ut dixi, meo - placere me novitates harum partium scribere, fac me monitum libentique animo laborem sumam. Quae si nihili pendantur, nec papirum, nec atramentum nec curam perdere est animo.

Vale et mihi rescribe. Ex Vienna, kalendis Junii 1445.

[3] Concerning the King of Poland and the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, you should know they are both dead. The king died at enemy hands, whereas the cardinal was slain by a sacrilegious Hungarian sword: wounded, he fled from the battle and escaped the swords of the enemies when he stopped at some pond to let his horse drink. Then a villainous group of camp followers came upon him, seized his sword and killed this man worthy of Heaven as if he were a traitor to the kingdom. Various things have been told about the King of Poland, which is no surprise, for the Polish race is mendacious, and many in Hungary benefit from their lies.¹ The truth is that he has neither crossed the Danube nor been able to come to Tartary or Lithuania nor return to Poland. And he did not go to Constantinople, for ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy² and the Emperor of Constantinople³ have arrived in Buda, thinking to find him with the Hungarians.

[4] Later, on the Feast of Saint George,⁴ the Hungarians assembled in the city of Pest, which is a part of Buda, on the other side of the Danube. There, they unanimously voted to call Ladislaus,⁵ son of Albrecht,⁶ late King of the Romans and uncle of the present emperor, to the kingship. To negotiate this matter, they are sending an embassy to His Imperial Majesty consisting of the Archbishop of Esztergom,⁷ Voivode Miklos,⁸ Ban Ladislaus,⁹ Jiskra,¹⁰ and many other distinguished and eminent men to the number of about 1,000. They shall probably be with His Imperial Majesty within 15 days to negotiate the future government of the kingdom. The Bohemians also wish to have Ladislaus as their king. Nobody could reasonably believe the Hungarians had elected a new king¹¹ unless they were sure their former king¹² had died, especially those who had stubbornly clung to the Polish king. This is the situation in Hungary.

[5] Now, hear what the Germans are doing in the matter of the church [schism]. A diet has been summoned to meet in Frankfurt on the Feast of Saint John.¹³ Rumour has it that the archbishops of Cologne and Trier,¹⁴ the Count Palatine of the Rhine,¹⁵ and the Duke of Saxony¹⁶ intend to declare for the Council of Basel there. The Archbishop of Mainz,¹⁷ the Margrave of Brandenburg¹⁸ and the Bohemians will follow His Royal Majesty whatever course he chooses. I do not know what the king will do, and *if I knew it, I would not dare to say it.*¹⁹ In other matters, I write what I think, but in matters pertaining to my prince, I can only write as he requires, for the reason I carry the title of secretary is that I must keep secret and buried whatever is committed to my trust. There is nothing further to write.

[6] If you see that your prince²⁰ and mine is pleased to receive news from these regions, please let me know, and I shall willingly take this task upon me. If not, I shall save paper and ink.

Farewell, and write back to me. From Vienna, 1 June 1445.

¹ Like Palatine Hedevary.

² Philippe III le Bon.

³ Johannes VIII Palaiologos.

⁴ 24 April 1445.

⁵ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

⁶ Emperor Albrecht II (Habsburg).

⁷ Dénes Szécsi

⁸ Miklos Újlaky.

⁹ Lázló Garai.

¹⁰ Captain Jan Jiskra.

¹¹ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

¹² Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).

¹³ 24 June 1445.

¹⁴ Dietrich von Mörs and Jakob von Sierck.

¹⁵ Ludwig IV (Wittelsbach).

¹⁶ Friedrich II.

¹⁷ Dietrich Schenk von Erbach.

¹⁸ Friedrich II.

¹⁹ Livius, 1: praef.

²⁰ The Duke of Milan.

173. Letter to the chancellor of Queen Sophia of Poland (June 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 290r-294r¹; M3, ff. 316r-320v² **; Hohenfurth / 47, ff. 173 sqq. (H) *; Leipzig / Stadtbibliothek / 1326, ff. 248r-253r (L) *.

Editions B: HE, 175, pp. 439-449 (reproduces WO); WO, 1, 1: 175, pp. 508-522 (based on M2, M3, H, V, L).

{316r} Venerabili cancellario serenissimae principis Sophiae, reginae Poloniae, in Christo fratri Aeneas Silvius³ salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Nescio quis tu es, numquam te vidi et⁴, qui *te intus et in cute* noscat, inveni adhuc aliquem⁵. Christianum tamen te puto, non scio quam bonum sed⁶ parum⁷ eruditum. Vidi enim nuper ex tuis epistolis⁸, quas reginae nomine componis, unam, quae praelatis ac baronibus inclyti regni Hungariae inscribatur⁹, insulsam, ineptam et - nisi aegre fers tibi dici - malignam atque iniquam, cujus inspecto tenore fuit animus singula ejus verba publice refellere¹⁰ ac tam virus quam ineptias patefacere. Sed venit in mentem, quod Jesus salvator ac redemptor noster in evangelio praecipit: prius enim semotis arbitris jubet corripere fratrem, exinde duos tresve¹¹ adjungi, demum vero dici ecclesiae. Cum ergo mihi sis¹² frater, quia homo, quia Christianus et quia fortasse *de sorte domini* agam¹³ tecum juxta regulam evangelicam contendam.¹⁴ Monebo te his litteris et, ut errorem tuum cognoscas, exhortabor. Si profecero, lucratus sum fratrem meum, sin ergo nihil tecum, peccatum tuum in apertum dabo. Non enim aliquid ego¹⁵ clarissimae principis reginae Poloniae ascribo, si tamquam mulier te cancellarium et forsitan¹⁶ consiliarium¹⁷ primum secuta est.

¹ SC, 601-609

² SC, 636-646.

³ poeta *add.* H; poeta Senensis *add.* M3

⁴ nec H

⁵ aliquem L

⁶ *omit.* M3

⁷ tamen *add.* M3

⁸ nuper ex tuis : ex tuis nuper L

⁹ scribatur M3

¹⁰ reuellere M3

¹¹ tres ut M2

¹² mihi sis : sis mihi M3

¹³ et quia ... agam *omit.* L

¹⁴ *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁵ aliquid ego : ego aliquid L, M3

¹⁶ fortasse WO

¹⁷ consiliorium WO

173. Letter to the chancellor of Queen Sophia of Poland (June 1445, Vienna).^{1 2}

Context: After the death of Wladyslaw, King of Poland and Hungary, in the crusade of Varna, the Poles and the Polish party in Hungary, including the Palatine Hedervary, endeavoured to prevent the Hungarian estates from declaring a vacancy of the throne and electing a new king, who would presumably be the Habsburg boy king, Ladislaus the Posthumous.

Subject: Piccolomini's letter is a piece of Habsburg propaganda in which he a) castigates the Polish chancellor's inept language and b) demonstrates the hypocrisy and falseness of the official Polish position that their king is not dead. He does so in the invective style, dear to the Italian humanists. It would probably be considered so offensive, however, that it is doubtful whether Chancellor Schlick would allow it to be sent or published then.³

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to his brother in Christ, the venerable Chancellor⁴ of the Most Serene Princess Sophia,⁵ Queen of Poland.

[1] I do not know who you are and have never seen you nor found anyone who knows *you within and on the skin*.⁶ I trust you are a Christian but do not know how good you are though you, evidently, have little learning. I have recently seen a letter you wrote in the queen's name addressed to the prelates and barons of the illustrious Kingdom of Hungary. It is a stupid, inept and also – I hope you do not take it badly – a malign and wicked letter. Having studied its contents, I had decided to refute it publicly and in detail and show its venom⁷ and errors⁸ to all. But then I remembered what Jesus, Our Saviour and Redeemer, commanded in the Gospel: he bids us first to reproach a brother without witnesses, then to add two or three more, and first then tell the Church.⁹ Since you are a brother to me, a [fellow] man and a Christian possibly belonging to the *Lord's lot*,¹⁰ I shall speak seriously to you as the gospel bids. First, I shall exhort you by letter to recognise your error. If I succeed, I shall have gained a brother. If not, I shall publish your sin. In any case, I do not reproach the noble princess, the Queen of Poland, that – being a woman – she has followed her chancellor, possibly the first among her advisors.

¹ See Wolkan's remarks on the date of this letter (WO, p. 508).

² This letter was not included in Piccolomini's later collection of *Epistolae Saeculares*, probably for political reasons: it would not be expedient for the high-ranking prelate (who even sought benefices in Poland) to publish texts offensive to the Poles.

³ In the late manuscript M3, the letter actually carries the title *In-*

vectiva in cancellarium Polonie de sua inepta epistola.

⁴ Possibly Stephanus Schpick, parish priest of Biecz and reginalis curiae cancellarius (WO, p. 508).

⁵ Sophia of Halshany (c. 1405-1461): Princess of Halshany and 4th and last wife of King Wladyslaw II (Jagiellon).

⁶ Persius: 3, 30

⁷ The lies concerning King Wladislaus.

⁸ The infelicities and errors of language.

⁹ Matthew, 18: 16.

¹⁰ In his oration "*Si quis me roget*" of April 1438, Piccolomini had said: *si clerici, hoc est de sorte domini, volumus esse (si clerici, hoc est de sorte domini, volumus esse)* (COR, 2: 2, sect. 14). Cf. Deuteronomy, 18: 2.

[2] Solum unum est, quod in ea miror: cum Sophia vocetur, quod ex Graeco sumptum Latine sapientiam significat, cur non aliquem sibi facundum eloquentemque cancellarium asciverit. Cum fuit ipsa junior, pulchras vestes et aureas ex longinquis peregrinisque terris sibi afferri jussit, qui litteras suas nunc ornate dictet cur¹ non requirit? Vestis solum in patria videtur, nec vestitus fama regnum egreditur. Litterae in alienis provinciis inspiciuntur, multas manus incidunt, multa iudicia ferunt. Si sunt elegantes laudantur et mittentes et auctores. Si sunt insulsa, magnum dedecus est ambobus. At tu consulere rectius debebas tam reginae quam tibi nec eo te fungi officio decebat, cui tam aptus es quam sellae gestandae porcus. Nec propterea cancellarii personam induere debebas quamvis vel doctor es juris vel licentiatum vel artium peritus, quia non his studiis, sed Ciceronis et Quintiliani doctrinis dictantur litterae, quod est cancellarii proprium. Sed venio jam eo, quo institui. Proponenda est epistola tua ac per partes legenda, ut, qui sint errores, tibi manifestius ostendantur². *Audi ergo et attende diligenter*³, quia melius est corripientem audire quam adulantem. Non palpabo te, sed mordebo. At hi morsus salubres erunt tibi, si curam suscipies.

[3] Epistola tua sic⁴ incipit - tuam voco, quia dictasti⁵:

Sophia, Dei gratia regina Poloniae. Reverendissimi reverendique fratres⁶ patres, magnifici, strenui, nobiles, viri, amici nobis grate⁷ dilecti. Adveniens in locum hunc⁸ ad nostram praesentiam nobilis Rupertus de Thar, reginalis majestatis marescallus, tam verbis quam litteris per vestras communitates nobis titulatis, solícite nobis vestro nomine supplicavit, quatenus de vita et bona valetudine⁹ {316v} serenissimi principis domini Wladislai, Dei gratia Hungariae et Poloniae regis, filii nostri carissimi, vos faceremus certos et informatos.

[4] Plures sunt in his verborum ineptie, ne dicam stultias¹⁰. Quid enim necesse fuit, postquam dixeras *in hunc locum*, subjungere *ad nostram praesentiam*? “Ac potuit,” dices¹¹; “in [alio¹²] loco esse¹³ et non in praesentia.” Sed, illud demonstratum *hunc* significat *praesentiam*.¹⁴ Quod si tibi omnino placebat¹⁵ *praesentiam* dicere, *locum hunc*¹⁶ omittere¹⁷ debebas, quae verba nec ornatum adjiciunt¹⁸ orationi nec sententiam.

[5] Ubi dicit *per vestras communitates* singulari numero¹⁹ utendum fuit. Hungari namque²⁰ in unum convenientes unam communitatem, non plures faciebant, ac propterea unas dumtaxat litteras scripserunt²¹ in communi, licet forsitan aliqui singulares seorsum aliquid²² scripserunt.

[6] Ubi dicit *supplicavit*, melius erat atque honestius²³ verbum aliud ponere veluti “rogavit” aut²⁴ “exhortatus” fuit. Supplicare namque inferioris est, at regnum Hungariae praestantius est regno Poloniae, quod et²⁵ tu ipse fateris qui illud praeponis in regis titulo²⁶. Nec propterea, quod Hungari supplicent, reddendum est idem verbum, sed, ut illi modeste atque humiliter sunt locuti, sic te contra omnem decebat²⁷ arrogantiam, superbiam et inflationem relinquere verbisque uti quam placidissimis.

¹ *omit.* H, L

² ostendam H; ostendatur L

³ diligens L

⁴ *omit.* H

⁵ ut sequitur *add.* H

⁶ *omit.* H, L, M2

⁷ grati WO

⁸ locum hunc : hunc locum H, L

⁹ et columitate *add.* H; et voluntate *add.* L

¹⁰ stultitiae WO

¹¹ dicit H

¹² *em.*

¹³ *add.* H

¹⁴ Sed illud ... praesentiam *omit.* V

¹⁵ placeret M3

¹⁶ locum hunc : hunc locum M3

¹⁷ amittere M3

¹⁸ adiciunt M2; adducunt M2,

WO

¹⁹ nomine H

²⁰ enim M3

²¹ susceperunt H

²² seorsum aliquid : aliquid seorsum M3

²³ erat atque honestius: atque honestius erat M3

²⁴ vel H, L

²⁵ *omit.* H, L

²⁶ qui illud ... titulo *omit.* H, L

²⁷ decebit M3

[2] However, I do wonder about one thing: she is called Sophia, a Greek word that means “wisdom” in Latin. So, why has she not appointed a well-spoken, eloquent man as her chancellor? When she was young, she had beautiful, golden dresses brought to her from faraway foreign countries. So why does she not, now, seek someone who can dictate elegant letters? A dress is only seen in one’s own country, and nobody talks about it outside the kingdom. But letters are looked at carefully in foreign provinces; they come into many hands and are judged by many. If they are elegant, both the authors and the senders are praised, but if they are stupid, they are a great shame to both. You ought to have done better for the queen and yourself and not remain in an office for which you have no greater aptitude than a pig for sitting in a magistrate’s chair. Even if you were a doctor or licentiate of law or a specialist in the arts, you should not have become a chancellor, for to dictate letters - the proper function of a chancellor - you do not need those studies but the teachings of Cicero and Quintilian. But I now come to my purpose, which is to examine your letter passage by passage and show you clearly the errors in it. So *hear me and be attentive*,¹ for it is better *to hear somebody who corrects you than somebody who flatters you*.² I shall not stroke you but bite you, but those bites will benefit you if you accept them in a good spirit.

[3] Your letter begins in this way (I call it yours since it was you who wrote it):

Sophia, by the grace of God, Queen of Poland.

Most Reverend and Reverend brothers, fathers, magnificent and valiant nobles, men and friends beloved by Us. The Marshall of the Queen’s Majesty, Ruprecht von Thar,³ has arrived here in this place, in Our presence, charged with both words and letters titled⁴ to Us by your communities, begging Us, in your name, to inform you about the life and good health of the Most Serene Prince, Lord Wladyslaw,⁵ by the grace of God King of Hungary and Poland.

[4] This passage contains several infelicitous, not to say nonsensical, expressions. Why would it be necessary to add *in our presence* to *here in this place*? “But he could be in another place and not in the presence!” However, the demonstrative expression *this place* means the same as *our presence*. So, if you absolutely wanted to say *our presence*, you should have left out *this place*, which adds neither elegance nor meaning to the passage.

[5] When you say *by your communities*, you should have used the singular, for when the Hungarians meet together, they form one community, not two or more. Therefore, they wrote one joint letter, even though others, as individuals, may have written separate letters

[6] When you say *begged*, it would have been better and more appropriate to say “asked” or “exhorted”. For to beg is done by inferiors, but the Kingdom of Hungary has a higher status than the Kingdom of Poland, which you yourself recognised when you placed Hungary before Poland in the king’s title. Therefore, even if the Hungarians may have used the expression *begged*, the same word should not be used in the reply, for they were using it out of modesty and humility, whereas you, on your part, should have avoided all arrogance, pride and conceit and used very agreeable terms.

¹ Proverbs, 7: 24.

² Cf. Ecclesiastes, 7: 6.

³ Unidentified.

⁴ titulatus: see below. Means “addressed to”.

⁵ Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).

[7] Quod litteras *titulatas* vocites, quamvis novum¹, inusitatum et barbarum est, non miror: nihil enim plus scis. Nostri, qui Latini sermonis gnari sunt, dixissent² “inscriptas, directas, transmissas, restituendas, tradendas, presentandas” et his similia. Sed prosequor³ epistolam⁴:

[8] **Super quo vestris caritatibus respondendo⁵ dicimus, quod nos de vita et incolumitate praefati domini regis plenam et certam fidem tenemus, quod vivit quodque sanus est cum multis suis fidelibus.**

[9] Verbum *caritatis* tenuius est, quam uni⁶ regno debebatur, nam et⁷ cum minimis subditis nostris⁸ hoc uti possumus.

[10] *Plenam et certam fidem tenere* omnem dubitationem excludit, at inferius multae inferuntur⁹ causae dubitandi, quo fit, ut epistolae caput non consonet fini. Nec mirum. Multum namque laborare oportet^{10 11}, qui mentiri vult et non intelligi. Proverbium tamen hoc¹² tritum est¹³, *facilius mendacem quam claudum comprehendere*. Primus prudentiae gradus est non mentiri, secundus est sic mentiri, ut nemo perpendat, quamvis hoc potius malitiae quam prudentiae est tribuendum. Tu, bone vir, neutrum scis servare.

[11] *Quod vivit quodque sanus est* superflua verba sunt, cum de vita et sanitate praemissum esset.

[12] *Cum multis*¹⁴: verba haec, si bene inspicimus epistolam, ad paucos referuntur. Sequitur in epistola¹⁵:

[13] **Illustrissimus princeps dominus Kasimirus, Dei gratia magnus dux Lithuaniae, natus noster carissimus, misso ad nos suo notabili barone et consiliario nos certos de vita suae serenitatis reddidit, significans nobis certum mercatorem suorum dominiorum, quem pro inquirendo domino rege destinaverat, rediisse, qui dominum regem personaliter conspiciens et secum aliquot diebus familiaribus {317r} sermonibus et tractatibus usus mandata singularia ad dominum suum ducem magnum Lithuaniae suo nomine detulit, denuntians ex nomine omnes milites, quos cum sua majestate in illo loco suae mansionis reperit.**

[14] Praetereo hic multas constructiones involutas, intricatas et ab {291r} ornatu alienas, sensum obtenebrantes. Illud miror, quid sibi velit *magnus dux*, quasi innuat plures esse duces Lithuaniae, sed unum magnum, qui Kasimirus vocetur. Sed tu forsitan verba illorum imitari vis, qui dicunt magnum Deum. Non tamen¹⁶ recte sequeris, nam etsi bene in Deo ponitur magnitudo, non tamen in¹⁷ Casimiro convenit. Deus namque¹⁸ solus est magnus per athonomiasiam¹⁹, *qui magnalia facit*, et hoc nomen tunc excogitatum fuit, cum esset aliorum deorum opinio, quae quamvis falsa esset, ad consolationem tamen populi²⁰ oportebat sic loqui, quasi alii dii non essent magni,²¹ etiam²² si dii essent, ut gentes in circuitu putabant Hebraeorum.

¹ nomen HE, WO

² nostri qui ... dixissent : nostrique Latini sermonis gnarus sic dixisset HE, WO

³ prosequamur H

⁴ in nomine domini ut sequitur add. H

⁵ respondebo M3

⁶ huic HE, WO

⁷ omit. H

⁸ subditis nostris : nostris subditis M3

⁹ insecuntur HE, WO

¹⁰ eum add. HE, WO

¹¹ multum namque ... eum : multa habet laborare H

¹² omit. HE, WO

¹³ omit. H

¹⁴ suis fidelibus add. HE, WO

¹⁵ referunt. Sequitur in epistola : referunt HE, WO

¹⁶ tu L

¹⁷ omit. HE, WO

¹⁸ enim M3

¹⁹ per athonomiasiam omit. M3

²⁰ omit. H

²¹ M2: Here begins a lacuna that ends in sect. 35.

²² omit. V

[7] That you call the letter *titulata* (titled) is a new, unusual and barbarous usage, but it does not surprise me, for you do not know better. Our people who know Latin would have said “*inscriptas, directas, transmissas, restituendas, tradendas, praesentandas*” or something similar.

The letter continues:

[8] In reply to Your Charities,¹ we declare that we have full and sure information that the aforesaid Lord King is alive and well: he lives and is in good health with many of his faithful followers.

[9] The word *caritas* is inappropriate at the level of a kingdom: indeed it may be used to the lowest of our subjects.

[10] *We have full and sure information* leaves no room for doubt, but many reasons for doubt actually occur later in the letter. Thus, the beginning of the letter does not agree with the end. This is not surprising since anyone who wants not to be revealed as a liar must work hard at it. Indeed, a well-known proverb says² that *it is easier to catch a liar than a cripple*. The first degree of prudence is to not lie; the second is to lie in such a way as to not be caught (though this is really not prudence but wickedness). You, my good fellow, keep neither rule.

[11] *He lives and is in good health* is superfluous after *is alive and well*.

[12] *Together with many*: the *many* actually refers to a few, as a closer inspection of the whole text reveals.

The letter continues:

[13] The Most Illustrious Prince Casimir,³ by the grace of God Grand Duke of Lithuania, Our dear son, has sent a distinguished baron and councillor of his to inform Us that His Serenity is still alive: a certain merchant from his dominions, whom he had sent to inquire about the Lord King, had seen the Lord King in person and talked and discussed various affairs with him for some days. The merchant has now returned, bringing with him some messages from the king to his own lord, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and a list of all the soldiers who were with His Majesty where he stayed.

[14] I pass over the many convoluted and intricate constructions, devoid of all embellishment and obscuring the meaning. But I wonder what the expression *Grand Duke [magnus dux]* means. It implies that there are several dukes in Lithuania but only one who is “grand,” the duke named Casimir. But maybe you wish to imitate those who speak of the “Great God” [*magnus Deus*]. But in this, you err, for though greatness certainly applies to God, it does not do so to Casimir. For God alone is great (through *autonomasia*⁴), he *who does great things*.⁵ But in an age when people falsely thought there were other gods, the name of Great God was devised to comfort the Hebrew people, indicating that if there were other gods, as their neighbours thought, at least they were not great.⁶

¹ “*caritates*”

² Cicero: *De officiis*, 1: 10, 33: *est ... tritum sermone proverbium*

³ Kazimierz IV [Jagiellon] (1427-1492): Grand Duke of Lithuania

from 1440 and King of Poland from 1447 to his death.

⁴ *Autonomasia*: substitution of a title or epithet for a proper name.

⁵ Psalm, 105: 21: *qui fecit magna-lia*.

⁶ Queen Sophia’s secretary did not invent the title Grand Duke of

[15] *Misso ad nos barone*: Non nominatur, qui baro fuerit, nec rursus, qui mercator, nec in quo loco rex delitescat nec per quos detineatur. Quis non videat has esse fictiones atque illusiones. Venit certus, missus per certum, narrans de certis, in certo loco, in certo tempore, cum certis sociis. Mos est mentientium sic loqui: dixit quidam missus a quodam in quodam loco, quadam die quoddam miraculum. Hujusmodi est sermo tuus. Cum¹ perdas² verba quam³ multa inutiliter ac supervacue, cur mercatoris nomen et baronis⁴ et loci, ubi rex latet⁵ non expressisti, quod erat necessarium? An non vides eloquentiam tibi atque prudentiam defore?

[16] *Personaliter conspiciens*: Bene dixisti *personaliter*, ne crederetur⁶ umbraliter per quiete conspexisse, quod forsitan verius est. Si conspexit, ubi conspexit, in terra vel in mari, in silvis aut in⁷ oppidis, in continenti aut in locis insularibus? Si sunt insulae, nomenne habent cultaene an desertae sunt⁸? Cur tam inops verborum es⁹, ubi necesse est loqui¹⁰? Ubi non est opus, tot verba conculcas.

[17] *In illo loco*: Quasi praecesserit nominatio alicujus loci! At ego non video in epistola tua¹¹ locum quempiam nominatum.

Continuemus in textu tuo¹²:

[18] **Audientibus enim nobis felices novitates mox cum¹³ dominis praelatis regni Poloniae nostrum certum fidum linguarum mercatorem direximus ad inquirendam hujus rei veritatem, qui autem inveniens ipsius serenitatem nobis nuntiavit¹⁴ per fidelem etiam nostrum et quem cum eo miseramus, de vita et sanitate ipsius domini regis etiam significando. Solus autem adhuc cum ipsius serenitate remansit certis ex causis, et quem de die in diem venturum cum laetitia praestolamur, ut¹⁵ de hoc scimus, nos aliquibus ex vobis satis¹⁶ late scripsisse felices novitates.**

[19] Mirabile est¹⁷, quod mater filium ab hostibus captum, quamvis vivat, pro felici novitate suscipiat. Viro forti et claro mori praestat quam incidere captivitatem. Ac cujus captivitatem, si captus est? Nempe Teucrorum infidelium, Christi nominis inimicorum, quibus ipse fidem fregerat. At mater est et matrem decet, quae bona sunt, filiis optare. Ille si obiisset in bello, aut¹⁸ Christo dedisset animam aut saltem claram famam consecutus fuisset.

[20] *Nostrum certum*: Iterum sine nomine mittitur nuntius et collegam habet sine nomine, sed certus cum certo, quidam cum quodam.

[21] *Fidum linguarum mercatorem*: Nescio, ad quid referatur *linguarum* verbum¹⁹, ubicumque se applicat, ineptum est. "Linguarum peritum, gnarum scitumve" dicere oportebat.

Lithuania, which went back to the 13th century, when it actually distinguished that duke from other dukes in the region. Piccolomini's criticism is based on insufficient knowledge of the historical facts.

¹ cur L

² perdis H

³ tam H

⁴ et baronis *omit.* H

⁵ et baronis *add.* H

⁶ crederent H

⁷ aut in : an M3

⁸ ... ne an desertae sunt : sunt an deserte M3

⁹ verborum es : es verborum M3

¹⁰ qui *add.* M3

¹¹ *omit.* HE, WO

¹² ut sequitur *add.* H

¹³ tamen M3

¹⁴ nuntiat H

¹⁵ prout M3

¹⁶ *omit.* M3

¹⁷ *omit.* HE, WO

¹⁸ et L

¹⁹ linguarum verbum : verbum linguarum M3

[15] *Has sent a baron*: It is not said who the baron was, and later who the merchant was, nor where the king is sheltering, nor by whom he is being held. Who does not see that these claims are fictitious and misleading? A certain person has come, sent by certain person, talking about certain things in a certain place, at a certain time, with certain companions. This is the way liars speak: an emissary sent by somebody in some place on some day has reported something amazing: this is how you speak. When you waste so many words, uselessly and superfluously, why do you not mention the merchant's and the baron's names and the place where the king is staying - which is quite necessary? Do you not see that you lack both eloquence and prudence?

[16] *Has seen the king in person*: it is good you said "in person" lest people think he had been seen as a shadow figure in a dream, which may possibly have been more true. If the merchant saw him, where did he see him? On land or at sea, in a forest or a city, on the continent or on some island? If it was an island, what is its name, and is it cultivated or deserted? Why are you so parsimonious with words where it is necessary to speak? Where it is not necessary, you waste words.

[17] *In that place*: As if the place had actually been mentioned previously. But I do not see the place mentioned anywhere in your letter.

Let us continue in your text:

[18] Hearing this happy news, We and the lord prelates of the Kingdom of Poland sent a trusted merchant of Ours, [proficient] in languages to inquire into the truth of this matter. When he found His Serenity, he informed Us, through a trusted servant of Ours We had sent with him, that the Lord King is alive and in good health. For certain reasons, the merchant remained with the king, whom We joyfully expect to arrive in a few days. We have written more extensively to some of you about this happy news as We know it.

[19] It is strange that the mother could consider it happy news that her son, though still alive, has been captured by his enemies, for a strong and noble man would rather die than fall in captivity. But if he is a prisoner, whose prisoner is he? He is the prisoner of those infidel Turks, enemies of the name of Christ, whom [he had deceived] by breaking his oath [to them].¹ But she is the king's mother, and a mother should wish what is good for her son. If he had died in the war, he would have given his soul to Christ or at least gained a noble reputation.

[20] *A trusted [merchant] of Ours*: Again, the emissary sent is unnamed, and his colleague is unnamed too: a certain person and another certain person, somebody with somebody!

[21] *Merchant [proficient] in languages*: I do not know what "languages" refer to. In any case, the expression is nonsense. You should have said "well-versed, knowledgeable or conversant in languages".

¹ Piccolomini here refers to the Peace Treaty of Szeged (15 August 1444) between King Wladyslaw III and Sultan Murad, which

Wladyslaw, at the instigation of Cardinal Cesarini, shortly afterwards broke by leading an army against the Turks (Crusade of Var-

na). On the Treaty of Szeged, see Jefferson, p. 386.

[22] *Ad inquirendum*: Jam dubitas. Non est certa fides, ubi amplius inquiris, jam dictis tuis adversaris. Non est plenum, cui potest aliquid¹ adjungi. Cognosce te parum salis parumque sensus² habere. Et si non vis esse veriloquus, disce saltem mentiri, ne te simul et reginam irrisioni praebeas.

[23] *Nuntiavit de vita et sanitate*: at ubinam gentium, terrarum populorumque esset, non renuntiavit, nec ipse rediit. Forsitan ad inferos descendit ibique regem convenit, unde non est facile *gradum revocare*, quamvis Aeneas, Hercules et Orpheus, ut fabulae tradunt, ad superiores³ redierunt.

[24] *Aliquibus* cautius fuit quam “omnibus” scribere, nec enim tales litterae in publicum dandae sunt, ubi sunt multi oculi, qui festucari⁴ non possunt.

[25] **Praedictus autem dominus Kasimirus, magnus dux Lithuaniae, de vita et liberatione germani sui sollicitus, praefatum mercatorem cum tribus aliis viris fidis et industriis expedit, data eis plena informatione, et hii, nisi aliquis casus obviet, ante diem beati Johannis Baptiste reverti polliciti sunt. Et⁵ ob ibidem praelati et barones regni Poloniae, habita in die sancti Adalberti⁶ in Siradia generali conventionem, in qua nuntius domini Kasimiri, ducis Lithuaniae, affuit, concluderunt conventionem generalem personalem pro die beati⁷ Johannis Baptistae praedicto observare, ut mercatore⁸ et nuntiis redeuntibus et positionem domini regis notificantibus ipse dux magnus Kasimirus⁹ cum consilio praelatorum et baronum regni Poloniae posset¹⁰ pro liberatione germani sui domini¹¹ regis intendere et liberare efficacius.**

Videsne, quod¹² superfluum es, quod¹³ verbosus, longus, taediosus!

[26] *Magnus dux*: Quid, obsecro, te urget, ut semper ducem Lithuaniae magnum appelles? An non¹⁴ satis est, cum antea integer titulus praecesserit, praedictum ducem dixisse? Quid tu demens, ubi non est opus verbis, prolixus es; ubi est opus, brevissimus? Parum legisti et minus intellexisti¹⁵, ut video. Sed perge.

[27] *De vita et¹⁶ liberatione*: Ecce jam captus¹⁷ fateris. Ista sunt felicia nova, de quibus laetata est mater.

[28] *Praefatum mercatorem*: Illum sine nomine, at dico¹⁸ sunt sine nomine ducalis et reginalis.¹⁹ Dux ergo suum misit, qui nec nomen habet nec cognomen²⁰.

[29] *Cum tribus aliis*: Etiam sine nomine. Sed timuit nominare, ne intercipi ab hostibus possent, quasi Teucris omnia significantur, quae inter Hungaros funt, aut quasi non sint Teucris satis cauti suos captivos servare, nec²¹ qui sint²² ad eos venientes explorent²³.

¹ potest aliquid : aliquid potest H

² sensi H

³ superos M3

⁴ fascinari M3

⁵ omit. L

⁶ Alberti H

⁷ omit. H

⁸ mercatoribus M3

⁹ omit. L

¹⁰ possit M3

¹¹ fratris add. M3

¹² ut M3

¹³ ut M3

¹⁴ anne HE, WO

¹⁵ minus intellexisti : intellexisti

minus H

¹⁶ de add. M3

¹⁷ captum H

¹⁸ At dico : duo M3

¹⁹ *Textus corruptus?*

²⁰ nomen habet nec cognomen : cognomen habuit nec nomen M3

²¹ ut HE, WO

²² sunt H

²³ implorent HE, WO

[22] *To inquire*: So, now you are in doubt! To [need to] inquire further into the matter goes against your previous statements.¹ If something is complete, nothing can be added to it. Recognise that you have too little learning and common sense! And if you do not wish to speak the truth, then at least learn how to lie lest you make a laughingstock of the queen and yourself.

[23] *He informed Us that [the king] is alive and in good health*: but he sent no information about where in the world the king was, and he did not himself return. Maybe he went down to the underworld and met the king there, from where it is not easy *to come back*,² although the fables claim that Aeneas, Hercules and Morpheus did return to the world above.

[24] *To some of you*: it was indeed more cautious to write to “some of you” than to all, for such letters should not be made public that cannot convince the many.³

[25] But being concerned about the life and liberation of his brother, the aforesaid Lord Casimir, Grand Duke of Lithuania, despatched the aforesaid merchant with three other reliable and assiduous men with complete information on the matter. They have promised to return - unless some misfortune should occur - before the Feast of Saint John the Baptist.⁴ The prelates and barons of the Kingdom of Poland have held a meeting on the same matter in Siradia on the Feast of Saint Albert. An envoy of Lord Casimir, Duke of Lithuania, was present. The lords decided to assemble personally on the aforesaid Feast of Saint John the Baptist so that, when the merchant and the envoys returned with information about the “position” [location] of the Lord King, Duke Casimir and the council of prelates and barons of the Polish realm could plan for the liberation of his brother, the Lord King, and effectively liberate [him].

Really, don't you see how overflowing, verbose, long-winded and tedious you are?

[26] *Grand Duke*: What, I ask, moves you to always call the Duke of Lithuania Grand? Is it not enough to call him the aforesaid duke when his full title has already been mentioned? Why, senseless man, do you use many words when few are needed, and few when many are needed? As I see it, you have studied too little and understood even less. But move on.

[27] *About the life and liberation*: Here, you admit that Wladyslaw is a captive. This is the glad news that made the mother⁵ happy!

[28] *The aforesaid merchant*: You do not mention his name, but I insist that only the duke and the queen need not be named personally.⁶

So, the duke sent his man, who has no name or family name.

[29] *With three others*: Also without a name! But Casimir apparently feared to mention them lest they be taken by the enemies – as if the Turks are informed about all Hungarian affairs, or they are so incautious that they cannot keep their prisoners, or do not investigate who come to them!

¹ Claiming that the queen had obtained full information about the prince's situation.

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 128.

³ "ubi sunt multi oculi, qui festucari non possunt"

⁴ 24 June 1446.

⁵ Queen Sophia.

⁶ "at dico sunt sine nomine ducalis et reginalis".

[30] *Industribus*: Novum vocabulum¹: nostri “industriis” dixissent, sed tibi fortasse² non minus licentiae datum est quam Lucilio, Virgilio et Plauto, qui laureatus es Cracoviae, sed³ illi⁴ Romae susceperunt lauream.

[31] *Expedivit*: Expedire est⁵ impeditos solvere, non tamen⁶ bene apte⁷ positum verbum.

[32] *Nisi aliquis casus*: Caute⁸ positum est de casu, ut⁹ adveniente termino¹⁰ nova possit cudi¹¹ fallacia. Non incautum hic, sed malum arguo, vafrum, deceptorem, versipellem.

[33] *Nuntius affuit*: Poterat¹² sine periculo nominari.

[34] *Concluserunt conventionem personalem*: Frustra subiecisti personalem, nec enim barones unius regni convenire¹³ in tanta re nisi personaliter possunt. Principes non subditi sunt, qui per oratores conventionibus intersunt.¹⁴ Carentes ergo Poloni principe conventionem non possunt nisi personalem facere.

[35] *Positionem*: Jam te sophistam ostendis,¹⁵ qui termino uteris¹⁶ dialectico beneque hoc verbo uteris¹⁷ generali¹⁸ et latissimo, quasi dubites, an in rerum natura sit ipse rex. Et si apud Trapobanem¹⁹ insulam Indorum aut ultra Caucasum fuerit vel ultra Thule²⁰ aut inter Hesperidum insulas, positionem ejus referre poterint²¹, immo etiam si apud²² inferos pervenerit.

[36] *De liberatione*: Equidem si certa esset hujus regis²³ captura, non solum cum Polonis ad liberationem ejus Kasimirus intenderet, sed etiam Hungaros in auxilium²⁴ dehortaretur²⁵, sive pecuniis sive armis redimendus esset²⁶ frater, et jam diu super hac re²⁷ {291r} Polonorum legati Hungariam²⁸ petivissent. Sed haec conventio propterea fit, ut status regni Poloniae confirmetur, ne propter regis mortem innovatio²⁹ cum damno fiat.

[37] *Liberare efficacius*: inconvenienter positum verbum. Quod si praemissum esset “ipsum” vel simile, bene dixisses³⁰: ”et ipsum efficacius liberare”.

Nunc exhortationem³¹ tuam ornatam et artificiosam audiamus, ut³² sequitur³³:

¹ est *add.* H

² forsitan H

³ si H

⁴ vero *add.* H

⁵ et HE, WO

⁶ *omit.* H

⁷ aptum L

⁸ cautum M3

⁹ *omit.* L

¹⁰ *omit.* L

¹¹ audi M3

¹² poterunt H

¹³ unius regni convenire : convenire unius regni M3

¹⁴ intersint H

¹⁵ facis L

¹⁶ vertis V

¹⁷ hoc verbo uteris : uteris hoc verbo M3

¹⁸ uteris generali : generali uteris H

¹⁹ Trapobanam H

²⁰ *em.*; Thilem codd.

²¹ poterunt M3

²² ad M3

²³ hujus regis : huic regi L

²⁴ Hungaros in auxilium : in auxilium Hungaros H

²⁵ hortaretur M3

²⁶ foret HE, WO

²⁷ M2: *Here ends the lacuna that began in sect. 14.*

²⁸ Poloniam L

²⁹ invocatio L

³⁰ dixeris M3

³¹ adhortationem M3

³² *omit.* H, L

³³ (ut) sequitur *add.* HE, WO

[30] *Industribus [assiduous]*: This is a new word. Ours would have said “industriis”¹, but maybe you have the same licence² as Lucilius,³ Virgil⁴ and Plautus⁵, though you received the laurel⁶ in Krakow and they in Rome⁷.

[31] *Expedivit [despatched]*: “Expedire” means to “free from obstacles”. The verb is not placed suitably in the sentence.

[32] *Unless some misfortune should occur*: “Misfortune” appears prudent and opens up for fabricating a new deception when the date of the emissaries’ return arrives. But, in truth, it is not only imprudent but also wicked, cunning, deceptive and dissembling.

[33] *An envoy was present*: He, at least, could be named without any risk.⁸

[34] *They decided to assemble personally*: Adding “personally” is superfluous, for in such an important affair, the barons of a kingdom can only meet in person. Only princes can participate in meetings through ambassadors; their subjects cannot. So, without their prince, the Poles can only assemble in person.

[35] *Positio [location]*: Here, you show yourself as quite the sophist,⁹ using the term dialectically. Well do you use this quite general and vague term, as if you were in doubt whether or where the king was actually located in the physical nature. If he was on the Indian island of Taprobana¹⁰ or beyond Caucasus or Thule or on the Hesperidean Islands,^{11 12} or even if he had gone down to the underworld, they could have reported his “position”.

[36] *Of the liberation*: But if there was certain information about the king’s captivity, then Casimir would not just deliberate with Poles concerning his liberation but also summon the Hungarians to assist him, whether his brother should be freed with money or arms. Indeed, the Polish legates would have come to Hungary in this matter a long time ago. But the assembly [referred to in the queen’s letter] is summoned to confirm the status of the Kingdom of Poland lest the king’s death should result in damaging political turbulence.¹³

[37] *“Liberare efficacius” [effectively liberate]*: an unfortunate turn of phrase. It would have been better if you had put in “him” or something similar, like in “effectively liberate him”.

Now, let us hear your elegant and artful¹⁴ exhortation.

¹ The chancellor used the wrong declination of the adjective.

² Poetic licence.

³ Gaius Lucilius (180, 168 or 148 BC - 103 BC): the earliest Roman satirist.

⁴ Vergilius Maro, Publius [Virgil, Vergil] (70-19 BCE): Roman poet.

⁵ Plautus, Titus Maccius (ca. 254-184 BCE): Roman playwright.

⁶ His academic degree.

⁷ Their poet’s crowns.

⁸ The risk of his name being reported to the Turkish enemies.

⁹ In ancient Greece, a sophist was a teacher. In modern usage, *sophist* is used disparagingly. A *sophism*, or *sophistry*, is a fallacious argument, especially one used deliberately to deceive, as here.

¹⁰ The classical name for Sri Lanka.

¹¹ Hesperides (also called Fortunate Isles) is a name given by the

ancients to a series of islands located to the extreme west of the then known world.

¹² Taprobana: East; Caucasus / Thule: North; Hesperidian Isles: South. These three locations indicate the far limits of the world as known to the Europeans in mid 15th century. Saying that the king is beyond these places means that he is not in the known world.

¹³ Like conflicts of succession.

¹⁴ Invective sarcasm!

[38] **Suscipite igitur, viri optimi, hanc nostram certificationem fidelem, donec misericors Deus certiozem largiri dignabitur et¹ praefatum dominum regem non reputetis mortuum, memores suae excelsae² bonitatis, caritatis et fidei, quas³, cum inter vos esset,⁴ vobis⁵ et⁶ regno praestitit, dum regno paterno omisso⁷ vestrum regendum⁸ ad vestras preces et desideria suscepit⁹, sola illa intentione persuasus, ut fidei catholicae et regno vestro auxilium contra barbaricam rabiem ferret, dum victoriis multis, quas ei altissimus de Turcis¹⁰ concesserat et¹¹ liberatione regni vestri non contentus, secundam expeditionem in eos exercuit et proprio brachio cum fidelibus suis multitudinem hostium confregit¹².¹³**

[39] *Certiozem*: Qui certiozem expectat notitiam¹⁴, non est certissimus et forsitan minime certus, nam comparativa et superlativa¹⁵ in hoc verbo¹⁶ certus parum operantur et ad ornatum magis¹⁷ quam ad necessitudinem¹⁸ adiunguntur¹⁹. Sed demus huic veniam loco transeamusque cum multitudine.

[40] *Non reputetis mortuum*: si non vis reputari²⁰, da iudicia et signa, quae urgeant, nam quo facto non reputabimus²¹ mortuum illum, de cuius vita tu ipse dubitas, qui dicis non dubitandum. Crede mihi, nemo bene persuadet, qui non est ipse²² persuasus.

[41] *Suae bonitatis*: audio aequo animo te²³ regem illum adolescentem illustris sanguinis collaudare²⁴. Compatior autem illi, qui minus idoneum laudatorem²⁵ sortitus est. Nam quomodo laudas, vir egregie atque facunde? Bonitatem primo excelsam ponis, post caritatem et fidem. Numquid vir bonus fidelis est et caritatem habet? Parum²⁶ legisti, ut video, philosophos²⁷. Aristoteles, Cicero, Seneca, Lactantius ceterique peritiores virum bonum idem putant quod sapientem. In viro autem²⁸ sapienti²⁹ sunt omnes virtutes. At tu, cum generale nomen bonitatis antetulisses, quasi te poeniteret tantae laudis, restrictiva verba posuisti³⁰, caritatis et fidei, quasi nihil illo in principe aliud elucesceret quam fides et caritas. Sunt haec³¹ quidem magnae virtutes, sed non consummatae bonitatis. Sunt quidam fideles, qui non sunt magnifici neque fortes, quae virtutes regi conveniunt sed maxime liberalitas et³² justitia³³, quas³⁴ vobis et regno praestitit. Et³⁵ forsitan multa praestitit, sed tu illa male narras, quamvis nescio, quid adolescens ille fecerit, quod sibi soli sit ascribendum.

¹ omit. HE, WO

² omit. L

³ quos HE, WO

⁴ omit. L, M2

⁵ omit. HE, WO

⁶ ex M2

⁷ misso H

⁸ regnum L

⁹ suscipit M3

¹⁰ de Turcis : in Turcos H

¹¹ de add. H

¹² fregit HE, WO

¹³ dicis add. HE, WO

¹⁴ omit. H

¹⁵ omit. M3 [blank space]

¹⁶ nomine HE, WO

¹⁷ magis forte H

¹⁸ necessitatem H

¹⁹ adiungitur M3

²⁰ refutare H

²¹ mortuum si ... reputabimus

omit. M2

²² sibi ipsi H

²³ omit. HE, WO

²⁴ collaudari HE, WO

²⁵ laudacionem M3

²⁶ paucos HE, WO

²⁷ omit. H

²⁸ omit. L

²⁹ sapiente WO

³⁰ posuisse H

³¹ haec H

³² omit. M2

³³ sed maxime ... justitia omit.

WO

³⁴ omit. M2, M3

³⁵ omit. L, M2, M3

[38] **So, excellent men, accept this information as certain until merciful God deigns to give us something even more certain, and do not believe the rumours that the Lord King is dead, but remember the outstanding goodness, charity and faithfulness that he brought to you and the kingdom¹ while he was among you. Leaving his paternal kingdom,² he accepted to govern yours, moved by your prayers and wishes. His only concern was to bring help to the Catholic Faith and your kingdom against the fury of the barbarians.³ Not content with the many victories over the Turks the Most High had given him and the liberation of your kingdom, he raised a second expedition against them and, with his own hand and together with his faithful followers, crushed a multitude of enemies.**

[39] *Even more certain*: If you are waiting for more certain information, you are not completely certain or maybe not certain at all, for the use of the comparative or superlative form of this adjective indicates only a small degree of certainty and is added more for the sake of elegance rather than out of necessity. But let us forgive this little blunder and continue with the many others.

[40] *Do not believe him dead*: If you do not want it to be rumoured [that the king has died], then you must provide convincing assessments and proofs, for how can we fail to believe the rumours of his death if you yourself doubt that he is alive, although you insist that others should not doubt. Believe me: someone who is not convinced himself cannot easily convince others

[41] *His goodness*: I hear with equanimity how you praise the young king from an illustrious line, but I pity him that he has found such an unsuitable eulogist. For how do you praise him, oh, excellent and eloquent man?⁴ First, you mention his outstanding goodness and then his charity and faithfulness. But isn't a good man also faithful and charitable? I see that you have not read the philosophers much. Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Lactantius and other most knowledgeable men believe that a good man is the same as a wise man. You first mentioned the general term "goodness", but then – as if you regretted such great praise – you added the specific terms "charity" and "faithfulness" as if the prince had no other shining virtues than faithfulness and charity. These are indeed great virtues, but not on the high level of goodness. Some who are faithful are neither high-minded nor strong. The virtues of faithfulness and charity are indeed desirable in a king, but the virtues of generosity and justice are even more so, and those, too, he brought to you and the kingdom. He may have given much, but your account is unsatisfactory - though I do not know what the young man did that may be attributed to him alone.

¹ Kingdom of Hungary.

² Poland.

³ The Turks.

⁴ Sarcasm!

[42] *Dum regno paterno*: haud magna laus, si pauper regnum relinquens locupletis atque ditissimi possessionem quaerebat. Non debetis cuiquam succensere, Poloni, qui regnum vestrum ad comparationem Hungariae dixerit inops et tenue. Quid enim vos habetis¹ Poloni nisi fruges et silvas? Vobis poculum est cervisia, cibus bovina caro. Nihil est, quod vestri² indigeat Hungaria, nisi fortasse homines vos habere quam multos dixeritis eosque posse alienis regionibus impartiri³. Nolo in hoc esse molestus. Illud dicere possum vos neque argentum neque frumentum neque pecora neque⁴ homines Hungariae tradidisse, nisi ideo velitis magni vos pendere⁵, quod unius⁶ personam regis Hungariae concessistis. At hoc regi vestro magis conducebat quam Hungariae. Nec enim ejus consilii⁷ fuit, ut per se regere, cavere pericula, ductare⁸ exercitum ceteraque regni munera⁹ posset administrare. Juvenis enim erat et alieno potius quam suo consilio ducebatur, sed sperabat¹⁰ vir fieri et annos¹¹ maturiores induere seque cum regno Hungariae magnum clarumque facere. Quod si quis bene pensaverit, inveniet multo melius Hungariam regi potuisse sine rege Poloniae, quam regem Poloniae sine Hungaria. Non est igitur magnificandum¹², quod rex Poloniae pro divite et opulentissimo regni Hungariae nemorosam¹³ et pauperem Poloniam ac paene nudam reliquerit, nec tamen reliquerit, sed una cum Hungaria retinuerit¹⁴. Simile hoc est, ac si aliquis regem Aragonum amasse Neapolitanos magnopere contenderit, quia Chateloniam atque Aragoniam deseruerit, ut regnum Apuliae nancisceretur, qui tamen non propter Neapolitanos, sed propter suam gloriam in¹⁵ Italiam Apuliamque venit.

[43] *Sola illa intentione persuasus*: utinam¹⁶ verum diceres, et non ambitio nobilem atque clarissimum sanguinem regium excaecavisset^{17 18} aut odium domus Austriae excreavisset¹⁹, quamvis nihil adolescenti regio, sed ejus consilio tibi imputo. Is juvenis erat et alieno magis quam suo ducebatur arbitrio. Vos scitis, Poloni, nihil²⁰ juris in Hungaria vobis competere. Nemo vestrum illic umquam rex²¹ fuit. Quid ibi quaeritis, quid agitis, quae vesania vos²² instigat²³, quae ambitio, quae mala pestis? “Vocati sumus²⁴,” dicitis. Licetne ire ad rapinas, ad injurias, ad homicidia, quamvis vocemini? Sigismundus rex Hungariae fuit, huic successit gener ejus^{25 26} Albertus, ex hoc natus est Ladislaus, qui etiam coronatus est. Cur hujus possessionem turbatis? Cur pupilli et²⁷ orphani atque paene infantis jura usurpatis²⁸? An quia in Bohemia contra regem Albertum, contra jus fasque²⁹ arma sumpsistis, etiam nunc ejus sanguinem prosequi³⁰ vultis? Qui offendit quique nocuit, numquam parcit semperque vult magis nocere. Stultum est et desperantis vitium. Satis, Poloni, persecuti estis Austriae domum. Desinite tandem et injuriis modum ponite³¹: quamvis injuriae vestrae graves sint³² atque enormes, remitti tamen poterunt³³, si desinitis. [*cont.*]

¹ vos habetis : habetis vos HE, WO

² vestris H

³ importari M2

⁴ nec H

⁵ vos pendere : videri HE, WO

⁶ unam HE, WO

⁷ consulti HE, WO

⁸ ducere HE, WO

⁹ juvamina HE, WO

¹⁰ spectabat L

¹¹ modos M3

¹² magnificandum HE, WO; magis faciendum M3

¹³ nemorosum V

¹⁴ tenderit HE, WO

¹⁵ suam gloriam in : gloriam suam ad H

¹⁶ omit. M3

¹⁷ omit. HE, WO

¹⁸ sanguinem regium : sanguine regem excreavisset M2

¹⁹ excreavisset add. HE, WO

²⁰ omit. M3

²¹ omit. HE, WO

²² omit. M3

²³ instigavit HE, WO

²⁴ sanius M3

²⁵ omit. H

²⁶ omit. HE, WO

²⁷ atque H

²⁸ usurpatis HE, WO

²⁹ jus fasque : jusque fas M2

³⁰ persequi H, V

³¹ modum pomite : ponite modum M3

³² sunt M2

³³ poterint L

[42] *Leaving his paternal kingdom*: it is not really praiseworthy that he left a poor kingdom to seek possession of a rich and opulent one. You should not be offended, Poles, if someone says that your kingdom is poor and weak compared with Hungary, for what do you have but legumes and forests? Your drink is beer, and your food is meat from cows. Hungary needs nothing of yours unless you claim that you have many men who may be shared with other regions. I truly do not say this to be insulting. What I can say is that you have neither provided money nor grain nor cattle nor men to Hungary, and therefore you may only boast of having given Hungary the king's person. But this profited your king more than Hungary.¹ It was not his own decision to rule by himself, to guard against dangers, to lead an army and perform the other duties of kingship, for he was young and led by others' counsel rather than by his own. He expected to become a man, to reach more mature years and to make himself great and famous with the Kingdom of Hungary. But if one considers the matter carefully, he will find that Hungary would much better be without the King of Poland than the King of Poland would be without Hungary. Thus, there is no reason to boast that the king of Poland left the forest-covered, poor and almost denuded Poland, which, actually, he did not leave but kept together with Hungary. Saying that would be the same as claiming that the King of Aragon² greatly loved the Neapolitans because he left Catalunya and Aragon to gain the Kingdom of Puglia when, as a matter of fact, he did not come to Italy and Puglia for the sake of the Neapolitans but for the sake of his own glory.³

[43] *His only concern [was to bring help to the Catholic Faith and your kingdom against the fury of the barbarians]*: I wish that you were speaking the truth and that this noble and illustrious royal blood had not been blinded by ambition or hate of the House of Austria.⁴ But I impute this not to the young king but to his council and to you. He was young and guided by others' judgment rather than his own. You know, Poles, that you have no rights in Hungary. None of you has ever been king there. What do you seek there, what are you doing, what madness drives you, what ambition, what evil plague? "We were invited there," you say. But is it right to plunder, harm and kill just because you are invited to? Sigismund⁵ was king of Hungary, and after him, his son-in-law Albrecht.⁶ He sired Ladislaus, who has even been crowned. Why do you disturb his possession [of the kingdom]? Why do you usurp the rights of a child, an orphan and almost an infant? Is it because, against law and right, you fought Albrecht in Bohemia,⁷ that even now you want to persecute his blood? The man who hurts and harms never stops but always wants to do more harm. This is foolish and the vice of a desperate man. Poles,

¹ In a letter to Cardinal Olesnický some months later, Piccolomini would say: *You overlooked that by seeking another kingdom you neglected your own and emptied it of men and money* (letter 177:12).

² Alfonso V the Magnanimous (Aragon).

³ After many years of war, Alfonso finally conquered the Kingdom of Naples in 1442.

⁴ I.e., the House of Habsburg.

⁵ Sigismund (Luxembourg) (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Croatia (1387), King of the Romans (Germany) (1411), King of Bohemia (1419), King of Italy (1431), crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Eugenius IV in Rome (1433).

⁶ Emperor Albrecht II (Habsburg).

⁷ In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote *Then the King of Poland began to make trouble for Albrecht and support the Hussites. At the time, all Bohemian Catholics followed Albrecht, whereas the heretics opposed him. Entering Bohemia with a large army (70,000 or more cavalry), Albrecht was crowned in Prague. Afterwards, the Hussites and the Poles claimed that the king remained in the city [because he was afraid] to come out to do battle. The king, in a challenge to the Poles, offered them a battle before Tabor, where he made his camp and stayed for several days, thus allowing them the opportunity to fight a pitched battle. How-*

ever, they did not come but remained right outside Tabor so that they could retreat into the city if pressed. They only left Tabor to go plundering, not to do battle. Storming the city appeared unfeasible, so Albrecht lifted the siege and burnt his camp, considering that he had given satisfaction to the challenge of the Poles, who claimed that the king did not dare to come out to battle when, in fact, it was they themselves who were afraid (DVI, sect. 139).

you have persecuted the House of Austria enough. Desist now and put an end to harm. Though your harmful acts are grave and enormous, they can be forgiven if you desist. [cont.]

[cont.] At¹ ubi perseveratis et mala malis cumulatis, ultricem potius gladium quam benignam veniam vultis experiri et non solum hominum, sed etiam Dei vindictam expectare, sicuti modo experti estis rege vestro amisso, qui dum suo regno² contentus non est, vobis stimulantibus, et alienum invadit, divino iudicio jam caret utroque.

[44] *Victoriis multis*: quibus, rogo, quibus³ in terris victor hic fuit? Quas hostium strages dedit? Ubi victoriae? Ubi trophaea? Nullum bellum gestum est eo praesente nisi⁴ ultimum, in quo succubuit. Victoriae priores Johannis vaivode⁵ fuerunt et aliorum Hungarorum, nullo umquam Polonorum⁶ manus apponente et ipso rege vestro in remotissimis regionibus agente⁷.

[45] *Liberatione regni*: Numquam ego ante hoc regnum Hungariae liberatum ex manu Teucrorum audiui et hoc ipsum, quod nunc audio, falsum est. Quo enim pacto regnum Hungariae a Teucrorum dominatu dicitis a Polonis⁸ liberatum, cum vestro tempore Bulgaria, Valachia, Rascia⁹ et aliae quamplures¹⁰ regiones in manu essent Turchorum. Quid ais, insulse cancellarie? Credisne homines esse caecos, qui ista non videant? Indi¹¹ forsitan et *extremi Garamantes* fidem tibi praestarent. Nos¹², qui sumus vicini et scimus, ut res se habent, tuis verbis et praesertim incultis, inornatis¹³, barbaris capi non possumus.

[46] *Proprio brachio cum fidelibus suis*: Hectorem aut Achillem vis tuum regem ostendere, qui suo brachio stragem dederit.¹⁴ Nota res est¹⁵: vir bonus fuit magis quam strenuus. Non ea nervorum compago neque illo in¹⁶ corpore vis fuit, ut res magnas suo brachio posset gerere. Credo¹⁷ animum ejus¹⁸ bonum fuisse, sed non suppeditasse vires. At vos eum interfecistis, qui majora suis humeris onera imponere voluistis, quam ferre posset, et in alienum regnum misistis invitum. De fidelibus autem scitum est, quot essent secum: nec enim trecenti Poloni eum comitabantur¹⁹ et hoc erat maximum auxilium²⁰, quod vos Poloni praebuistis Hungariae²¹. In trecentis hominibus magnopere relevata est sexcentisque manibus hisque²² nudis et inermibus bellum barbariae teneri poterat. Pergo ulterius²³.

[47] **Et quamvis pacem ac foedera cum Turcis confecta ratus erat²⁴ servare, prout de hoc consilia nostra²⁵ et preces ac praelatorum et baronum regni Poloniae acceperat, maluit²⁶ tamen voluntati vestrae parere et pro vestra salvatione ac²⁷ pace famam et vitam negligere.**

¹ aut M3

² suo regno : regno suo HE, WO

³ omit. HE, WO

⁴ praeter id HE, WO

⁵ Waide L; Quamode M2

⁶ Polono H

⁷ et add. HE, WO

⁸ a Polonis : o Poloni H

⁹ Russia H

¹⁰ complures H

¹¹ Judei L

¹² nec M3

¹³ atque add. H

¹⁴ dederat HE, WO

¹⁵ nota res est : res est nota H; res

nota est HE, WO

¹⁶ omit. L, M2, M3

¹⁷ enim add. H

¹⁸ ei M2, M3

¹⁹ eum comitabantur : cum eo

mittebantur HE, WO

²⁰ omit. M2

²¹ praebuistis Hungariae : Hungariae praebuistis HE, WO

²² omit. HE, WO

²³ ut sequitur add. H

²⁴ est HE, WO

²⁵ em.; vestra codd.

²⁶ finaliter M2, M3

²⁷ atque M2

[cont.] But if you persist and add harm to harm, you will find the sword of revenge rather than benevolent forgiveness. And you may expect revenge not only from men but also from God, just as you have now felt it in losing your king. Not content with his own kingdom, he – at your instigation – also invaded another’s, so now, by God’s judgment, he has lost both.

[44] *Many victories*: Where, I ask, where was he ever victorious? What defeats did he inflict upon his enemies? Where were the victories? Where are the trophies?¹ No battle was conducted in his presence except the last where he fell. The previous victories belonged to Voivode János² and other Hungarians, while no Pole ever lent his hand, and your king was far away.

[45] *Liberation of your kingdom*: Never before have I heard that the Kingdom of Hungary was freed from the hands of the Teucrians. And what I hear now is simply false. How can you claim that the Kingdom of Hungary has been liberated by Poles from Teucrian domination when Bulgaria, Wallachia, Rascia³ and several other regions are in the hands of the Turks?⁴ What say you, foolish chancellor? Do you think that men are blind and do not see this? Maybe the Indians and *the farthest Garamantes*⁵ would believe you, but we, being neighbours and knowing how things are, cannot be ensnared by your words, uncultured, inelegant and barbarous as they are.

[46] *With his own hand and together with his faithful followers*: You wish to show how your king, like Hector or Achilles, defeated the enemies *with his own hand*. But the matter is well-known: he was a good man but not strong. He did not have the sinews and bodily strength to do great deeds *with his own hand*. I believe his soul was good but without the necessary strength. In reality, it was you who killed him when you placed a larger burden on his shoulders than he could bear and sent him, unwilling, into another kingdom. As for his *followers*, it is known how many were with him: no more than 300 Poles accompanied him, which was the maximum assistance you Poles provided to Hungary. So, he had to fight barbarians with 300 [Polish] men, at most, with 600 hands, and those bare and weak. I move on.

[47] **And though he wished to keep the peace and treaties made with the Turks, as we⁶ counselled and the prelates and the barons of the Kingdom of Poland requested, in the end, he followed your wishes and neglected his own reputation and life for the sake of your salvation and peace.⁷**

¹ After battles, the victor placed a trophy on the battlefield to mark his victory.

² János Hunyad

³ Serbia.

⁴ Note the use of Thurci and Teucri in the same passage.

⁵ Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 8: 44.

⁶ “nostra”. The manuscripts have “vestra” which does not give meaning in the context (see following not) and is presumably a scribal error in an early manuscript version from which the later manuscripts derive (“nos” for “vos” etc. being a frequent scribal error in manuscripts).

⁷ The purport of this passage is that the Poles advised King Wladyslaw to keep the Peace Treaty of Szeged (see section 19 above) with the Turks, whereas the Hungarians urged him to break it, thus being responsible for his later defeat.

[48] *Pacem et foedera*: Stulte facis, qui regem tuum foederis et pacis fractorem insimulas¹, nec te moveat², quod hostibus fregerit. Philosophi namque³ non solum cives⁴ inter cives, sed etiam cum hostibus servare volunt foedera. Qui secus facit, vir non est bonus. Marcus Atilius⁵ Regulus reverti potius ad supplicium voluit, quam fidem hosti datam⁶ rumpere. Nec⁷ excusatus est rex tuus, si propter Hungaros male fecit. Nullius enim rogatu ad malum debemus induci *nec mala facere*, ut inquit apostolus, *ut eveniant bona*, quod te maxime arguit, qui pro pace regni Hungariae haec acta dicis.

[49] *Ratus pro eo* posuisti, quod est animatus, deliberatus, sed male uteris. Non enim ea est⁸ vis verbi.⁹

[50] *Voluntati vestrae parere*: incongrue loqueris. Debuisti¹⁰ enim adungere “deliberavit” aut “decrevit”, nisi vis imitari Sallustium et alios oratores, qui verbum infinitum ponunt pro imperfecto, ut “parere” pro “parebat”, quod de tua ignorantia minime cogitaverim.

[51] *Famam et vitam negligere*: Non opus est multis testibus: tu ipse regem tuum accusas¹¹ infamemque asseris, qui famam neglexerit fidem rumpendo et foedus. O insulse, o demens, o extremae ignorantiae homo! Numquid non erubescis, qui tantum regem et dominum tuum infamem dictitas. Pudet me tui causa¹² simulque regio sanguini et nobilissimo generi misereor¹³. Non enim ille propter hoc¹⁴ famam neglexit, qui contra Teucros arma movit, cum quibus erant foedera, nec enim foedera tenentur¹⁵ cum infidelibus percussa¹⁶, nisi consensus apostolicae sedis¹⁷ interveniat, qui hic non fuit, sed legatus apostolicus ea omnia¹⁸ scindi mandavit. Utinam non plus sibi nocuisset jus Ladislai, regis Hungariae, violatum quam rupta cum Teucris foedera, cum tamen¹⁹ ista multo melius siluisses quam attigisti.

[52] **Rependite sibi, rogamus, hanc miram suam fidem et humanitatem et mori eum in vestris cordibus tam repente non sinite²⁰, et dum apud multos extraneos vivit, apud vos, pro quibus multotiens ivit ad mortem, mortuus non extimetur in vestris cordibus²¹.**

Non iniqua petitio²², potest enim in cordibus hominum diu²³ per famam et recordationem vivere. Si quid enim boni fecit, cur non memoriae cordique teneatur?

[53] *Apud multos*: Non apud omnes, nec scitur adhuc, apud quos extraneos vivit nisi antipodes.

¹ insinuas HE, WO

² moneat M2

³ omit. HE, WO

⁴ omit. M3

⁵ Tullius HE, WO

⁶ hosti datam : datam hosti H

⁷ tamen add. H

⁸ ea est : est ea H

⁹ Ratus pro ... verbi omit. M2

¹⁰ debueras M3

¹¹ regem tuum accusas : accusas

tuum regem HE, WO

¹² omit. M2, HE, WO

¹³ condoleo H

¹⁴ ille propter hoc : propter hoc ille

HE, WO

¹⁵ tenent L

¹⁶ concussa HE, WO

¹⁷ apostolicae sedis : sedis apostolicae M3

¹⁸ omnino HE, WO

¹⁹ cum tamen : tu HE, WO

²⁰ permittite H

²¹ vestris cordibus : cordibus vestris M3

²² est H

²³ donum M2, M3

[48] *Peace and treaties*: You foolishly criticise your king for breaking the treaty and the peace but appear unconcerned that he broke it with enemies. However, philosophers want treaties to be kept not only between citizens but also between enemies. Anyone who does otherwise is not a good man. Marcus Atilius Regulus¹ would rather return to be punished than break faith with an enemy. And it is no excuse for your king that he did evil for the sake of the Hungarians, for we must not be induced to do evil by anyone,² and the Apostle³ says that we *must not do evil that there may come good*.⁴ This applies directly to you who claim that these things were done for the sake of peace in the Kingdom of Hungary.

[49] *Ratus*: you said “ratus” instead of “animatus” or “deliberatus”, but you used it incorrectly, for it has another meaning.

[50] *Follow your wishes*: your sentence limps, for you should have added “deliberavit” [decided] or “decrevit”, unless you wish to imitate Sallust⁵ and other orators who use the verbs in the infinitive instead of the imperfect (like in “parere” instead of “parebat”) - which I believe you too ignorant to know.

[51] *Neglected his own reputation and life*: We do not need many witnesses, for you yourself accuse your king and declare him infamous for neglecting his reputation and breaking faith and treaty. Oh, you stupid, mindless and extremely ignorant man! Do you not blush, calling this great king and your lord infamous? I am ashamed for you, and at the same time, I pity this royal blood and most noble line. He did not neglect his reputation by marching against the Turks with whom he had a treaty, for treaties made with infidels are only binding with the consent of the Apostolic See. However, this see had not given its approval, and it was the apostolic legate⁶ who ordered the treaty to be broken. Violating the rights of Ladislaus [the Posthumous] was more damaging to the Polish king than breaking the treaty with the Turks. It had really been better for you to remain silent on these matters.

[52] **We ask you to repay his loyalty and humanity and not allow him to die so quickly in your hearts. As long as he is living with many in foreign lands, you should not, in your hearts, consider him to be dead, who many times risked death for your sake.**

This is not a bad request, for he can live a long time in men’s hearts through his fame and remembrance, for if he did something good, why should it not be kept in people’s memories and hearts.

[53] *With many [in foreign lands]*: Many, maybe, but not all. And it is still not known in which foreign lands he lives unless it is the antipodes.⁷

¹ Marcus Atilius Regulus (ca. 307-ca. 250): Roman general and consul. Mentioned in Bruni: *De militia*, p. 384. Cf. Cicero: *De officiis*, 3: 26, 99. In the First Punic War, he was defeated and captured by the Carthaginians (255 BCE). Released on parole to negotiate peace, he urged

the Roman Senate to refuse the proposals. Then, he fulfilled the terms of his parole by returning to Carthage, where, according to Roman tradition, he was tortured to death.

² Cf., e.g., Cicero: *De Amicitia*, 12: 40.

³ Paul.

⁴ Romans, 3: 8: *non ... faciamus mala ut eveniant bona*.

⁵ Sallustius Crispus, Gajus (86-34 BC): Roman historian.

⁶ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

⁷ I.e., on the other (opposite) side of the Earth. Presupposes the notion that the Earth is round.

[54] *Multotiens*: nos non¹ scimus eum umquam ivisse ad mortem propter Hungaros nisi semel, cum succubuit. Sed tu negas etiam illa² vice ivisse ad mortem, qui eum vivere dicis. Quomodo ergo “multotiens”? Numquam in bello fuit nisi in eo, ex quo reversus est numquam. Utcumque tamen sit, habendam ipsius memoriam famamque suam colendam non improbo³.

[55] **Si insuper appenderitis, quod praelati et barones regni Poloniae pro vobis et circa vos in omnibus steterint⁴ contingentiis et periculis et quoslibet casus adversos aequali onere portaverint vobiscum affuerintque necessitati vestrae tam consilio quam auxilio et multas⁵ amicitias propter vos aut perderent aut omitterent, bonum et justum judicabitis ad aliquam nominationem aut electionem non procedere, sed multo longius reditum domini regis praestolari statumque hujus regni Poloniae diligentiori cura prospicere, ut se a vobis in quolibet casu adverso desereri non intelligat, qui vobis fideliter et constanter in vestris necessitatibus succurrebat.**

[56] *Appenderitis*: Novum verbum ad id significandum, quod tu putas, nec auctorum quisquam sic usus est. Translatio nimis⁶ ex longinquo venit ab eo⁷, quod est in libra pendere vel trutina⁸. Translationem ex⁹ propinquo recipi convenit.

[57] *Pro vobis et circa vos*: Extolle res tuas, quantum vis, amplifica, magnifica. Nihil plus est^{10 11}, quod vos Poloni pro Hungaris feceritis¹², nisi quod unum adolescentem, quamvis clarum et probum, tamen inexpertum, tradidistis idque magis vestri quam Hungarorum commodi gratia¹³. Neque in eo profecistis Hungarie, sed nocuistis illamque regionem praedivitem et nobilissimam dividentes intestinis¹⁴ bellis, Teucrorum hostium rapinis, incendiis et omnibus, quas bella fecerunt, calamitatibus aperuistis januam. In Bohemia vero contra Albertum arma moventes omnium Hungarorum communitati, quorum is erat rex, adversati fuistis detinentesque illum principem in Bohemia occupatum, dum haereticorum perfidiae communicatis non sinistis¹⁵ contra Teucros castra movere. Quod si quis mala, quae in Hungaria jam multis annis perpetrata sunt, unde originem habuerint, investigaverit, vos Polonos fere omnium inveniet auctores. Sic vos adversos casus cum Hungaris tolerastis ac sic eorum necessitatibus affuistis *consilio et auxilio*. Superbum est, dum vos Poloni tanti¹⁶ vos facitis, ut Hungaris profuisse consilio judicetis, qui plus dormiendo vident quam vos vigilando.

[58] *Nominationem aut electionem*: Neutro opus est, quia natus rex et coronatus est Ladislaus. Solum restat, ut qui regi Poloniae adhererunt, falsis decepti¹⁷ causis, suum verum dominum recognoscant. Vobis autem Polonis jam satis¹⁸ esse debet, tot annis perverse atque inique in alieno regno fuisse grassatos. Desinite tandem¹⁹, quia numquam sera est ad bonos mores via, nec Deus nec homines vestra facta²⁰ probant. Efficite denique, ut rumor de vobis sit bonus, nec putetis vos propter Hungaros, sed²¹ Hungaros potius propter vos inimicitias multorum incidisse.

¹ enim HE, WO

² ea H

³ sed pergo ut sequitur *add.* H

⁴ steterunt H

⁵ propter M3

⁶ modo H

⁷ ab eo : ob ea M3

⁸ vel trutina *omit.* H

⁹ de H

¹⁰ erit HE, WO

¹¹ plus est : est plus M3

¹² fecistis H

¹³ commodi gratis : gratia commo-
di M3

¹⁴ externis HE, WO

¹⁵ fuistis L

¹⁶ tantos HE, WO

¹⁷ falsis decepti : decepti falsis H

¹⁸ sat H

¹⁹ tamen H, M2

²⁰ vestra facta : facta vestra M3

²¹ *omit.* V

[54] *Many times*: We do not know that he ever risked death for the sake of Hungary except the one time when he actually died. But claiming him to be alive, you actually deny that he went to his death even then. So what do you mean by “many times”? He was never in a battle except the one from which he never returned. Be that as it may, I approve of his memory and fame being cherished.

[55] **Moreover, you must weigh that the prelates and the barons of the Kingdom of Poland stood by you in all crises and dangers and bore all misfortunes equally. In times of need, they gave you counsel and help, and for your sake, they either lost friendships or did not gain others. Therefore, you should consider it good and just not to proceed to a new nomination or election, but to wait much longer for the Lord King’s return and show concern about the state of the Polish kingdom lest it believes that you would desert it in crisis, though in times of need it came faithfully and firmly to your aid.**

[56] *Appenderitis [you must weigh]*: You use this verb in a new way to express your meaning, but no other author has used it thus. Originally and literally, the term refers to something that hangs in a pair of scales, but today it should be used in the sense it has taken later.

[57] *Stood by you*: you may praise, inflate and amplify your deeds as much as you wish, but in reality, the only thing you Poles did for the Hungarians was to send them one inexperienced young man, though noble and decent. And that was more to your own advantage than to the Hungarians’. Indeed, you did not profit the Hungarians but harmed them. Tearing this wealthy and noble region apart through civil war, you opened the gate for the Turkish enemies to plunder, burn and cause all the miseries arising from war. And in Bohemia, you sent an army against Albrecht.¹ Thus, you opposed the whole Hungarian community whose king he was and kept this prince occupied in Bohemia, whose heresies you shared. As a result, you prevented him from moving his army against the Turks. If one seeks the origin of the evils perpetrated in Hungary over many years, he will find that you, Poles, were the instigators of almost all of them. This is how you *bore the misfortunes* together with the Hungarians and *gave them counsel and help in times of need*. It is quite arrogant of you, Poles, to boast of helping the Hungarians with counsels when they see more asleep than you awake.

[58] *Nomination and election*: There is no need for either since Ladislaus² was born a king and has been crowned.³ It only remains that those who, deceived by false arguments, supported the Polish King should now recognise their true lord. For you, Poles, it should be enough that you have had your perverse and wicked ways in another kingdom for such a long time. So, desist now, for it is never too late to turn to better ways, and neither God nor men approve of your actions. So, see to it that you acquire a good reputation and do not think that you have gained many enemies for the sake of the Hungarians when it is actually the Hungarians who gained enemies for your sake.

¹ See sect. 42.

² The boy king, Ladislaus the Post-humous (Habsburg)

³ Ladislaus was crowned with Saint Stephen’s Crown right after birth.

[59] *Qui vobis*: Conjungitur¹ in relativo rex et regnum, quod ineptissimum est et nusquam² usurpatum.

[60] **Ceterum, domini carissimi, hunc vestrum nuntium egregium, Rupertum³ de Thar, alias reginalis majestatis marescallus et quem nomine vestro⁴ grate suscepimus, remittimus cum pleno et vero responso et speciali nostri⁵ proprii oris informatione, cui in referendis fidem dare dignemini per omnia creditivam tamquam nosmet ipsi cum caritatibus vestris loqueremur propria in persona. Datum ...**

Multae dubitationes⁶ sunt, quas⁷ pudet singulariter prosequi.

[61] *Nuntius*, cui fides danda est, inquit ex regina se habere non amplius quam novem viros regem concaptivos habere ipsamque reginam nihil⁸ de vita filii sperare. Et ista multitudo est⁹, de qua supra relatum est.

[62] *Pleno et¹⁰ vero responso proprii oris*: Mos est mentientis¹¹ multa cumulare, quia sibi non putat credi.

[63] *Dignemini*: Jam nimis humiliter loqueris. Submissius verbum est quam reginam deceat. Nescis tenere modum, nunc humilis, nunc superbus nimis.

[64] *Nosmet ipsi*: Regina utitur plurali numero masculini generis¹². Inusitatum est et indecorum.

Vale et te, si placet¹³, emenda.

¹ conjunguntur H

² nunquam H, V

³ omit. M3

⁴ nomine vestro : vestro nomine M3

⁵ vestri M2

⁶ delirationes V

⁷ quasi V

⁸ sibi add. HE, WO

⁹ multitudo est : est multitudo M3

¹⁰ omit. L, M2

¹¹ mentientium H

¹² masculini generis : masculino V

¹³ placeat M2

[59] *Qui vobis*: You conflate the king and the kingdom in the one relative pronoun “qui”, which is quite inept and inappropriate.

[60] **My dear lords, we send back to you your distinguished envoy, Ruprecht von Thar, a marshall of the Queen’s Majesty, whom we have received favourably for your sake. He brings you a full and true answer and special information from Our own mouth. Please deign to trust his report as if We (Ourselves) were speaking with Your Charities in Our own person. Given ...**

This passage raises many doubts, but it would be embarrassing to mention each one.

[61] The *envoy*, who should be trusted, claims he has heard from the queen that the king has no more than nine men as fellow prisoners (and that the queen herself has no hope the king is alive). That is the many men reported above!¹

[62] *A full and true answer from Our own mouth*: Liars usually heap lies on lies because they do not think they are believed.

[63] *Deign*: Here, you speak too humbly, for the word “deign” is deferential and unsuitable for a queen. You really do not know restraint: now you are too deferential, now too arrogant.

[64] *Nosmet ipsi*: you let the queen refer to herself using the plural number² [as expected] but the masculine gender which is unusual and improper.

Farewell, and please correct yourself.

¹ See sect. 8

² Plural of majesty.

174. Letter to Federico de' Mercatellis (1 July 1445, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 62r¹; M3, f. 178r-178v²; V2, f. 348-349³; V3, ff. 167r-168r⁴ **; V4, ff. 148r-149r.
Editions A: KOB, 77⁵.
Editions B: HE, 176, pp. 449-450; WO, 1: 1, 176, pp. 522-523 (both on the basis of V2).

{167r} Aeneas Silvius, imperialis secretarius, viro et amico constanti Frederico, Tergestinorum cancellario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Questus es me tibi non scribere, quamvis mihi⁶ scripseris aliquando dicisque id esse signi nec constantis nec veri⁷ amici me fungi officio. Sic enim referunt, qui ex te huc proficiscuntur. Facis sicut mancipia solent, quae, ubi peccarunt, prius clamare ac vociferari incipiunt quam domini crimenque aliquod excogitant, quod heris ascribentes oblivionem suorum peccatorum inducant⁸. Sed erras: non patiar tuam negligentiam inultam⁹, nec propterea excusatus eris, quia prior conqueraris¹⁰. Scio ego has

artes, novi has versutias, calleo has tegnas, nec me poenitet vafrum esse. Nihil agis, mi Friderice, dum me accusas, qui numquam ad me scripsisti, postquam abs te recessi, nisi paucula verba, quibus amici tui causam commendabas. Ego vero ad te saepius scripsi, et antequam irem Romam et postquam reversus sum. Si ergo me vincere vis, non querendo sed scribendo id facies melius. Nunc tamen missa haec facio veniamque do, si modo in futurum aliter agas. Ego nunc, quod te scribam, non habeo aliud, nisi me tuum dixerim tibi que velle complacere, te colere, te amare et observare {167v} unice tuumque bonum¹¹ statum, valetudinem optimam et tuorum felicem successum optare. Sed ista vetera sunt et tibi notissima et [non¹²] inter amicos repetenda, qui magis factis quam verbis cognoscuntur¹³.

[2] Causa tuorum civium¹⁴ nondum est terminata. Ego libenter viderem harum litium finem¹⁵, qui urbi Tergestinae ac civibus omnibus sum affectus, nec placet mihi videre bonos illos viros ac suae rei publicae amatores totiens huc trahi¹⁶ nec¹⁷ rursus libenter¹⁸ ¹⁹ audio postponi negarique nostro principi, quae debentur. Quod si essent mediatores, qui studio pacis intenti, quae sunt pacis, consulerent, non tam diu res ista penderet. Melius est, mihi crede, de suo jure aliquid eradere cum pace quam totum litigando consequi. At²⁰ ista viderint, qui plus sapiunt.

¹ SC, 131

² SC, 362-363

³ DV, 179v-180v

⁴ DV, 170r-171r

⁵ DV, f. 37v

⁶ non *add.* M2

⁷ viri V4

⁸ inducunt M3; iudicant V4

⁹ multum M3, WO

¹⁰ conquerabaris M3; *corr. ex* consequaris V3; consequaris V4

¹¹ *omit.* M2, M3

¹² *em.*

¹³ *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

¹⁵ *omit.* V4

¹⁶ tradi V4

¹⁷ quae *add.* V4

¹⁸ *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁹ rursus libenter : libenter rursus WO

²⁰ ut M2

174. Letter to Federico de' Mercatelli (1 July 1445, Wiener Neustadt).

- Context:* In February 1444, Piccolomini had been on an imperial mission to Trieste, where he had apparently developed connections and friendships he continued cultivating. In the meantime, he had decided to pursue an ecclesiastical career and had, shortly before this letter, received the lower clerical orders. His cultivation of the Trieste connections may have had an ulterior motive, and it is remarkable that less than a year after the letter to Mercatelli, the emperor, on 30 May 1446, wrote a letter¹ (drafted by Piccolomini himself) to the cathedral chapter of Trieste requesting them, in case of the death of the ailing bishop of Trieste, to elect Piccolomini in his place.
- Subject:* With playful severity, Piccolomini rebukes his friend for claiming that Piccolomini had not written to him. Otherwise, he expresses great affection for Federico and his family and for Trieste as a whole.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Federico de' Mercatelli, chancellor of Trieste, faithful friend.

[1] You complain that I do not write to you though you have written to me sometime, and you say this means that I do not act as a faithful and true friend. That is, at least, what people who come here from you report. You do as those servants who, when they have made some error, begin to shout and yell before their masters do and invent some other error they can impute to them to make them forget their own. But it is you who are at fault, and I shall not allow your negligence to go unavenged, nor shall you be excused because you complained first. I know these artifices, these cunning devices, these tricks,² and I do not repent being cunning myself! Dear Federico, you achieve nothing by rebuking me, for you have never written to me after I left you except for a few words in recommendation of a friend's affair. I, on the other hand, have often written to you both before I went to Rome and after I returned.³ If you wish to defeat me, you will do better not by complaining but by writing. But no more of this: I forgive you if only you act differently in the future. I have nothing else to write to you except to say that I am yours and wish to please you, cherish you, love you and heed you. My only wish for you is a good position, excellent health and success for your family. But such wishes are old and well-known to you and need not be repeated among friends, who are known as such less by words than by deeds.

[2] The matter of your citizens⁴ has not yet been settled. I should gladly see an end to this conflict since I am attached to the city of Trieste and all its citizens. I am sorry to see these good men, devoted to their state, being dragged here all the time, but I am also unhappy to hear our prince⁵ being denied his dues. If there were mediators, intent on peace, whose counsels would aim at peace, the matter would not continue drag on for long. Believe me, it is better to renounce some of one's rights with peace than to keep them all with strife. But let those who are wise see to it.

¹ WO, 2: 2, ep. 1, p. 231.

² For the same theme, see letter 78.

³ Piccolomini's first mission for the emperor to the pope, January - May 1445.

⁴ Apparently, a matter of the taxes Trieste owed to the emperor.

⁵ Friedrich III.

[3] Ego mihi vivere volo, non semper aliis. Jam¹ regia majestas beneficia mihi largita est, quibus possum honeste vivere. Sequestrabo me tandem ab his curiarum miseriis, et quia senectus adest urgetque mors, cogitabo, quomodo bene moriar. Id enim est denique recte philosophari, id est scire, id est esse sapientem. Nam qui jura² novit et astrorum cursus et pluviarum ventorumque causas et argumentandi rationes et mensuram terrae et carminis et orationis vires et omnem harmoniam, is tamen³ nihil scit, nisi mori scit. Ultimus humanorum actuum mors est⁴. Qui omnia recta fecit et in fine deficit, is frustra operatus est. Insulsus poeta est, qui *actum quintum* {168r} negligit. Sic, qui mortem nescit bene concludere, demens est. Curandum est ergo⁵ mihi, ut finem bonum faciam. Satis lusi⁶, satis puer et juvenis fui, satis mundo servivi, immo nimis. Jam hora me admonet, redeundum est in viam. Faciam nisi fallor. Idem et tibi censeo faciendum, quamvis in eam rem jam dudum accinctus fueris. Sed⁷ persevera.

Conjugem tuam, probam mulierem et honestissimas filias tuas atque filium tuum adhuc adolescentem et, quae juvenus imperitat, facientem jubeo salvere et incolumes esse cupio. Idem Jacobus facit, qui jam est plebanus⁸ insignis ecclesiae seseque⁹ tibi commendat. Vale et Bononium¹⁰ Appium¹¹, vestri¹² senatus principem, meis verbis salutato. Ex Nova Civitate, kalendis Julii 1445¹³ ¹⁴.

¹ nam V4

² naturam WO

³ is tamen: sanctum V4

⁴ *omit.* V3

⁵ ego M2

⁶ vixi V3, V4

⁷ *omit.* V3

⁸ est plebanus : plebanus est WO

⁹ seque WO

¹⁰ vestrum *add.* M2, M3, V2a;

~~vestrum~~ *seq.* V2b

¹¹ apud M3

¹² vestrum M3; nostri V4

¹³ 1444 V4

¹⁴ Ex Nova ... 1443 : etc. M2, M3

[3] I want to live for myself, not always for others. His Royal Majesty has now provided me with benefices that allow me to live in comfort. So, I shall remove myself from the miseries of the courts,¹ and since old age and death are approaching, I shall ponder how to die well. For that is, ultimately, to philosophise, that is to know, to be wise. A man may know the laws, the course of the stars,² the cause of rains and winds,³ the methods of argumentation,⁴ the measure of the earth,⁵ the power of poems⁶ and orations,⁷ and all about harmony,⁸ but still he knows nothing if he does not know how to die. The last act of men is death.⁹ The man who has done everything right but fails in the end has done it all in vain. That poet is foolish who neglects *the fifth act*.¹⁰ Thus, the man who does not know how to die is senseless. So, I must ensure that I make a good end. I have played enough,¹¹ I have been a boy and a young man long enough, I have served the world enough, indeed too much. Now, time admonishes me, I must find back to the way,¹² and I shall do so unless I fail. I think you should do the same, though you have already prepared for this for long a long time. Do persevere!

I ask you to greet your wife, that excellent woman, your worthy daughters and your son, still an adolescent, doing as his youthful age demands, and I wish them health and safety. The same does Jakob,¹³ who is now the parish priest of a distinguished church¹⁴: he recommends himself to you.

Farewell, and greet Bononio Appio, the leader of your senate, from me. From Neustadt, 1 July 1445.

¹ Piccolomini had written his treatise *De Miseriis Curialium* the year before (1444).

² Astronomy.

³ Meteorology.

⁴ Logic.

⁵ Geography.

⁶ Poetry.

⁷ Eloquence.

⁸ Music.

⁹ Cf. Horatius: *Epistolae*, 1: 16, 79: *Mors ultima linea rerum est*.

¹⁰ Horatius: *Ars poetica*, 189: *Neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu (Let no play be either shorter or longer than five acts)*.

¹¹ Cf. Horace: *Epistolae*, 1: 14, 36: *Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum*.

¹² The way that leads to God.

¹³ Jakob Wiederl?

¹⁴ Stein (HE). See also Heinig, 1: 737.

174a. Letter to Johann von Eich (1 July 1445, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: SCH / Urkunde 95 *.
Editions A: None.
Editions B: Ruggenthaler; Schreiner und Wenzel (SW).
Translations: Ruggenthaler; Schreiner und Wenzel.

Aeneas Silvius, imperatoriae majestatis secretarius, domino Johanni de Eich¹, jurisconsulto ac ducali consiliario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Viguit hoc anno apud nos epidemia² non immodice. Timuit magnificus cancellarius, tibi amicus, dominus Caspar, cedendumque furori statuit, dimissaque curia Prukam perrexit, quod in Alpibus Stirie tibi non ignotum oppidum est. Ego quoque secutus sum, didici namque ex medicis, nullum esse adversus pestiferam luem quam fuga valentius remedium. Eo cum venissem, ne ventri et somno more pecorum me traderem, cum esset aliud, quod agerem, nihil, ad scribendum me contuli. Quod dum facio, memor sum tui, decrevique ad te nonnihil scribere, ut et tuum nomen inter meas epistolas legeretur. Scripsi ergo ad te *De miseria curialium* non parvum tractatum, si papyros evolvas, at si materiam respicis, minimum. Quid enim umquam satis de infelicitate dici posset illorum, qui curiae taedia sufferunt. Nolo hic plus loqui, qui multa in tractatu sum locutus. Tu illum aliquando videbis. Non mitto ad te nunc, quia non habeo librarium, qui transcribat, nec ipse carere volo.³ Curabo autem, ut quam primum habeas, quod tibi magni muneris esse loco volo.

¹ Aich cod.

² epidimia cod.

³ nolo SW

174a. Letter to Johann von Eich (1 July 1445, Wiener Neustadt).

- Context:* During a stay in Bruck in November 1444, Piccolomini had written his letter-treatise *De Curialium Miseriis*, a piece of Hofkritik dedicated to Johann von Eich, a man on the rise and soon to become a bishop.
- Subject:* Piccolomini informs von Eich of the work he has dedicated to him and tells him that his inclusion in his letters will ensure his permanent fame. The letter shows that Piccolomini considered his collection of letters an important literary work that he trusted would have enduring significance.

Enea Silvio, secretary to His Imperial Majesty, sends many greetings to Johann von Eich,¹ jurist and ducal² counsellor.

[1] This year, the plague³ raged here. His Magnificence, Lord Kaspar, your friend, became frightened and, deciding to yield to the fury, left the court and went to Bruck, a city you know in the Styrian Alps. I followed him,⁴ for I have learnt from the physicians that flight is the most effective remedy against the plague. When I arrived there, I did not want to spend my time sleeping and eating, as cattle do, and since there was nothing else to do, I began to write. Thus occupied, I came to think of you and decided to write something to you so that your name would be found in my letters. Therefore, I wrote a treatise *De Curialium Miseriis* dedicated to you. It is long if you turn the pages, but not if you consider the subject matter. For how can one ever say enough of the misery of those who suffer the frustrations of court life. I shall say no more of it here since I wrote much about it in the treaty. You will see it sometime. I do not send it to you now, for I have no scribe⁵ to copy it, and I do not want to be without it.⁶ But I shall ensure that you get it as soon as possible, offering it as a great gift to you.

¹ Johann von Eich (1404-1464): Doctor utriusque juris. Official of Albrecht VI. Elected bishop of Eichstätt on 1 October 1445.

¹ Epithets of the Roman God,

² Duke Albrecht VI (Habsburg).

³ "epidemia"

⁴ Piccolomini stayed in Bruck during the month of November 1444, see letters 160-164.

⁵ "librarius"

⁶ Piccolomini had only his own original manuscript and did not want to send that to Eich.

[2] Non diminuo ego res meas, sed magnifacio verbis¹, quantum possum. Tu, mihi crede, non est parum in his inveniri epistolis, quae mansurae sunt, sicut de meis non ambigo. Est enim mihi certa fides vaticinarique possum mearum epistolarum exemplaria in longum aevum duratura multisque viris apud posteros datura famam, quia non morientur illorum nomina per multa saecula, quos ego in meis opusculis insertos feci. Sic enim et Apollo et omnes Musae promittunt. Veterum litterae multorum famam immortalem praestiterunt. Nemo sciret, quis fuerit Atticus, nisi plures epistolas ad ipsum Cicero et demum de senectute² scripsisset. Nulla Idomenei memoria esset, nisi eum³ suis scriptis Epicurus extulisset. Quis Lucilli nomen cognosceret, nisi starent epistolae Senecae. Longa super nos cadit profunditas temporum deletque omnem famam, nisi quae fuerit litteris recondita. Quod autem veteres fecerunt⁴, et nos facere posse non est abnuendum. Plures in luce retinet Franciscus Petrarca⁵ illustres animas, plures Leonardus Aretinus, qui novissime cum magno nostri saeculi detrimento mortem obiit. Data est - et id⁶ non dubito - potestas nominandi aliquos, quos aevs futuris non sine laude gloriaque ostendam. Inter quos et tu unus es, qui tua praestanti virtute sic te mihi insinuasti, ut etiam si velim tuum nomen tacere non possim. Vale et me illustrissimo principi jamque victorioso domino duci Alberto facito commendatum.

Ex Nova Civitate, kalendis Julii 1454.

¹ vobis SW

² ~~senectute amicitia~~ seq. cod.

³ cum SW

⁴ em. SW; ferunt cod.

⁵ Petrarcha cod.

⁶ em. SW; in cod.

[2] Indeed, I do not belittle my own writings¹ but praise them in words as much as I can. Trust me, it is not a small thing to be found in these letters that I am convinced will endure. For I am sure that copies of my letters will last for a long time and ensure the permanent fame of many men, for the names of those I have included in my letters will not die for many centuries.² This is promised by Apollo³ and the muses. The letters of the old [writers] ensured the immortal fame of many men. Nobody would know who Atticus⁴ was if Cicero had not written many letters to him and, in the end, his *De Senectute*.⁵ Nobody would remember Idomeneus⁶ if Epicure⁷ had not praised him in his letters. Who would know Lucilius⁸ name if it was not for Seneca's⁹ letters.¹⁰ The great depth of time overwhelms us and destroys all fame unless based on letters. What the old ones did, we should not refuse to do. Francesco Petrarca¹¹ has brought many illustrious souls to light,¹² as did Leonardo Aretino,¹³ recently¹⁴ deceased, to the great damn of our age. I am sure I have been given the opportunity to name some, whom I shall show with praise and glory to the future ages.¹⁵ You are one of them, who has impressed me so much with your outstanding qualities¹⁶ that even if I wanted to omit your name, I could not do it.

Farewell, and commend me to The Most Illustrious Prince and now Victorious¹⁷ Lord Duke Albrecht. From Neustadt, 1 July 1445.

¹ "res"

² On this passage, see Märtl: *Neue*, pp.169-170.

³ 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.

⁴ Atticus, Titus Pomponius (c. 110 – 32 BCE): Roman businessman and *eques*. Friend and correspondent of Cicero.

⁵ *De Senectute* (*Cato Major*). Essay on aging and death written by Cicero in 44 BCE.

⁶ Idomeneus of Lampsacus (c. 325 - c. 270 BCE): A friend and disciple of Epicure.

⁷ Epikouros (341-270 BCE): Greek philosopher. Founder of the philosophical school of Epicureanism.

⁸ Lucilius Junior (fl. 1st century): procurator of Sicily during the reign of Nero. Friend and corre-

spondent of Seneca (the Younger) and only known from Seneca's letters to him.

⁹ Seneca the Younger.

¹⁰ *Epistolae ad Lucilium* (*Epistolae Morales*): Collection of letters that Seneca wrote towards the end of his life to Lucilius.

¹¹ Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374): Italian scholar, author, and poet. One of the founding fathers of Renaissance humanism.

¹² Piccolomini may be referring to Petrarca's unfinished collection of biographies, *De Viris Illustribus*, which may have inspired his own equally unfinished work (see DVI).

¹³ Leonardo Bruni [Aretino] (ca. 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 quite 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. Piccolomini may be referring to his *vite* of Dante and Petrarca.

¹⁴ Bruni had died on 9 March 1444.

¹⁵ Here, Piccolomini may be referring to his own *De Viris Illustribus* (DVI).

¹⁶ "virtus"

¹⁷ A flattering reference to Albrecht's exploits in the Old Zürich War.

175. Letter to Leonhard von Velseck (July (?) 1445, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 81v-82r¹; M3, f. 113r².

Editions A: KOB, 103³ (KO).

Editions B: HE, 177, pp. 450-452 (based on M2); WO, 1: 1, 177, pp. 523-525 (based on M2 and M3).

{81v} Aeneas Silvius, poeta⁴, salutem plurimam dicit Leonardo Felsecker, praestanti militi amicoque optimo.

[1] Annis⁵ jam⁶ pluribus inauditum est tot aquas inundavisse, quot his diebus nos ipsi vidimus apud Novam Civitatem excrevisse. Tu res bellicas comparabas Vienna, quibus majestas regia usura erit in castris; nos tuum reditum operiebamur. Vix duarum horarum tempestas incubuit, sed adeo ingens fuit, ut intra moenia urbis excurrere Danubius crederetur, nam neque vicinus accedere vicinum⁷ audebat. Grando e caelo in modum ovi cecidit, ubique coruscationes videbantur,⁸ audiebanturque⁹ tonitrua. Per id tempus parvus torrens, qui Vienna moenia praeterlabitur¹⁰, in tantum excrevit, ut plerasque domus cum patribus et familiis asportaverit. In Bavaria circa Straubingam¹¹, armenta virosque tempestas occidit. Agri complures, qui fluminibus contermini fuerant, frugibus atque superficie violati¹² sunt. Plurimum Deus *nivis et dirae grandinis* e caelo misit, ac *rubente dextera jaculatus* summas templorum, *arces*, populos et¹³ *urbes terruit*¹⁴, veritaeque sunt gentes, *ne rediret grave saeculum Pyrrhae* atque Deucalionis, sive, ut nostri volunt, Noae¹⁵, quando *super omnes montes diluvium* inundavit, quando *nova maris* monstra visa sunt in terris, et quando *Protheus*, deus pelagi, uti gentiles voluere, omne¹⁶ *pecus piscium altos egit montes visere*, quando in *summa ulmo*¹⁷ cetae stetit, ubi *nota fuerat columbarum sedes*, ac quando *pavidae dammae in equore natabant* super terras effuso.

[2] Imperante quondam Augusto *retortis*¹⁸ *flavus*¹⁹ *Tiber undis* supra litus Etruscum crevit atque usque ad *monumenta* Numae²⁰ *Pompilii regis templaque Vestae* profectus est, sicut et postea saepius fecit, sicut adhuc inscripti lapides apud fratres Minervae Romae ostendunt. Tunc arbitrabantur Romani fluvium, quasi numen haberet, ulcisci velle Julii mortem in consolationem Iliae, Romuli atque Remi matris, ex quorum genere Caesar descendebat. Nec deerant, qui putarent Iliam sive Rheam, vestalem virginem, ex compressu Tiberis peperisse, quamvis de Marte vulgatiores esset fama. Itaque putabatur *amnis uxorius*²¹ injuriam ulcisci velle. Quidam vero excrementum aquae²², civilia, quae post fuerunt, bella protendere²³ opinabantur. Inter Antonium namque et Augustum apud Actium pugnatum est, cum Bruto et Cassio in Graecia, cum Sexto Pompejo in Sicilia.

¹ SC, 170-171

² SC, 826

³ DV, f. 62v

⁴ omit. M2

⁵ omit. WO

⁶ omit. KO

⁷ accedere vicinum : domum accedere vicini KO

⁸ em. HE, WO; visebantur codd.

⁹ omit. M2

¹⁰ moenia praeterlabitur : preterlabitur menia M3

¹¹ et add. M2, KO, HE, WO

¹² involati KO

¹³ ut M3

¹⁴ tenuit WO

¹⁵ noue KO

¹⁶ em.; omnes codd.

¹⁷ ulme WO

¹⁸ em. HE, WO; retentis M3

¹⁹ flammis KO, WO

²⁰ numen KO

²¹ em. HE; uxoris M2, M3, KO, WO

²² omit. KO

²³ pretendere M3

175. Letter to Leonhard von Velseck (July ? 1445, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: A heavy storm had caused severe inundations in Austria and Germany.

Subject: Piccolomini describes the inundations and interprets them as a portent of the emperor's campaign against robber barons in Hungary. His description of the floods is a paraphrase of a classical text (a poem by Horace), a literary exercise of which he was fond.

Enea Silvio, poet, sends many greetings to Leonhard Felsecker, distinguished knight and excellent friend.¹

[1] In [Wiener] Neustadt, we have, over the last days, seen such inundations as have not been heard of for many years. You were in Vienna, procuring military equipment and provisions needed for His Royal Majesty's campaign.² A storm raged for almost two hours, and it was so violent that the Donau was expected to flow past the walls into the city, and neighbours did not dare to visit neighbours. Hail as big as eggs fell from heaven, lightning was everywhere, and thunder was heard. At the same time, the small stream that runs past Vienna's walls swelled so much that it carried off several houses with the fathers and their families. At Straubing in Bavaria, the tempest killed both cattle and men. Many fields adjoining rivers lost both crops and soil. God³ sent much *dire snow and hail* from Heaven, *and smiting with his red right hand the tops of the temples, he filled castles, people and cities with terror, and men were fearing that there should come again the gruesome age of Pyrrha and Deucalion*,⁴ or, as ours would say, Noah. Then, *the flood overflowed the high mountains*.⁵ Then, *marvels strange* were seen on Earth. Then, *Proteus*, god of the sea – as the pagans⁶ claimed – *drove all his herd of fishes to visit the lofty mountains. Then whales lodged in elm-tops that till then had the wonted haunt of doves. And then, terror-stricken does swam in the waters overflowing the earth.*

[2] When Augustus was emperor, *the yellow Tiber, its waves hurled back*, inundated the Tuscan coast and reached *King Numa Pompilius' Memorial⁷ and Vesta's shrines*, as it often did afterwards, which is shown by inscriptions on stones at the Brothers of Minerva in Rome.⁸ Then, the Romans feared that the river, like a God, wanted to avenge the death of Julius⁹ to console Ilia, the mother of Romulus and Remus, from whose line Caesar descended. Some thought that Ilia (or Rhea), a vestal virgin, gave birth¹⁰ after being raped by Tiber,¹¹ though it was more commonly thought to have been Mars. Thus, the *fond river-god* was believed to avenge the crime.¹² People surmise that the inundation portended the later civil wars when Augustus fought Antonius at Actium, Brutus and Cassius in Greece, and Sextus Pompeius in Sicily.

¹ Leonhard Völs von Velseck: Court official of Friedrich III. See Heinig, 1: pp. 240, 299.

² Friedrich III's campaign against robber barons in Hungarian territories adjacent to Austria.

³ The following passages quote heavily from Horatius: *Carmina*, 1: 2.

⁴ Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha were the two human survivors in the Greek myth of the flood.

⁵ Genesis, 7: 17-19.

⁶ The heathen authors of Antiquity.

⁷ The Regis, residence of the Pontifex Maximus, said to have been built by King Numa.

⁸ The Convent of the Dominicans with the Church of Santa Minerva in Rome.

⁹ Julius Caesar.

¹⁰ To Romulus and Remus.

¹¹ River god, usually Tiberinus.

¹² Caesar's murder.

[3] Nos autem, Leonarde, *futuri speculator*, quidnam dicemus haec diluvia sibi velle? Numquam res insolitae absque magni alicujus mali significatione proveniunt, sed numquam rursus malum est universale. Nam quod uni nocet, alteri prodest. Fridericus Caesar jam profectus est cum exercitu adversus Hungaros. Jam plures hostium capti sunt et in latronum morem suspensi laqueo¹. Jam territi hostes pacem petunt. Jam transigitur, nisi conveniat inter partes et hoc tecum arbitror tempestatem illam² designasse.

Vale et me, ut soles, ama.

¹ Jam plures ... laqueo *omit.* WO

² tempestatem illam *em.* HE, WO;
tempestatem illa codd., KO

[3] But we, Leonhard, *peering into the future*,¹ what do we say this inundation means? Unusual events always portend something terrible. But, no evil is universal: that which harms one man profits another. Emperor Friedrich has now taken his army against the Hungarians. Many enemies have been caught and hanged, as is done with robbers. The terrified enemies are suing for peace. The conflict will be settled now unless the parties disagree. This is what I think the storm portended.

Farewell, and love me as always.

¹ Silius Italicus: *Punica*, 1: 679.

176. Letter to Jan Tuschek (23 August 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 143v; M2, f. 73r-74v¹ **; M3, 404v².

Editions A: KOB, 90³ (KO).

Editions B: HE, 178, pp. 452-453; WO, 1: 1, 178, pp. 525-526; (both on the basis of M1).

{73v} Aeneas Silvius⁴ domino Johanni Tuschkoni, civi Pragensi et amico probato, salutem plurimam dicit.⁵

[1] Munera tua, quae nuper ad me transmisisti, suscepi libenter tum propter rem, quae mihi jucunda fuit⁶, tum propter mittentem, cujus memoria semper haeret menti meae non sine laetitia singulari, tum denique, quod illorum portitor honestus adolescens, major corpore quam aetate, perliberalis⁷ mihi visus est et dignus, qui regi serviret, quemadmodum postea factum est. Nam et ad regiam cancellariam susceptus est, in qua⁸, si perseveraverit, uti spero, clarum in virum surget. Ego illi, quia virtute praeditus est, et⁹ tu mihi eum¹⁰ commendasti, numquam deero vita comite, sed in me, si quid est artis, si quid eloquii, si quid industriae, totum sibi communicabo, quia non sum avarus hujusmodi rerum. Nec ut pecuniae, sic et scientiae conservatrix est avaritia, sed qui litteras suas magis abscondit, is eas magis adnihilat, quo vitio studui semper carere, nec plus in secreto tenui quam in publico, idque faciam, quoad *spiritus hos reget artus*. Atque de hoc satis.

[2] Franciscus, vir mitis nullique noxius et omnibus, quoad potest, frugi, Bohemiam repetit. Credo in patria contentari modico quam multo inter gentes exteras vult¹¹ et fortasse¹² plus sibi Pragensis cervisia placet quam vinum Viennense. Habet enim magnam vim ad retinendos homines natale solum. Verum cum montium accolae, lacte tantum nutriti et aqua, nesciant alibi vivere quam inter oves et boves, cum quibus sunt nati, Franciscum mirari non debemus, si natus in patria nobili Bohemorum, solo feraci et omnium bonorum copiam suppeditanti, ad suos reverti vult, et illi terrae, quae dedit, corpus reddere. Quis enim non mollius atque suavius jacere hominum corpora post mortem arbitretur in humo nativa quam in aliena? Laudo¹³ ego¹⁴ Franciscum¹⁵, et mihi, si par conditio foret, esset non¹⁶ impar voluntas. Is ad te veniet¹⁷, bonitatem viri tibi commendo. Humanum est hominem homini auxilio esse.

[3] De Biblia emenda¹⁸ hoc est desiderium meum: si papirea est, 8 florenos dabo¹⁹, si est in pergameno, duplum. Videto tamen, ut correctae²⁰ sit et digna pretio²¹. De libris aliis alio tempore tibi scribam.

¹ SC, 153-154

² SC, 808

³ DV, 52r

⁴ poeta *add.* KO

⁵ Salutatio: Domino Johanni Tuschkoni ... Eneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit M1

⁶ tum propter rem ... fuit *omit.* M3

⁷ *omit.* WO

⁸ quo loco M1, HE, WO

⁹ quia *add.* M1, HE, WO

¹⁰ mihi eum : eum mihi M1, KO, HE, WO

¹¹ mavult em. HE

¹² fortassis M3

¹³ lauda M2

¹⁴ ergo HE, WO

¹⁵ frater M2

¹⁶ nunc KO

¹⁷ venit M2, M3

¹⁸ emunda M1, HE, WO

¹⁹ VIII florenos dabo : dabo florenos VIII M3

²⁰ correpta M1

²¹ digna pretio : pretio digna M3

176. Letter to Jan Tuschek (23 August 1445, Vienna).

Context: Piccolomini kept up a cordial relationship and correspondence with Jan Tuschek of Prague, whom he had also commissioned to acquire a Bible for him.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks Tuschek for some gifts and praises the bearer. He also gives news of a colleague from the royal chancery.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Jan Tuschek, citizen of Prague and a proven friend.

[1] I received the gifts you sent me recently with delight since they gave me pleasure and I always remember the sender with joy. Moreover, they were brought by a worthy youth - of greater body than age - who seemed well bred to me and fit to be employed by the king, which happened afterwards. For he has been received into the royal chancery, and if he perseveres there, he will, I hope, rise to become a distinguished man. Since he has excellent virtues and you have commended him to me, I shall not fail him as long as I live, and I shall share with him *whatever* knowledge, eloquence and industry I *possess*,¹ for I am not avaricious with such things. Avarice is more parsimonious with knowledge than with money, and hiding its letters, it actually destroys them. Therefore, I have always shunned this vice and kept [those gifts] more public than private. This I shall continue doing *while breath governs these limbs*.² But enough about this.

[2] Franz,³ a gentle man, harmful to no one and as helpful as possible to all, is returning to Bohemia. I think he prefers to be moderately content in his own country than to be very content among foreign people, and possibly the beer in Prague pleases him better than the wine in Vienna. Indeed, the birthplace has great power to keep men. If mountain people, raised on milk and water, would not live apart from the sheep and cattle they were born with, we should not wonder that Franz, born in the noble land of Bohemia, fertile and abundant in all good things, wants to go back to his own and return his body to the earth that gave it. For who is not believed to lie more softly and sweetly after death in his native ground than in foreign? I praise Franz and would want the same if I were in his situation. He will come to you, and I commend the man's goodness to you. It is a human thing to help others.

[3] Concerning the acquisition of the Bible, this is my wish: if it is on paper, I will give 8 florins; if on parchment, the double. Please check that it is [written] correctly and worth the price. Concerning the other books, I shall write to you at another time.

¹ Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 1

² Vergilius: *Aeneas*, 4: 336

³ See letter 138: 5.

[4] Venceslaum nostrum, si umquam vides, meis verbis salvum dicito, cui facilius erat in otio quattuor mihi verba scripsisse, quam me in negotio verbosas epistolas destinare. Sed do veniam homini, si scripturam jam odit, in qua vitam consumpsit. Vellem ipsum mei causa repetere curiam, ut esset mihi, cum quo nonnumquam miserias spuerem. Sibi tamen non audeo persuadere, sed puto eum viam *optimam* delegisse, *quae non possit ab eo in aeternum auferri*. Vale meque, uti consuevisti, dilige, quod mutuuum est. Ex Vienna, 10. kalendas Septembris 1445^{1 2 3}.

¹ Ex Vienna ... 1445 *omit.* M2;
etc. M3

² Ex Vienna ... 1445 : etc. M3

³ 10. ... 1445 *omit.* KO

[4] If you ever see our Wenzel,¹ greet him from me: in his leisure, it would be easier for him to write four words to me than for busy me to write him a long letter. But I forgive him if he now hates writing when he spent his life on it. But for my own sake, I wish he would rejoin the court and be with me: we often cursed our miseries together! However, I do not presume to argue with him, for he may have chosen the *better way that can never be taken from*² him.

Farewell, and love me as always - as I do you. From Vienna, 23 August 1445.

¹ Vaclav von Bochov

² Luke, 10: 42.

177. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicki (13 September 1445).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 150r-153r¹ **.

Editions A: KOB, 101² (KO).

Editions B: HE, 179, pp. 453-459; WO, 1: 1, 179, pp. 526-532 (both on the basis of M1).

¹ SC, 304-310

² DV, f. 60r sqq.

177. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicki (13 September 1445).¹

Context: After the death of the Polish-Hungarian king, Wladyslaw III, the way was opened for the accession of the Habsburg prince, Ladislaus the Posthumous, as king of Hungary.

Subject: After an extravagantly flattering introduction, Piccolomini gives the Habsburg version of the Polish-Austrian conflict and then exhorts the archbishop to work for peace between Poland and Austria and Polish acceptance of Ladislaus as king of Bohemia and Hungary.

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¹ This letter is known only from the early version of Piccolomini's letters (M1) and was not included

in his *Collection of Epistolae Saeculares* (V2-V4).

{150r} Domino Cracoviensi Sbigneo.¹

[1] Quamvis ego, reverendissime in Christo pater et domine praestantissime, jamdudum vestrae dignationi affectus fuerim ejusque statum felicem ac successus prosperos sedulo concupiverim, quia tamen in dies virtutum vestrarum majores laudes majoraque praeconia in meis auribus perstrepunt, cogor et ipse dietim magis ac magis venerari nomen vestrum ac devotionem, qua vestram reverendissimam paternitatem² prosequor, augere. Sic enim virtus exigit, cujus ea vis est, ut, *quos numquam vidimus homines*, amare nos urgeat. Verum quid ego de me loquor, qui non sum dignus inter homines computari, quando maximi viri immo et regia sublimitas praestantiam vestram et venerentur et ament. Est equidem in hac regali curia percelebris fama vestrarum dotium, nec umquam sine singulari laude vestrum nomen auditur.

[2] Praecipue tamen inter alios magnificus dominus cancellarius probitatem vestram extollit et praedicat, qui nunc consilium, nunc liberalitatem, nunc vitae munditiam, nunc magnanimitatem, quibus praedita est vestra reverendissima paternitas enarrat. Nuper vero, cum in conspectu regiae majestatis *magna* baronum {150v} ac nobilium *stipante caterva* de praelatis ac magnatibus regni vestri mentio incidisset, et alius alium laudaret, assurgens cancellarius, “Clari sunt,” inquit, “viri, quorum meministis, nec ego eorum virtuti detraxerim. Nemo tamen adhuc vestrum, qui sint oculi regni Poloniae monstravit, nec nomina³ illorum attigit, qui praestant omnibus. Nam etsi praestantes sunt hi, quos commendatis, ubi tamen Cracoviensem antistitem reliquistis, cujus tanta est probitatis fama, ut nec laudando crescere nec vituperando minui possit. Ego praelatum hunc novi, allocutus sum aliquando⁴ et in pluribus tractatibus sum expertus. Nihil tam grave est tamque arduum, quod is non statim intelligat videatque finem. Animus illi magnus est, sed rectus. Non solum, quae praesentia sunt, disponere novit, sed futura longe praemeditatur.

¹ *Salutatio*: Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Sbigneo, episcopo Cracoviensi, Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae car-

dinali electo Eneas Silvius poeta salutem plurimam dicit KO

² reverendissimam paternitatem : paternitatem reverendissimam KO

³ omnia KO

⁴ allocutus sum aliquando : aliquando allocutus sum KO

To Lord Zbigniew¹ of Krakow.

1. Introduction

[1] Most Reverend Father in Christ and Eminent Lord, I have been devoted to Your Grace for a long time and have ever wished for your prosperity and success. But every day, my ears are filled with the praise and acclaim of your virtues, so I must honour your name more and more as my devotion to Your Most Reverend Paternity keeps growing. This is what virtue requires, for its force is such that it urges us to *love also men whom we have never seen*.² But why do I speak of myself, unworthy to be reckoned among men, when even the greatest men and indeed His Royal Highness³ both honour and love your excellence. The fame of your qualities is excellent at this court, and your name is never heard without extravagant praise.

2. Eulogy of the cardinal

[2] Among others, especially His Magnificence, the Lord Chancellor,⁴ extols and proclaims your probity and speaks of the judgment, generosity, purity of life and magnanimity that distinguish Your Most Reverend Paternity. Recently, before the king,⁵ *with a vast company* of barons and nobles *thronging around him*,⁶ the talk fell on the prelates and magnates of your kingdom. Some praised some, and some praised others. Then the chancellor rose and said, “The men you have pointed out are, indeed, distinguished, and I would not belittle their qualities. But none of you spoke of those who are the very eyes of the Polish kingdom or named those who surpass all the others. For although those you mentioned are eminent men, you left out the archbishop of Krakow, whose reputation for probity is such that it cannot be increased by praise nor decreased by blame.⁷ I know this prelate, having spoken with him sometimes and had several negotiations with him. Nothing is so complex or problematic that he does not immediately understand it and see a solution. He is high-spirited but just. He knows how to manage things in the present but also ponders those in the far future.

¹ Olesnicki, Zbigniew (1389-1455): Bishop of Krakow (1423) and cardinal (1449). In his *Europa*, Piccolomini wrote about him: *Zbigniew presided over this city [Krakow], a bishop notable for his literary erudition and charming personality. I received many letters from him [not extant], composed with plentiful wit and Ro-*

man refinement. In recognition of his singular merits, the Roman Church sent him a cardinal's hat (EUR, 86, p. 139).

² Cicero: *Pro Marcello*, 3: 9: *quos numquam vidimus, diligamus.*

³ Friedrich III.

⁴ Kaspar Schlick.

⁵ Friedrich III.

⁶ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1: 497

⁷ Piccolomini used this figure of speech several times in his writings, e.g. the preface to his *Commentarii: beatorum plena felicitas nec laude mortalium augeatur nec vituperio comminuitur*. See also his oration “*Si quis me roget*” of 4 April 1438 (COR, 1: 1).

[3] Neque prodigus est, ut indignis largiendo facultates ecclesiae dissipet, neque avarus, ut indigentibus non porrigat manum. Sed est eleemosynae dispensator, domusque sua claris hospitibus semper patet. Quicumque Poloniam ingrediuntur oratores aut viri praestantes, hunc adeunt, hunc patronum habent, ab hoc honorantur donanturque, in quibus rebus vera liberalitas recognoscitur. Est in eo clara facundia, multae in ore ejus facetiae multusque lepos. Non elatus est, non iracundus, non exactor pecuniarum, non vindictae cupidus, sed mansuetus, benignus¹, periculi declinator atque contemptor, amator patriae suae et alienae non inimicus. Nihil est, quod illi melius pace communi videatur; omnia ejus consilia quietis² sunt. Non tamen bellum dissuadet, cum pro tutela regni suscipiendum est, sed arma non propter victoriam neque propter injuriam vindicandam sumenda dicit, sed propter pacem obtinendam. Finem belli non rapinam vel gloriam, sed quietem esse debere. Scit praeterea, quibus artibus curia regenda est quibusque modis gubernandus exercitus. Et quamvis praelatus sit sacrarumque religionum gnarissimus, non minus militiae quam in senatu est utilis. Nec aegre feras, Casar³, si hunc unum tanti facio, namque si ejus semper consilia apud reges Poloniae valuissent, aut pax optima inter Austriam Poloniamque viguisset, aut in bellis, quae postea fuerunt, major Polonorum impetus fuisset auditus.”

[4] Quae cum magnificus Gaspar finivisset, sermonis finem omnium circumstantium assensus comprobavit. Caesar vero his auditis “Utinam,” inquit, “talibus dominus in consilio meo persisteret.” Ac sic vario circumstantium sermone vestra reverendissima paternitas eas commendationes accepit, quas me audisse antea {151r} non memini. Gavisus sum, dum talia percepi, moxque in animum venit, haec ut significarem vestrae dignationi, non ut propterea gloriemini - scio enim moderationem animi vestri, quia non patefacitis aures adulantibus - sed ut nomen bonum teneatis custodiatisque et, si possibile est, augeatis. Nec enim cum divitiis commutanda est fama celebris. Divitiae cum corpore simul perduntur, fama comes animae post obitum durat, quam, qui negligit, crudelis est et fortassis ex hominum numero repellendus. Dicitis⁴ fortasse, cum has litteras audietis, “Quid est⁵, in quo velit Aeneas meum nomen auferi?” Dicam breviter, quamvis non ambigo, id vestram prudentiam per se melius intueri. Sed dicendum est, ne frustra videar calamum recepisse.

¹ mansuetus benignus : benignus
mansuetus KO

² quieta WO
³³ Caspar KO

⁴ et fortassis ... dicitis *omit.* KO
⁵ dicitis *add.* KO

[3] He is not prodigal, wasting the Church's resources on unworthy people, nor avaricious, refusing to support those in need. No, he dispenses alms, and his house is always open to distinguished guests. All ambassadors or eminent personalities coming to Poland visit him, have him as their patron, and receive honours and gifts from him, which shows his true generosity. His eloquence is famous, and his speech is humorous and charming.¹ He is not arrogant, hot-tempered, demanding money, or eager for revenge, but mild and benign. He rejects and despises foolish risks and loves his country without being an enemy of others. He likes nothing better than common peace; all his counsels are restrained and balanced. However, he does not dissuade from war when it is necessary to protect the realm, but he says you should not take to weapons for the sake of victory or revenge for an injury but to gain peace. The purpose of war should not be plunder or glory but peace. Moreover, he knows how courts, as well as armies, should be governed. And although he is a prelate and well-versed in religious matters, he is just as effective in the army and the senate.² Do not take it badly, Caesar, if I estimate this man so highly, for if his counsels had always prevailed with the Polish kings, there would either have been blessed peace between Austria and Poland, or in the later wars, we would have heard of larger attacks from the Poles."³

[4] When His Magnificence, Kaspar, had finished, all those standing around agreed, and the emperor said, "I wish I had such a lord on my council." Thus, all present spoke so highly of Your Most Reverend Paternity as I have never heard before. I was glad when I heard it, and it soon entered my mind that I should inform Your Grace, not that you would glory in it - for I know the modesty of your spirit forbids you to lend ears to flatterers - but so that you may keep and guard your excellent reputation and - if possible - increase it. For reputation and fame are not the same as wealth. Wealth is lost together with the body, but fame is the soul's companion after death. The man who neglects it is a brute who should possibly not be reckoned among men. When you hear this letter, maybe you will say, "How will Enea increase my reputation?" I shall say so briefly though I do not doubt that, in your prudence, you see it better than I do. But it must be said lest I appear to have taken up the pen in vain.

¹ Cf. Cicero: *De oratore*, 1: 5, 17

² I.e., military and political matters.

³ Elsewhere, Piccolomini warns against flatterers (e.g. letters 46: 7 and 98: 10), but here he shows

himself to be a consummate flatterer himself.

[5] Inter Austriam ac Poloniam, reverendissime pater, multae hactenus simultates, multa odia et aperta bella viguerunt, quae res et Australi dominio nocuerunt et Poloniae non profuerunt. Jam tempus esset his discidiis imponi finem et aliquando in amicitiam gratiamque reverti. Nam quid pejus est, quam *regnum adversus regnum*¹ insurgere et regium sanguinem insidiari regio sanguini? Cumque usus habeat reges inter se fratres vocari, quid absurdus est, quam fratrem insectari fratrem, civile bellum struere ac parricidium meditari? Facta sunt haec jamdudum, sed cum damno ambarum partium, itaque jam tempus esset, ut admonitae cladium suarum partes inimicitiis modum imponerent. Sed ista moveri nequeunt, nisi magni viri manum apponant. Et quippe dum ego haec animo revolveo, non possum arbitrari, quis alius sit inveniendus huic rei idoneus quam vestra reverendissima paternitas. Itaque loquor aperte dicamque, quid sentiam.

[6] Duae sunt viae, quibus finiri discidia inter Austriam Poloniamque possunt. Una est, si vel Austriam Poloni deleant ferroque sibi subjiciant, vel econtra Poloniam bello superent Australes. Altera est, si reventum fuerit in gratiam, et utrimque renovata sit amicitia.

[7] Prior via admodum difficilis est et, licet in ea multis jam annis elaboratum sit, adhuc tamen et Australes suum et Poloni suum imperium tenent et alter alterius insidias conatusque timet. Nec video, quo pacto aevo nostro altera pars alteram possit exterminare, quia utrimque magnae sunt vires et multum sanguinis effundendum esset, multaque hominum centena milia neci danda, multae civitates delendae, multi agri cremandi et infinita mala facienda essent, antequam una partium in potestatem alterius veniret.

[8] At via concordiae, ut salubrior est, sic etiam facilior. Quaeritur, qui modi concordiae sint. Nempe facilius beneficio quam gladio vincitur inimicus. Non injuriae adjiciendae sunt injuriis neque mala malis cumulanda, sed purganda primo contumacia est, post damna resarcienda, exinde beneficia subjungenda. Qui haec² egerit, is jam non inimicum sibi placabit {151v} solum, sed reconciliabit incorporabitque sibi, et socium ex adversario, amicum ex inimico, fratrem ex hoste faciet.

¹ regna KO

² hoc KO

3. Exhortation to intervene in the Polish/Austrian conflict

[5] Most Reverend Father, there have been many conflicts, much enmity and open wars between Austria and Poland. This has harmed the Australian dominion and not profited Poland. Now it would be time to end these conflicts and someday return to friendship and goodwill. For what is worse than a *kingdom fighting a kingdom*¹ and royal blood plotting against royal blood? Kings usually call each other brothers, and what is more absurd than a brother pursuing a brother, mounting a civil war against him or planning his murder? Such things have been done for a long time, with loss to both parties. Therefore, now would be the time for them to remember their calamities and put an end to enmity. But that is only possible if great men join the effort. And as I ponder this matter, I can think of none more suitable for this task than Your Most Reverend Paternity. So, I shall openly say what I think.

4. Two ways to end the conflict

[6] There are two ways to end the conflicts between Austria and Poland. One is that the Poles crush Austria and defeat them with arms, or that the Austrians defeat the Poles. The other is to restore mutual goodwill and renew friendship.

4.1. The way of war

[7] The first way is extremely difficult. It has been tried for many years, and the Austrians and the Poles still keep their own realm, and each fears the plots and attempts of the other. I do not see how, in our age, one party can destroy the other, for both are powerful, and much blood would have to be spilt, many hundred thousands of men killed, many cities destroyed, many fields burnt, and countless evil deeds perpetrated before one party could get power over the other.

4.2. The way of peace

[8] But the way of concord is not only more beneficial, it is also easier. How can concord be established? It is, in fact, much easier to win over an enemy by kind deeds than by the sword. Injury should not be added to injury nor evil heaped upon evil. No, first enmity must be put aside, then losses restored, and finally, kind deeds should follow. He who does that will not only please his enemy but become reconciled and united with him. He will make an ally out of an adversary, a friend out of a foe, and a brother out of an enemy.

¹ Isaiah, 19: 2.

[9] In hac igitur re videndum est, unde prior injuria proruperit¹, ut² illinc medela veniat, unde vulnus illatum est. Non enim, qui fert, sed, qui infert injuriam, emendare debet. Hic ergo videndum est, quo pacto invicem conveniamus, ne, dum ego laesos Australes contenderim, vestra reverendissima paternitas inficietur. Libet igitur mihi scribere, quid sentiam, ut id corrigatis, si falsum fuerit. Loquar ingenue³, aperte, clare⁴, ut inter amicos fieri debet, non ut regno vestro, quod est nobilissimum, detraham, sed ut eo melius inveniri cura possit, quo vulnera magis detecta fuerint. Vestra vero paternitas reverendissima⁵ libertati meae veniam dabit, si quid est, quod offendat⁶, quia in bonum loquor.

[10] Nolo altius exordiri, sed rei principium Wilhelmus dux Austrie dabit⁷. Huic filia regis Ludovici, qui Hungariam Poloniamque possidebat, in matrimonium conjuncta fuit, regnumque Poloniae in dotem datum. Nec diu post Poloni, nulla injuria lacesiti, nisi quod imperium Teutonicorum ferre nolebant, Wilhelmum regno expulerunt ac non solum regnum, sed nuptam quoque sibi abstulerunt. Nec contenti hoc abominandum aggressi facinus memoriaque nostra inauditum scelus adorsi, reginam, quae alteri nupserat, novo regi conjungere, quamvis illa prioris mariti memor numquam volens novo nupto conjacuerit. In hoc non solum laesi sunt Australes regno privati, quod ex dote veniebat, sed in honore quoque vexati sunt, dum nupta eorum in concubinato tenetur.

¹ properit KO

² et KO

³ libere *glossa interlin.* M1

⁴ aperte clare : clare aperte KO

⁵ paternitas reverendissima : reverendissima paternitas KO

⁶ ostendat KO

⁷ dedit KO

5. Austria as the injured party

[9] In this matter, the origin of the first injury must be determined so that remedy may be sought where the wound was inflicted. For it is not he who suffers an injury but he who inflicts it that should remedy it. Here we must ensure we can reach a common understanding lest I provoke Your Most Reverend Paternity by arguing that the Austrians have been injured. I shall write what I think so that you may correct it if it is wrong. I shall speak freely, openly and clearly, as between friends, not to disparage your most noble realm, but that it may be easier to find a cure where the wounds were first detected. I ask for Your Most Reverend Paternity's forgiveness if, speaking freely, I say something that offends, for I speak for the good [of all].

5.1. The rejection of Wilhelm of Austria

[10] To not go further back, the whole matter began with Wilhelm,¹ Duke of Austria. He married the daughter² of King Louis,³ ruler of Hungary and Poland, and was given the Kingdom of Poland in dowry.⁴ Shortly afterwards, the Poles, not having been molested in any way and only because they could not accept being ruled by Germans, expelled Wilhelm from the kingdom and deprived him not only of the kingdom but also of his wife.⁵ And not content with this abominable misdeed, they committed an unheard of crime by marrying the queen, already married to another, to their new king,⁶ although, remembering her former husband, she never willingly lay with the new one.⁷ Thus, the Austrians were not only injured by being deprived of the kingdom, due to them as a dowry, but they were also dishonoured since his wife became [another's] concubine.⁸

¹ Wilhelm (Habsburg / Leopoldian line) (ca. 1370-1406): Duke of Austria. His childhood engagement to Jadwiga of Poland was dissolved by the Polish parliament in 1385.

² Jadwiga [Hedwig] (Anjou) (ca. 1373-1399): Queen of Poland from 1384 to her death. The youngest daughter of Louis the Great, King of Hungary and Poland.

³ Louis I the Great (Anjou) (1326-1382): King of Hungary from

1342 and of Poland 1370 to his death.

⁴ Wilhelm, who was not yet the king and not Jadwiga's husband but only her fiancé.

⁵ These events took place in 1384 when Jadwiga was only 11 years old.

⁶ Wladyslaw II (1352/1362-1434): King of Poland, from 1384 together with his wife, and alone after her death in 1399. Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1377

⁷ These statements are erroneous: In 1388, Jadwiga was accused by a nobleman of having sexual relations with her former fiancé, Wilhelm, and made a solemn oath that she had only had sexual relations with her (present) husband. Some weeks before she died, at the age of 26, she bore Wladyslaw a daughter, who died four days before herself.

⁸ On these events, see also Piccolomini's EUR (25: 87) and DVI, 236.

[11] Post haec, tamquam parum fuisset Wilhelmum abjecisse, cum Albertus, dux Austriae Bohemiaeque et Hungariae rex et imperator Romanorum, Sigismundi regnum, quod sibi atque uxori in Bohemia obvenerat, armis vendicaret, Poloni patrocinium¹ Taboritarum et sequatium susceperunt, junctisque ipsis Alberto bellum intulerunt. Et quamvis perfidiam illorum non² induerint, magno tamen se crimine polluerunt, dum adversus justitiam auxilia talibus praebuerunt. Polonorum ergo opera factum est, ut neque suum regnum Albertus consequi totum³ potuerit, neque compesci Taboritarum furor, qui⁴ ob tutelam Polonorum usque in hanc diem in pertinacia manent. Aliquando vero aut jam reducti essent aut exterminati, quamvis et antea Sigismundo imperante cum Bohemis nondum ecclesiae unitis foedus per vestros Polonos⁵ percussum fuerit, missusque contra Sigismundum, verum Bohemiae regem, alter Sigismundus {152r} Koributhi. In qua re non solum Austriae nocumenta illata sunt, quae Sigismundo successura noscebatur, sed auctoritas quoque ecclesiae et ipsa fides Catholica laesa est totaque respublica Christianorum. Parcite sic loquenti. Sic enim exponi⁶ res debet, ut gesta est. Mihi⁷ sic relatum est.

[12] Post haec cum jam de medio sublatus esset Albertus, in ejus filium grassati⁸ sunt debacchatique vestri Poloni. Namque licet Elizabeth regina filium Ladislaum ex Alberto peperisset ac uti moris est diademate apud Albam Regalem decorasset, Poloni vestri per quosdam Hungaros incitati rursus nova bella suscitaverunt mittentesque Wladislaum, regem suum admodum juvenem et innocentem, regnum Hungariae usurpare conati sunt, cujus magnam partem invaserunt, veri regis infantis, pupili et orphani juribus insultantes, nescientes tamen quod, dum alienum regnum quaerunt, suum negligunt ac gentibus et pecunia exhauriunt. Hinc secutum est, quod dum regno Hungariae volunt⁹ diutius potiri, adolescentem regem contra Teucros armant, quamvis foedera essent indutiarum juramento firmata. Itur in¹⁰ bellum, committitur proelium. Ibi seu captus est seu occisus Wladislaus poenasque non sui criminis, nam ipse per aetatem non erat accusandus, sed suorum consiliariorum delicti dat. Sic nobilissimus juvenis regalisque sanguis plus mali incidit ex suorum suasu, quam Australes sibi umquam optaverint. Sic res actae sunt, nisi fallor.

¹ presidium KO

² omit. KO

³ non add. KO

⁴ que KO

⁵ Bohemos KO

⁶ enim exponi : exponi enim KO

⁷ mihi que KO

⁸ crassati M1, KO

⁹ nolunt M1, WO

¹⁰ ad KO

5.2. Military intervention against Albrecht II in Bohemia

[11] Later Albrecht,¹ Duke of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hungary, and Emperor² of the Romans fought to gain Sigismund's Bohemian kingdom that had come to him and his wife.³ Then the Poles - as if it were not enough to have rejected Wilhelm - became patrons of the Taborites and their followers, joined up with them, and attacked Albrecht. Though they had not embraced the Taborites' false teachings, they did dishonour themselves with a great crime by helping such people against all rights. Thus it was due to the Poles that Albrecht could not gain his whole kingdom and that the Taborite fury could not be tamed. Indeed, thanks to the Poles, the Taborites have remained contumacious to this day. [Had the Poles not intervened], they would by now have been brought back [to the true faith] or exterminated. [It should not be forgotten] that previously, while Sigismund was emperor and the Bohemians had not yet become reunited with the Church,⁴ you Poles made a pact with them and sent Sigismund Korybut⁵ against him. In this, you not only harmed [the House of] Austria, known to succeed to Sigismund,⁶ but also injured the authority of the Church and the Catholic faith and the whole Christian commonwealth. Forgive my saying this, but the matter must be reported as it happened, and this is what I have been told.

5.3. Wladislaw III as a counter-king of Hungary against Ladislaus the Posthumous

[12] Later, when Albrecht had been taken from us, you Poles raged and raved against his son.⁷ Queen Elizabeth gave birth to Ladislaus, sired by Albrecht, and following custom had him crowned in Székesfehérvár.⁸ Nonetheless, your Poles, at the instigation of some Hungarians, raised new wars and, sending their king, the very young and innocent Wladyslaw,⁹ you endeavoured to usurp the kingdom. You invaded a large part of it, thus molesting the rights of the king, an infant, a ward and an orphan. You overlooked that by seeking another kingdom you neglected your own and emptied it of men and money.¹⁰ Then, wanting to be lords of Hungary for a long time, you made your young king take arms against the Turks, despite the treaty of truce, confirmed by an oath.¹¹ They went to war and began the battle,¹² in which Wladyslaw was either killed or captured, thus paying the price for his counsellors' crime (for he himself could not be blamed because of his age). Thus, this most noble youth and royal blood, at the instigation of his own people, suffered more evil than the Austrians had ever wished for him. This is what happened (if I am not mistaken).

¹ Emperor Albrecht II.

² Note Piccolomini's use of 'imperator' for Albrecht, who was never crowned emperor.

³ Elizabeth of Luxembourg (1409-1442): Daughter of Emperor Sigismund and Empress Barbara von Cilly. Wife of Albrecht II. Mother of Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁴ The Hussites were - in principle - reunited with the Roman Church

during the Council of Basel (Hussite Compacts).

⁵ Sigismund Korybut (c. 1395-1435): Lithuanian duke. Commander of the Polish armies in Bohemia during the Hussite wars.

⁶ 1438.

⁷ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁸ Alba Regalis, Stuhlweissenberg.

⁹ Wladyslaw III.

¹⁰ In the letter to the chancellor of the Polish Queen, written some

months before, Piccolomini had said: *What I can say is that you have neither provided money nor grain nor cattle nor men to Hungary, and therefore you may only boast of having given Hungary the king's person. But this profited your king more than Hungary* (letter 173:42).

¹¹ The Treaty of Szeged, see letter 173: 21.

¹² The Battle of Varna.

[13] Quapropter non Australes, sed Poloni potius factum suum emendare debent. Quaeritis forsitan, quae possit menda reperiri, nam tot illata sunt per Polonos Australibus damna, ut nec ipsa Polonia recompensare queat. Ita est, nam et Bohemiam et Hungariam usque in hanc diem adipisci Australes non potuerunt propter impedimenta Polonorum, immo et ipsa Polonia privati sunt injuria. Quid igitur fiet? Nempe sat erit Australibus, si finis tandem nocendi fiat. Quantum sentio, quantum capio, quantumque¹ viri hujus curiae magni me instruunt, non petunt Australes magnum aliquid ex Polonis, sed ut nocere desinant. Sic enim reintegrari benevolentia sepositis posset odiis.

[14] At hoc, reverendissime pater, non minus Poloniae conduceret quam Austriae. Scio, quia ex vetustis bellis parum lucri Polonia sensit, namque nec ex Bohemia nec ex Hungaria² quidquam auri vel argenti in Poloniam delatum est, sed ipsa Polonia ultro et pecuniam et homines, qui sunt enim thesauro nobiliores, transmisit et in Hungaria nuper suum regem perdidit. Accepi praeterea introitus regni vestri pro majori parte impignoratos esse in tantumque commune aerarium defecisse, ut vix reperiri possit, qui regnum vestrum suscipere velit, {152v} tantaque nunc rerum mutatio facta est, ut qui regnis aliis dare reges volebatis, jam non facile possitis invenire, qui rex inter vos esse cupiat. Essent igitur ista considerata, quia non sunt absque iudicio Dei, qui *superbis resistit et humiles extollit*.

[15] Quod si vestri Poloni antiquis odiis postergatis salutem sui regni solummodo quaerent, die noctuque cogitarent, quo pacto in Australium amicitiam fraternitatemque reverterentur, eaque via sibi³ non minus quam Austriae consulerent. Scriberent Bohemis, ut suum regem peterent *illique soli servirent* Ladislao, Alberti filio. Scriberent Hungaris, ne amplius cum Australibus dissentirent, sed regem suum reciperent⁴, qui jus habet successionis nec de Wladislao curarent, qui vel mortuus est vel, si vivit, satis habeat in Polonia, ubi regnare possit. Exinde significarent regi Romanorum se hactenus in Bohemia et Hungaria restitisse Australibus, non odii causa, sed ut suo regno consulerent, nunc vero intueri se, quia non bene fecerunt, velleque factum corrigere praestando auxilia, si opus sit, quibus rex Ladislaus et Hungariam possit et Bohemiam vindicare. Sic posset optima pax inveniri, sic regnum vestrum tutissimum redderetur, quia his artibus extinguitur furor, ira vincitur, inimici placantur, et hostes redduntur amici.

¹ em. HE; quantum WO

² nex ex ... Hungaria : ex
Hungaria nec ex Bohemia KO

³ via sibi : sibi via KO
⁴ repeterent KO

6. Call to end Polish opposition to Austria

6.1. Cessation of hostilities rather than compensation

[13] Therefore, it is not the Austrians but the Poles who should make amends for their actions. Maybe you ask, “What amends are possible when Poland has inflicted such losses upon the Austrians that she is not able to make adequate compensation?” Indeed, this is difficult, for until now the Austrians have not been able to acquire Bohemia¹ and Hungary² due to the Polish interference and they have even, unjustly, been deprived of Poland itself.^{3 4 5} So, what to do? It will be enough for the Austrians that the Poles cease their aggression. As far as I can see and understand and as far as the great men of this court inform me, the Austrians do not require great reparations from the Poles, only that they stop the aggression. Thus, enmity may be put aside and friendly relations restored.

6.2. Benefits to Poland of an end to the conflict

[14] But this, Most Reverend Father, would benefit Poland no less than Austria. I know that Poland has gained little from the old wars, for no gold or silver was brought from Bohemia or Hungary to Poland, whereas Poland sent them money and men⁶ (nobler than treasure) and even, recently, lost its king⁷ in Hungary. Moreover, I have heard that the incomes of your kingdom have mostly been mortgaged and the treasury exhausted, so it is almost impossible to find someone who would accept the kingship. Such great disturbance has now arisen that you who wanted to give kings to other kingdoms can barely find someone who would want to be king in yours. These facts should be taken into consideration, for they have only been made possible through God’s judgment, he who *resisteth the proud and raises up the humble*.⁸

6.3. Polish acceptance of Ladislaus the Posthumous’ rights to Hungary

[15] If the Poles should put aside their old enmities and only seek their own kingdom’s prosperity, they would ponder day and night how to reestablish friendly and fraternal relations with the Austrians, and that way, they would benefit themselves no less than Austria. They would write to the Bohemians to ask for their own king and *serve only*⁹ Ladislaus, son of Albrecht. They would write to the Hungarians to no longer clash with the Austrians but accept as their king the one¹⁰ who has the right of succession and not be concerned with Wladislaw, who is either dead or, if he is alive, has enough to rule with Poland. Then they would inform the king of the Romans that while they have, until now, opposed the Austrians in Bohemia and Hungary - not out of enmity, but to advance their own kingdom - they will now acknowledge that they have not done well and will make amends by assisting, if needed, King Ladislaus in gaining possession of Hungary and Bohemia. Thus, blessed peace can be found and your kingdom obtain complete safety, for this is how fury is extinguished, anger conquered, enemies reconciled, and enemies made into friends.

¹ Emperor Albrecht II.

² King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

³ Duke Wilhelm.

⁴ Piccolomini is here referring to the allegedly unjust Polish treatment of Duke Wilhelm, see sect. 10.

⁵ Piccolomini has no qualms about declaring the expansionist policies in Central Europe of the House of Habsburg, conducted by marital alliances and not by war.

⁶ See above, sect. 12.

⁷ Wladyslaw III.

⁸ James, 4: 6.

⁹ Matthew, 4: 10.

¹⁰ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

[16] Haec dixi latius fortasse quam expediret apud reverendissimam paternitatem vestram, quae omnia melius novit. Ceterum non ambigo, quin¹ pro defensione vestri juris vestrique honoris multa possitis dicere.

[17] Haec, quae facta dixi, non tamquam interfuerim retuli, sed tamquam audita recensui. Vestra insignis et veneranda² paternitas scit, quomodo res se habeat. Utcumque sit, certum illud est regna melius defendi benevolentia et amore quam viribus. Mihi consultum videtur, quod³ Poloni aliquando cum Australibus amici potius esse velint quam inimici, quia ubi est odium ibi metus est, ubi metus, nulla tranquillitas nullaque pax esse potest. Sine pace vero nullius regni status potest esse diuturnus. Nunc ergo tempus est, ut super his habeatur cogitatio.

[18] Verum nisi vestra reverendissima⁴ paternitas ista curet, qui alius mentem adhibeat, scio neminem. Vestrum est igitur haec aggredi, tum pro salute communi, quia non possunt hae duae domus sine damno⁵ totius Christianitatis invicem dissidere, tum propter pacem et bonum⁶ regni vestri, tum denique propter augmentum nominis famaeque vestrae, quae me prius ad scribendum impulit, potissime autem, ut ex hoc magis ac magis *auctori pacis* placeatis, dum pacis studio intenditis. Plura possem dicere, sed essent incassum omnia apud vestram dignationem, quae peritissima est.

[19] Ego me recommendatum {153r} do illi cupientem sibi in aliqua re morem gerere. Jeronimus, canonicus Vratislaviensis, vir prudens vestrique amantissimus, hic fuit nec vestram famam neglexit. Is, si illuc reverteretur, quale sit apud nos vestrum nomen multo melius referret, quam ego scribere queam. Novi quid hic sit, non est scribendum, quia incertum est. Multa dicuntur sine auctore veraci. Hungari hic sunt et tractant de regno cum majestate imperiali nomine Ladislai regis. Bohemi quoque conventum in brevi sunt habituri. Res feliciter diriguntur⁷ et⁸ ad Ladislai et ad⁹ Caesaris statum et gloriam.

Valeat optime vestra reverendissima paternitas, cui me humiliter facio commendatum. Ex Vienna, Idibus Septembris 1445.¹⁰

¹ qui M1, WO

² reverenda KO

³ cum KO

⁴ reverenda KO

⁵ domo KO

⁶ *em.* HE, WO; boni M1, KO

⁷ *em.* WO; diriguntur M1, KO

⁸ nec KO

⁹ *omit.* KO

¹⁰ Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Sbigneo, episcopo Cracoviensi, in Sancte Ro-

mane Ecclesie cardinalem electo, domino meo colendissimo *add.* M1; *placed in title* WO

7. Conclusion

[16] I may have spoken at greater length than needful since Your Most Reverend Paternity knows it all better than I. Moreover, I do not doubt that you can say much in defence of Polish rights and honour.

[17] I have not personally observed the events I have reported but described them as heard. Your Illustrious and Venerable Paternity knows the facts. Whatever the case, kingdoms are surely defended better by goodwill and love than by force. It seems more sensible for the Poles to want, at some point, to be friends and not enemies of the Austrians, for where there is enmity, there is fear, and where there is fear, there can be no tranquillity and peace. And without peace, no kingdom can last long. So now it is time to reflect on these matters.

[18] But unless Your Most Reverend Paternity attends to them, I know of no one else who is minded to. So it is up to you to undertake this task for the sake of common prosperity (for these two houses¹ cannot clash with each other without great loss to all Christianity), the peace and good of your kingdom, and finally the growth of your own reputation. It was the last that made me write to you, but mostly so that, by working for peace, you please the *author of peace*² ever more. I could say more, but in vain since it is well-known to Your Grace.

[19] I commend myself to you, desiring to be of service to you. Hieronymus, canon of Bratislava, a wise man who is most devoted to you, has been here and did not neglect to further your reputation. If he returns there, he will be able to relate how greatly you are esteemed here much better than I can write. I have no news to report from here since it is uncertain. Many things are being said but without a credible source. The Hungarians are here to negotiate about the kingdom with His Imperial Majesty,³ acting for King Ladislaus. The Bohemians will shortly hold an assembly. Things are developing well for the position and glory of Ladislaus and the emperor.

Farewell, Your Most Reverend Paternity, to whom I humbly commend myself. From Vienna, 13 September 1445.

¹ The Jagiellons and the Habsburgs.

² God.

³ Note the use of the title “Majestas Imperialis” about the uncrowned emperor.

178. Letter to Goro Lolli (13 September 1445).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 147r¹ **

Editions B: HE, 180, pp. 459-460; WO, 1: 1, 180, pp. 532-533 (both based on M1)

{147r} Gregorio. Amantissime frater.

[1] Pauca sunt, quae me nunc scribere cogunt; ea tamen curari per te diligenter cupio. Revertitur in curiam dominus Johannes de Carvajal, orator apostolicus, qui diu apud nos moratus est, vir magni pretii et amicus amici. Cum eo magna mihi familiaritas est. Cupit is noscere, qui mihi Senis necessarii sint, non sui causa, sed mea, ut possit amicis meis benefacere eisque auxilio esse, si quid occurrat, quod ab se possit absolvi. Veniet hic Senas, nam illac transitum habet. Peto igitur, ut eum mox visere cures, te sibi offeras, quo mihi vinculo sis astrictus, exponas. Nihil enim propterea perdes, quia frugi est homo et apud summum pontificem inter paucos acceptus.

[2] Marianum Sozinum, doctorem nostri saeculi doctissimum, jube salvum esse meis verbis nec domimum Georgium Andrentium negligas. Si vacat illi audire, salutes meo nomine dictas, quia vir est sine otio. Forsitan cancellariam dimisit reipublicae, sed privata ejus cancellaria, quam sibi desponderat, non minus opere petit quam dimissa et acutiori calamo indiget fortiorique. Parentes tuos jube salvos esse cum fratribus atque sororibus. Magnificus cancellarius resalutat commatrem suam filioli que sui litteras in deliciis habet hortaturque Gasparem studiis incumbere.

[3] Quia magnifici domini nostri Senenses injunxerunt mihi, ut eis, quae apud nos essent novitates significarem, haec volo iis dicas: dalphinum Viennensem, regis Franciae primogenitum, non tam tumidum intrasse Germaniam, quam exivit timidus, ubi sensit adversus se parari exercitum. Magna incendia fecit, plures vastavit agros et urbes, sed non sine clade recessit, nam inter fugiendum complurimos milites amisit. Albertus, dux Austriae, contra Suicenses Basiliensesque bellum gerit superioresque partes habet. Rex noster in Hungaria campum tenuit pluresque praedones summo supplicio affecit, quorum castella dominio Austriae adjecit. Hungari sunt hic in magno numero petuntque Ladislaum regem, qui fuit Alberti filius et Sigismundi nepos. Idem et Bohemi flagitant. Itaque non facile est uni complacere absque displicentia alterius. Rumor est iterum venturos esse Teucros in Hungariam ac propterea vaywodae Transsilvani atque Walachi exercitum parant, quo, si nequeant aliena invadere, sua saltem tueantur. In rebus ecclesiae spero cito dari finem et bonum.

Vale. Ex Vienna, idibus septembris 1445. Tuus Aeneas.

¹ DV, f. 298r

178. Letter to Goro Lolli (13 September 1445).¹

Context: Piccolomini's relationship with Juan Carvajal, future cardinal, was deepening.
Subject: Piccolomini informs his cousin that Carvajal will be coming to Siena and asks him to meet him as he may become helpful to the Piccolomini family. He also asks Goro to transmit some news from the imperial court to the Sienese city government.

Goro, beloved brother.

[1] I have only a few urgent things to write about now, but I ask you to attend to them diligently. The apostolic envoy, Juan Carvajal, who has stayed long with us,² is a man of great value, a friend's friend, and very close to me. He is returning to the curia and wishes to know who are my relatives and friends in Siena, not for his own sake, but for mine, since he would benefit my friends if matters arise where he could achieve something. He will come to Siena on his way [to Rome]. I ask you to visit him as soon as possible, to offer yourself to him and explain our close bond. You will lose nothing from it, for he is a decent man and one of those closest to the Supreme Pontiff.^{3 4}

[2] Also, greet Mariano Sozzini, the most learned doctor of our age, and do not forget Giorgio Andrenzio. Give him my greetings, too, if he is not too busy to hear them, for he is never at rest. He may have given up the chancery of the state, but now he is not less occupied with the private chancery he has established than with the one he gave up: indeed, he needs a sharper and stronger pen. Greet your parents⁵, brothers and sisters. His Magnificence, the Chancellor, greets his fellow godparent. He enjoys his little godson's letters and exhorts Gaspare to study diligently.⁶

[3] Since Our Magnificent Lords of Siena have requested me to inform them of news from here, I ask you to tell them this: the dauphin⁷ of Vienne, firstborn son of the king of France,⁸ entered Germany proudly but left timidly when he heard an army was being mobilised against him. He caused many fires and devastated many fields and cities, but he did not leave without disastrous setbacks, losing many soldiers during his flight home. Duke Albrecht⁹ of Austria is waging war against the Swiss and the Basileans and holds the upper regions.¹⁰ Our king led an expedition to Hungary¹¹ and executed many robbers, whose castles he added to the dominion of Austria. The Hungarians are here in great numbers, asking for Ladislaus,¹² son of Albrecht¹³ and grandson of Sigismund,¹⁴ as their king. The Bohemians urgently request the same. It is not easy to satisfy one party without dissatisfying the other. Rumour has it that the Turks will return to Hungary, and therefore the voivodes of Transylvania¹⁵ and Wallachia¹⁶ are preparing an army which may not be sufficient to invade other territories but at least to defend their own. In the matters of the Church, I hope we shall soon have a good result.

Farewell. From Vienna, 13 September 1445. Your Enea.

¹ This letter is known only from the early version of Piccolomini's letters (M1) and was not included in his *Collection of Epistolae Saeculares* (V2-V4).

² At the imperial court.

³ Eugenius IV.

⁴ Voigt: *Als Carvajal mit den Wiener Vorschlägen nach Rom abging, sorgte Enea dafür, dass sich in Siena seine ganze Sippschaft*

dem durchreisenden Gesandten vorstellte (Voigt, 2: 6, p. 351).

⁵ Niccolò Lolli and Bartolomeo de' Tolomei.

⁶ When Kaspar Schlick stayed with Emperor Sigismund in Siena 1432-1433, he lived with Piccolomini's uncle and aunt and stood as godfather to one of the children in the family, Gaspare.

⁷ Louis XI as crown prince.

⁸ Charles VII.

⁹ Albrecht VI (Habsburg).

¹⁰ Or "has the upper hand"?

¹¹ July 1445.

¹² Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

¹³ Emperor Albrecht II.

¹⁴ Emperor Sigismund.

¹⁵ János Hunyadi.

¹⁶ Vlad II Dracul (bef. 1395-1447): Voivode of Wallachia 1436-1442 and 1443-1447.

179. Letter to Leonardo Benvoglianti (13 September 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 147v¹ **

Editions B: HE, 181, pp. 460-461; WO, 1: 1, 181, pp. 534-535 (based on M1)

{147v} Leonardo² Senensi. Singularis vir et amice.

[1] Scio te non sine admiratione lecturum has litteras dicturumque: “Quid sibi vult Aeneas, qui jam annis quindecim extra patriam moratus nihil umquam mihi scripsit nuncque me litteris aggreditur?” Praevenio te in hac cogitatione fateorque me diu tacuisse, sed non bene tacuisse. Exigebat namque cordis amor vetustaque consuetudo, ut crebrae inter nos epistolae currerent, quae et tuam mihi et tibi meam fortunam significarent, ut essemus praesentes affatibus litteratis, qui corporibus eramus absentes. Verum, mi Leonarde, si peccatum in hoc est, non minus tuum est quam meum crimen, nisi fortasse excusatum te velis, quod in patria manenti tibi multi amici superfuerint, quorum usus conversatione corporali non indigueris mea mentali. At id est accusare potius faterique crimen quam purgare, nam quanto beatior eras in patria, tanto me debebas extorrem diligentius visitare consolarique afflictum. Sed mitto haec, ne me velim excusare, qui non sum sine culpa negligentiae.

[2] Venio ad id, propter quod nunc scribo. Nuper cum de civibus Senensibus cum reverendissimo patre domino Johanne de Carvajal, oratore apostolico, verbum facerem laudaremque patriam atque homines, rogavit me homo, an te cognoscerem. “Quid mihi,” inquam, “novi et in primis colo, nam ab ineunte aetate mihi conjunctus fuit viamque inter urbem Romam Senamque pedibus simul calcavimus, cum major nobis esset religionis zelus quam nunc est.” Ostendi praeterea singularem inter nos esse benevolentiam meque tibi dilectum ex amicorum consuetudine. Quae cum ita sint inter nos dicta, puto eundem dominum Johannem percontaturum ex te, an ita sit, nam is te prae ceteris Senensibus amare observareque se dixit³. Precor igitur, ut ostendas te eundem esse erga me, qui olim fuisti. Immo sat erit, si is eris, qui modo Venetiis fueras, cum me dulcibus verbis et amplexibus vix e⁴ tuo conspectu abire sinisti.

Vale mei memor et si quid est, in quo tibi vel diligentia vel opera mea possit esse utilis, utere tuo Enea, cui satis erit scire desiderium tuum.

¹ SC, 299

² ~~Laurentio~~ Leonardo M1

³ duxit M1

⁴ ex WO

179. Letter to Leonardo Benvoglianti (13 September 1445, Vienna).¹

Context: See letter 178.

Subject: Piccolomini asks Leonardo to confirm to Juan Carvajal that they are close friends.

To Leonardo of Siena. Extraordinary man and friend,

[1] I know you will be surprised when you see this letter and say, “What is it with Enea? For 15 years he has been away from his country and never written, and now, suddenly, he is sending me a letter. Anticipating your thought, I admit that I have been silent for a long time which is not good. For sincere love and old friendship demanded that letters should pass frequently between us, informing us about each other’s fortunes and making us present in letters while absent in body. But, Leonardo, if there is a fault in this, it is yours as much as mine, unless you will use the excuse that, remaining in our common country, you had many friends left there: being together with them physically meant that you did not need to be together with me mentally. But that would be to declare and admit the crime rather than atone for it, for since you were much happier in our fatherland, you ought to assiduously visit² me in my exile and console me in my sorrow. But enough of this: I do not wish for excuses when I myself is not without the fault of negligence.

[2] I now come to my reason for writing. I recently talked with the Most Reverend Father, Juan de Carval, apostolic orator, and praised my country and its men. He then asked me if I knew you. “I know him and consider him a special friend, for we have been close since an early age, and we have once walked together all the way from Siena to Rome,³ when we had greater religious zeal than now.” I also told him that we had an exceptionally close friendship and that I was one of your dearest friends. These were the word, and I believe Juan will ask if this is so, for he told me that he loves and respects you more than any other Sieneese. Therefore, I ask you to show yourself to be the same towards me as you were once. Indeed, it will be enough if you will be as you were recently in Venice, when you almost could not let me go for sweet words and embraces.

Farewell, remember me, and if there is anything in which my diligence can be helpful to you, and I can do something for you, please use your Enea, for whom to know your wishes is enough.

¹ This letter is known only from the early version of Piccolomini’s letters (M1) and was not included

in his *Collection of Epistolae Saeculares* (V2-V4).

² By letter.

³ In 1426, at 21, Piccolomini walked all the way to Rome to ask Ber-

nardino da Siena for advice concerning a religious vocation. See DVI, sect. 89 and 100. Leonardo appears to have accompanied him.

180. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (13 September 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 148r¹**
Editions B: HE, 182, p. 461; WO, 1: 1, 182, p. 535.

{148r} Eximie doctor, frater amantissime.

[1] In re tua, quid responsi acceperim, ex aliis meis litteris intelligere potuisti, quia non est hoc tempore exorabilis regia sublimitas. Puto mutaturam sententiam, postquam Italiam intraverit, sed tibi fortasse gravis est expectatio. Ideo suaserim tibi ex summo pontifice petendum, quod hinc quaerebas, nisi fortasse minus auctoritatis haberet. Revertitur Senas dominus Johannes de Carvajal, orator apostolicus, quem apud Anseris diversorium una tecum et cum patruo nostro Johanne visitavimus. Nunc si idem faceres, accersito Johanne, non esset inutile, et maxime, si, qui sis mihi quique Johannes, sibi retuleris. Nam ego jam eum commonui. Vir est inter paucissimos summo pontifici dilectus, itaque si quid in curia impetratum iri volueris, patrocinio suo non incassum uteris.

Vale et matrem ac uxorem tuam cum filiis Johannemque patruum cum conjuge et liberis meis verbis salvere jube mihi que nonnumquam rescribe. Ex Vienna.

¹ SC, 300

180. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei¹ (13 September 1445, Vienna).²

Context: Tolomei had asked Piccolomini to obtain some favour from the emperor, possibly an honourable appointment.

Subject: Piccolomini advises his relative on how to proceed in the matter and asks him to visit Juan Carvajal when he comes to Siena.

Distinguished doctor, beloved brother,³

[1] In another letter⁴ I have informed you about the answer I received: at present, His Royal Highness is inflexible. I think he will change his mind when he enters Italy,⁵ but it may be hard for you to wait.⁶ Therefore, I advise you to seek from the Supreme Pontiff what you applied for here unless that might have less authority. Juan Carvajal, apostolic envoy, is returning to Siena. You and I, together with uncle Giovanni, visited him at the Inn of the Goose.⁷ It would be helpful if you now did the same, together with Giovanni, and especially if you told him what you and Giovanni are to me, which I, of course, have already said to him myself. He is dearer than most to the Supreme Pontiff,⁸ so if you should want something in the curia, his patronage would be useful.

Farewell, and greet your mother, wife and sons and uncle Giovanni from me and write to me from time to time. From Vienna.

¹ Jacopo Tolomei: Sienese jurist. Taught law at the University in Siena in the 1430s and 1440s. (See DVI, sect. 102). Later, court official in Ferrara (COM, 1: 20). Still later, he would serve as a travelling magistrate.

² This letter is known only from the early version of Piccolomini's letters (M1) and was not included in his *Collection of Epistolae Saeculares* (V2-V4).

³ Piccolomini often uses "frater" about cousins, and so he did (see letter 77: 7), to Jacopo Tolomei, doctor of law and a son of Gio-

vanni Tolomei. He is probably the recipient of this letter.

⁴ Not extant.

⁵ A first indication in Piccolomini's letters that the emperor would eventually go to Rome to be crowned, which happened in 1452, seven years later. For Piccolomini's explanation to Pope Nicholas of the delay, see his oration "Fateor" of 28 December 1450, sect. 11 (COR, 4: 15).

⁶ The matter was presumably a petition for Tolomei to be appointed palatine count, an appointment that he would, in fact, receive on 18 May 1452, during the emperor's coronation voyage to Rome,

when such appointments were easier to obtain - as a manifestation of imperial largesse and providing a needful contribution to the financing of the emperor's voyage.

⁷ Having performed his first imperial mission to Pope Eugenius IV, Piccolomini left Rome on 1 April, to be followed later by Tommaso Parentucelli and Juan Carvajal (Voigt, 2: 6, p. 343; see also letter 171). This passage seems to indicate, that Carvajal caught up with him in Siena. There is no mention of this meeting in Pius II's *Commentarii*.

⁸ Eugenius IV.

181. Letter to Bartolomeo Roverella (13 September 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: MI, f. 148v¹ **.
Editions B: HE, 183, 461-462; WO, 1: 1, 183, p. 535-536.

{148v} Reverendissime pater et domine mi praecipue. Post recommendationem,

[1] Henrico Senftleben, scriptori apostolico viroque bono, litteras tibi restituendas tradidi. At is inter eundem multis occupationibus involutus tardiuscule ad te veniet. Ideo has adjunxi, quibus scias illarum tenorem, qui hujusmodi fuit, absolvisse me rem tuam, privilegium misisse. Si quid plus velles, mihi mandares. Idem modo repeto, nam sum perpetuus tuus, si vita perpetua est; si minus, tam diu sum tuus, quamdiu spiravero. Sed est perpetua proculdubio vita non mei corporis, sed [animi²] mei. Nam ego numquam moriar, etsi corpus vestemque istam carnalem perdidero aut carceris potius locum exivero. Patriam mutabo, sed ubicumque illa fuerit, non ero illic immemor tuorum erga me meritorum. Faxit Deus, ut [in³] piorum locum deputer.

[2] Quae sunt apud nos nova, dominus Johannes, apostolicus orator, tibi referet. Nolo relatibus suis suaeque linguae meis scriptis meisque calamis officium adimere. Solum jubeo te bene de rebus ecclesiae sperare, in qua re quam solers quamque utilis idem Johannes fuerit, facilius est te opinari quam me scribere. Res ipsa suam aliquando diligentiam patefaciet. Tuum est tantum virum sanctissimo domino meo commendare, cujus pedibus, etsi me obtuleris, non iniquum facies, quia licet aliquando sue sanctitati nocuerim, plus tamen est, quod a me curatum reperitur quam vulneratum.

Vale. Domino Francisco, thesaurario patrique reverendo, si me dederis, non impugnabo factum tuum. Franciam, scriptorum decus sive librariorum principem, quamvis unice amas, tamen ut meo quoque intuitu pluris facias oro. Dominum Franciscum jubeo salvum esse. Vale, pontifex optime, mei memor.
 Ex ...

¹ SC, 301

² *em.*

³ *em.* WO

181. Letter to Bartolomeo Roverella¹ (13 September 1445, Vienna).²

Context: Piccolomini systematically cultivated his Roman acquaintances. One of them had requested some privilege from the emperor through Piccolomini's agency.
Subject: Piccolomini informs his acquaintance that the imperial privilege has been granted.

Most Reverend Father, my particular lord. After recommendation,

[1] I have given Heinrich Senftleben,³ apostolic scribe and a good man, a letter for you, but since he is quite occupied, it may take some time before he comes to you. Therefore, I have added this note to let you know the gist of it, which is that I have concluded your matter, that the privilege has been sent, and that if there is anything else you wish, you should let me know. I repeat this now: I am yours forever if life lasts forever. If not, then I am yours as long as I breathe. But no doubt my soul's life is eternal, if not my body's. For I shall never die though I will lose this body and its clothing of flesh or, rather, leave this prison. I shall change my country, but wherever it will be, I shall never forget your merits towards me. God give that I will be sent to the place of the pious.

[2] Juan, the apostolic envoy, will tell you the news from here. I will not forestall his reports and account with my letters and pens. I just ask you to have good hopes in the matters of the Church, concerning which it is easier for you to imagine than for me to write how skilful and helpful the same Juan has been. The matter itself will eventually demonstrate his diligent contribution. Now, it is up to you to recommend me to my Most Holy Lord⁴: it will be good if you commend me at his feet, for though I formerly harmed His Holiness, my endeavours on his behalf now surpass the damage I may have done.

Farewell. If you recommend me to the Reverend Father, Treasurer Francesco,⁵ I shall not reproach you. And though you dearly love Francia,⁶ jewel among scribes or prince of copyists, I ask you to esteem him even more out of regard for me. Please greet Francesco⁷ from me. Farewell, excellent bishop, and remember me. From ...

¹ The identification of Bartolomeo Roverella as the recipient of the letter is based on the mention of his Francia and Francesco (see also letter 206: 5).

² This letter is known only from the early version of Piccolomini's letters (M1) and was not included in his *Collection of Epistolae Saeculares* (V2-V4).

³ Heinrich Senftleben: Official of Friedrich III and, for years, his procurator in Rome. See Heinig, 1: pp. 526-527, 809 and *ad indicem*.

⁴ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁵ Francesco Legnamine (of Padua) (1400-1462): Appointed bishop of Ferrara the following year (1446), he later became bishop of Belluno

and Feltre. In 1447, he would on the pope's behalf welcome the German embassies come to Rome to recognise Eugenius IV as pope (see CRDM, 1: 8).

⁶ A familiar of Bartolomeo Roverella, see letter 206: 5.

⁷ Another familiar of Bartolomeo Roverella, see letter 206: 5.

182. Letter to Jean Le Jeune (13 September 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 148v¹ **.

Editions B: HE, 184, pp. 462-464; WO, 1: 1, 184, p. 536-538 (based on M1).

{148v} Cardinali Morinensi. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime, post humilem recommendationem.

[1] Nemo arguere me deberet, si redeunte Romam praestanti viro domino Johanne de Carvajal, oratore apostolico, nihil cuiquam scripserim, nam quid est, quod a me dici possit, quod idem Johannes ignoret? Sive res ecclesiae, sive res imperii scire quis velit, ex eo melius quam ex me poterit instrui. Quod cum apud omnes excusare me debeat, potissime tamen apud reverendissimam paternitatem vestram me tueri potest, cui est ipse Johannes intimus et dilectissimus familiaris. Verum si tacerem omnino, diceret fortasse vestra dignatio me non solum Teutonicum esse hominem sed ferreum, qui vestrae humanitatis immemor vestrarumque cenarum oblitus post abitum meum numquam {149r} vel minimas litteras signaverim, quod tanto esset mihi molestius, quanto vestrae erga me benignitatis dietim magis ac magis recordor et praesertim, dum in circulari disputatione Wladislaum, Poloniae regem, et Ludovicum, dalphinum Viennensem, cunctis orbis regibus atque principibus praeferebatis, quorum alter, dum inconsultius hostes aggreditur, coactus fugere victoriam inimicis suis atque fidei dedit, et inter fugiendum interiit. Alter, dum alienos fines nulla injuria lacessitus ingreditur, tam diu populatus est agros, quam diu resistantem non reperit, sed audito adversus se parari exercitum, timidius fugit, quam ingressus est animose. Quibus ex rebus persto in mea sententia, ut Alfonsum, regem Aragonum, ambobus praeferam, qui etsi multis proeliis exercitum amisit, animum tamen numquam perdidit, cujus constantia fecit, ut adversantem fortunam quasi pudore victam sibi conciliaverit. Sed mitto haec et ad scribendum venio.

¹ SC, 301-302.

182. Letter to Jean Le Jeune (13 September 1445, Vienna).¹

Context:

Piccolomini cultivates his Roman connections, in this case, the influential Cardinal Le Jeune.

Subject:

Apart from praising Juan Carvajal, Piccolomini continues a discussion between himself and the cardinal on who is the best king in Europe. He also informs the cardinal that the emperor firmly supports the papalist party. He concludes with various news. He mentions the papal summons of the archbishop of Cologne to Rome, the first step in a process that would lead, the following year, to the deposition of the archbishops of Trier and Cologne, causing a major upheaval in the relations between the Roman papacy and Germany. At this early point, however, Piccolomini appears to take it calmly though he indirectly appears to question the wisdom of the papal measure.

To the Cardinal of Th rouanne.² Most Reverend Father in Christ and my Worshipful Lord. After humble recommendation.

[1] Nobody should rebuke me for not writing to anybody [in Rome] now that the distinguished Juan Carvajal, apostolic envoy, returns there, for what could I say that Juan does not know? If anybody wants to know about the affairs of the Church or the Empire, he can be better informed by him than by me. This should excuse me to all and especially to Your Most Reverend Paternity since Juan is your intimate and beloved friend. On the other hand, if I remained utterly silent, Your Grace might say that I am not only a German but a man with a heart of iron, who, forgetting your kindness³ and dinner parties, has not sent you even the briefest letter after I left. This would really trouble me since I remember your kindness daily, and especially since in our discussion you preferred Wladyslaw,⁴ King of Poland, and Louis,⁵ Dauphin of Vienne, to all other kings and princes in the world. Of these two, the first attacked his enemies rashly and was forced to flee and leave the victory to [the Turks], enemies of himself and the Faith, and perished while fleeing.⁶ The other, unprovoked, invaded another country and laid waste to the fields as long as he found no resistance.⁷ But as soon as he heard an army was being raised against him, he timidly fled the country he had proudly invaded. Therefore, I maintain my position that Alfonso,⁸ King of Aragon, must be preferred to both. Though he lost his army in many battles, he never lost his courage, and his constancy achieved that he became reconciled with hostile Fortune as if she were defeated by shame.⁹ But enough of this. And now to writing.

¹ This letter is known only from the early version of Piccolomini's letters (M1) and was not included in his *Collection of Epistolae Saeculares* (V2-V4).

² Jean Le Jeune [Le Josne] (1410-1451): Bishop of Macon (1433), Couserans (1436), and finally archbishop of Th rouanne (1436).

Cardinal 1439. Sponsored Piccolomini's reconciliation with Pope Eugenius in February 1445.

³ Le Jeune was one of the two cardinals present at his first audience with Pope Eugenius to be pardoned before he acted as the emperor's envoy (COM, 1: 2).

⁴ Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).

⁵ Louis IX as crown prince.

⁶ At the Battle of Varna.

⁷ The Armagnac expedition.

⁸ Alfonso V the Magnanimous. After many setbacks, he finally conquered the Kingdom of Naples.

⁹ See Piccolomini's letter on Fortune (letter 152: 22).

[2] Sed quid scribam nescio, Hercle, nisi dominum Johannem vestrum ad vestram reverendissimam paternitatem reverti scripserim, nam alia ipse dicet. At et hoc oculi vestri videbunt. Frustra est igitur meum scriptum, nisi in eo prosit, quod his, quae dominus Johannes dicet, astipulari videbor et lucenti soli faces admoveam meridiano. Utcumque sit, hoc ex me habetote, majestatem regiam vestris affici partibus navareque operam, ut victores evadatis, in qua re, si quid est morae, aequo animo ferte, quia non uno anno capta est Troja. Schisma, quod Arrianus suscitavit, ad trecentos annos perduravit. Memoria nostra inter duos pontifices diu divisio fuit. Post, dum pax quaeritur, additus est tertius, et aucta divisio.

[3] Accepi, vestram reverendissimam paternitatem pro foribus sancti Petri antistitem citasse Coloniensem, quod non est novum, nam et Lothario imperante Treverensis et Coloniensis antistites sacerdotio exuti fuerunt. Sed in omnibus rebus duo sunt consideranda perquirendaque: alterum est, ut justum sit, quod aggredimur, alterum, ut executioni valeat demandari, quod incipimus. Quae duo si assunt, non improbari factum potest.

[4] Hungari sunt hic et de rege Ladislao transigunt, ut ex viro doctissimo cognoscere poteritis plenius magistro Thaddaeo, qui et res Hungaras optime novit et hujus puelli regis partes semper secutus est. Julianus cardinalis, vir praestans animi dotibus, sicuti Romae dixi, mortuus est, et vereor, ne domesticae magis quam hostiles noxiae sibi fuerint manus, quod nec Hungari, qui sunt hic, inficiantur. Albertus, dux Austriae, Suicenses ac Basilienses bello premit. Quid aliud dicam, non habeo. Haec scripsi, ne me nihil scribere argueretis, idque raptim est factum inter alias occupationes. Precor, ut veniam joco detis et me tamquam servulo utamini, ubicumque mea potest opera utilis esse dignationi vestrae.

Ex Vienna.

[2] But I do not know what to write, by Hercules!, except that your Juan is returning to Your Most Reverend Paternity, as I wrote, and he will tell you the other things, as you will see with your own eyes. So, my letter is really unnecessary except that it may be helpful that I confirm all that Juan has to say (thus moving burning torches into the splendid midday sunshine!). However that may be, I can inform you that His Royal Majesty¹ now supports your party and endeavours to make you win. If that takes some time, bear it with equanimity, for Troy was not taken in one year.² The schism caused by Arian lasted for 300 years.³ In our own time,⁴ there was a schism between two [popes].⁵ Then, when peace was sought,⁶ a third one was added,⁷ and the division deepened.

[3] I have heard that Your Most Reverend Paternity has, before the gates of Saint Peter, summoned [the archbishop] of Cologne^{8,9}. This is not something new, for under Emperor Lothar, the archbishops of Trier and Cologne were deprived of the priesthood. But in all affairs, two things must be considered: first, if what we want to do is just, and second, if we can carry through what we begin. If both conditions are fulfilled, the action cannot be criticised.¹⁰

[4] The Hungarians are here to negotiate about King Ladislaus.¹¹ You can get more information from Magister Taddeo,¹² who knows the Hungarian affairs very well and has always supported the cause of the boy king. Cardinal Giuliano,¹³ a man of splendid gifts of the soul, is dead, as I said in Rome. I fear that he was felled by Hungarian¹⁴ rather than by enemy hands, which the Hungarians here do not deny. Albrecht,¹⁵ Duke of Austria, is waging war against the Swiss and the Basileans.¹⁶ I have nothing more to relate. I only wrote this lest you rebuke me for not writing, and I did so hastily, pressed by other occupations. I ask you to forgive the joke¹⁷ and use me as your servant in whatever matter I can be of assistance to Your Grace.

From Vienna.

¹ Friedrich III.

² The siege of Troy (Homer: *Iliad*) lasted for 10 years.

³ Arianism: a Christological doctrine first attributed to Arius (ca. 256-336).

⁴ "memoria": memory

⁵ The Great Western schism lasted from 1378 to 1417.

⁶ At the Council of Pisa, 1409.

⁷ Peter Philargis [of Candia] (ca. 1339-1410) under the name of Alexander V.

⁸ Dietrich von Mörs.

⁹ This is the beginning of a process leading to Eugenius IV's deposition, in 1446, of the archbishops of Trier and Cologne, causing a major upheaval in the relations between the Roman papacy and Germany.

¹⁰ As the second condition could undoubtedly not be fulfilled, given determined German resistance, Piccolomini here appears to indi-

rectly question the wisdom of the papal measure.

¹¹ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

¹² Taddeo degli Adelmari (see letter 171: 5).

¹³ Giuliano Cesarini.

¹⁴ "domesticae"

¹⁵ Albrecht VI (Habsburg), the emperor's brother.

¹⁶ Old Zürich War (1440-1446).

¹⁷ A reference to the discussion on kings (sect. 1).

183. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (c. 10 September 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: MI, f. 144r-149v¹ **.
Editions B: HE, 185, pp. 464-470; WO, 1: 1, 185, p. 538-545.
Translations: RE, 59, pp. 221-228.

{144r} Praestanti philosopho domino Johanni Campisio Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Accepi te scribente clarissimam et amplissimam dignitatem summi poenitentiaratus communi domino nostro reverendissimo cardinali Tarentino demandatam esse, quae res tanto mihi gratior est et jucundior, quanto melius et dignius collocata est. Nam quis magis idoneus quisve magis meritis id officii suscepturus fuisset? Si scientia quaeritur, est hic dominus noster summa philosophia praeditus sacrarumque litterarum peritissimus, quodque perrarum est. Relucet in eo singularis facundia, sive virtutes laudet sive vitia fulminet. Nec ex his, quae suum debent examen incidere quidquam invenietur dubii, quod sua sagacitas non absolvat. Si fides exigitur, quis hoc probatior est? Nota sunt ejus opera, quibus se clarum magnumque Basileae reddidit, dum contra latratus aemulorum contraque insidiantium impetus beati Petri naviculam tutabatur. Nota sunt, quae² in Apulia sive Campania pro statu ecclesiae defendendo peregerit, nam et hic armis et in Basilea litteris apostolicae sedis dignitatem sustentavit. Si nobilitas exposcitur, clarum est illi et paternum et maternum genus, nam et qui Ursini sint et qui Tagliacozi nemo est, qui nesciat, Italicorum, quae domus Ausonia tota illustris habetur.

[2] Unum dumtaxat est, quod poenitentiararia desiderat estque in hoc domino forsitan non sine damno. Oportet namque summum poenitentiarium esse senem, ut, cum audit delicta confitentium, adulteria, stupra, incestus, immobilis persistat nec pruritus sentiat libidinis titillantis. At hic pater dominusque noster, etsi non est admodum senex aevo, labore tamen morbisque sic confectus est, ut nihil amplius in eo vel carnis possit³ imperium, quamvis nec huic juveni praecipere umquam libido potuerit. Nolo senem dicere dominum nostrum, quia fortasse non fateretur. Est enim humanum, ut se omnes extiment quam sint juniores, nisi ubi octuagesimum annum attigerunt, tunc enim semper aetatem mentiuntur proveciorem, quasi laudi sit vixisse quam diu. Dico ergo non senem, sed aevo plenum et maceratum diversis valitudinibus herum. Quod si negaverit, dic me non esse ignarum calculi atque podagrae chiragraeque, quibus dum Romae fui admodum torquebatur. (*cont.*)

¹ SC, 292-294.

² ab eo *add.* cod.

³ posset WO

183. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (c. 10 September 1445,¹ Vienna).²

Context: Campisio's master, Cardinal Berardi, had been appointed papal Grand Penitentiary, and Campisio himself had apparently received an ecclesiastical benefice that would improve his financial situation.

Subject: Piccolomini comments on the cardinal's appointment and on Campisio's new benefice. He once again takes up the theme of Fortune (see letter 152).

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the distinguished philosopher Giovanni Campisio.

[1] I learnt from your letter³ that our common Most Reverend Lord, the Cardinal of Taranto,⁴ has been granted the noble and excellent office of Grand Penitentiary.⁵ This is welcome and joyful news, for the appointment is excellent and merited. For who could receive this office more suitably and deservedly? If it is learning that is required, our lord is a consummate philosopher and has deep knowledge of the sacred letters – a rare thing. Moreover, he shines with outstanding eloquence whether he praises virtue or castigates vice. In the matters he has to investigate, there is no problem that his sagacity cannot solve. If it is faith that is required, who is more acceptable than he? It is known how in Basel, he grew famous and great by defending the Bark of Saint Peter⁶ against the baying of jealous and scheming men.⁷ It is also known what he achieved in Puglia and Campagna, protecting the state of the Church. There he upheld the dignity of the Apostolic See with arms, while in Basel he had done it with letters. And, finally, if it is nobility that is required, both his father's and mother's families are noble, for all Italians know the Orsini and the Tagliacozzi, a house considered illustrious in all of Ausonia.⁸

[2] However, there is one thing that the office of penitentiary requires, which our lord may regrettably lack. For the High Penitentiary should be an old man, so he can hear the transgressions of those who confess, adulteries, illicit sexual intercourse and incest, without feeling the itchings of libidinous titillation. But this our father and lord, though not very old,⁹ is so worn down by labour and illness that the flesh no longer has any power over him – although even as a young man, he was not ruled by lust. I will not call our lord old, for he might not admit it. Indeed, it is a human thing that all consider themselves younger than they are until they have reached 80, and afterwards they lie themselves older, as if it were praiseworthy to have lived that long. So, I shall not call our master old but mature¹⁰ and suffering from various illnesses. If he denies it, then tell him I know about the bladder stones, gout and arthritis that plagued him when I was in Rome. (*cont.*)

¹ After Genzsch. See also note in WO, 1: 1, p. 538.

² This letter is known only from the early version of Piccolomini's letters (M1) and was not included in his *Collection of Epistolae Saeculares* (V2-V4).

³ The letter is not extant.

⁴ Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo.

⁵ Grand penitentiary: a cardinalial office at the papal curia, having jurisdiction over certain matters, as penance, confession, dispensation, absolution, and im-

pediments, and dealing with questions of conscience reserved for the Holy See.

⁶ Traditional name for the Church.

⁷ In his DVI (last version, 1447), ch. 1, Piccolomini wrote about him: *When he was sent to the Council of Basel, he defended Eugenius' cause to the greatest of his ability, excelling in eloquence and discernment* (sect. 1); and *There [in Rome] he was later appointed a cardinal and sent with an army to Puglia to oppose the campaign of the King of Aragon*

(sect. 2). His first oration to the council, on papal supremacy, was delivered on 23 August 1432. Piccolomini probably heard it. Some would say that he himself belonged to the throng of "jealous and scheming men" who bitterly opposed the pope.

⁸ Lower Italy.

⁹ At the time, the cardinal was 65, perhaps old enough to hear confessions! Is this passage a risqué joke?

¹⁰ "aevo plenus"

(cont.) Sed jam non est his immorandum, ne, dum congratulari volo, videar condolere. Mihi, Johannes amantissime, summae voluptati est audisse sublimationem hanc heri nostri, sed mihi non suppetunt verba, quibus exprimam mentis alacritatem. Tute scis, quantum afficiar suae dignationi¹, qui *me intus et mente nosti*. Indue, rogo, personam meam meique vice congratulare et gaudium, quo me scis commotum, exprime.

[3] Tibi enim quam mihi copia verborum est major, qui apud philosophos, quibus verbis ostendantur affectus, didicisti. Verum, mi Johannes, nescio, cui magis congaudeam, tibi an hero, ne fortasse male judicaverim, si te praeposuerim. Herus namque satis sibi fortunarum habebat, satis honorum. {144v} Quid enim plus honoris addici potest ei, qui cardinalis est et cardinalis episcopus, nisi summi pontificatus cathedram assequatur. Verum te, Johannes suavissime, jam dudum in castris ecclesiae militasti et forsitan diutius, quam circa Trojam Danaï castrametati fuerint. In multis laboribus versatus es multisque periculis, dum orbem perambulans tuis heris famulatum exhibes fidelem. Nec tamen adhuc stipendium aliquod habuisti, nullum praemium reportasti, nullum commodum, *nulla emolumenta laborum*. Itaque uti *Umbricius* alter cedendum patria censebas curiamque *Arturio* relinquere et aliis, *qui nigrum in candida vertunt, cum mentiri nescires et librum, qui malus esset, laudare*.

[4] At cum jam te Deus mitiori respiciat oculo tuumque dominum ad eum statum provexerit, quo tibi possit admodum prodesse, non injuria, ut opinor, tibi imprimis congaudeo. Nam tua est haec dignitas non minus quam domini. Ille namque honorem curamque habet, tu sine magna sollicitudine fructum percipies, quia non sinet herus suarum te fortunarum expertem esse. Video insuper te jam ventis ferri secundis et in altum tolli. Nec enim fortunae satis visum est, quod tibi dominum extulerit, sed ultro quoque locuplex tibi pingueque beneficium detulit. Ad septimum namque lapidem prope urbem Senam, ut tu ipse refers, plebeculam nactus es factusque pastor et rector gregis. Laetor ego hac tua felicitate magnique muneris loco recipio, in mea te patria ditatum esse. Negabis fortasse te divitem, qui non auri mille pondera² in annos recipies. At olim dejurabas beatum te futurum, si quod haberes refugium, si *figeres aliquid, quo tibi esset tuta senectus a tegete et baculo*. Nunc ergo *habes, tota quod mente petisti*. Jam tibi non erit cura *de lodice paranda*³. Jam *tolerabile hospitium* habes. Est tibi, quo vivas et quo statum meliorem maneas. Quid est? *Post multas tenebras lux rediit, jam redisti cum fortuna in gratiam fecistique, quod paucorum est, ut et dives simul et probus esses*.

¹ dignitati WO

² WO; pondo (?) cod.

³ parando WO

(*cont.*) But I should not dwell on this lest I appear to condole him when I want to congratulate him. My dear Giovanni, I am overjoyed to hear about the advancement of our master, but I lack words to express my enthusiasm. You who well know me and my mind¹ understand how devoted I am to His Grace. Please congratulate him in such terms that I would use and tell him how happy I am for him.

[3] For your store of words is greater than mine since you learnt from philosophers how to express feelings. But, dear Giovanni, I do not know who should be the happiest: you or your master. Would I be mistaken to put you first? For your master has enough good fortune, enough honours. What greater honour can you give to one who is a cardinal, even a cardinal bishop,² unless he gains the chair of the supreme pontificate³? But you, my sweet Giovanni, have long soldiered in the armies of the Church and maybe even longer than the Danaï⁴ camped at Troy. You have suffered many labours and dangers while travelling through the world in loyal service to your masters.⁵ And still you have not been given any compensation nor gained any benefit, *any advantage, any reward for your labour*.⁶ Like another *Umbricius*,⁷ you decided to depart from your fatherland and leave the curia to *Arturius*⁸ and others *who turn black into white*,⁹ for *you did not know how to lie and praise a bad book*.¹⁰

[4] But now that God regards you more favourably and your lord has reached a position where he can benefit you much, I rejoice more with you. For this dignity¹¹ is yours not less than your lord's. He has the honour and the cares while you will, without great trouble, harvest the fruits, for your master will not exclude you from his good fortunes. I see you being carried forward and borne high by favourable winds. Indeed, it was not enough for Fortune to raise up your lord: having more wealth [to bestow], it also brought you a fat benefice. Indeed, you have gained a small parish¹² at the seventh milestone from Siena - as you say - and been appointed the pastor and guide of a flock. I rejoice at your good fortune and consider it a great boon that you have been enriched in my fatherland.¹³ Maybe you will deny you are rich since you will receive no more than 1,000 pounds per year. But you once swore that you would be happy if you just had a refuge and *could assure yourself of something that will keep your old days safe from the beggar's staff and mat*.¹⁴ Now, *what you sought with all your heart you have*.¹⁵ Now you shall not have to worry about *acquiring a blanket*.¹⁶ Now you will have *acceptable lodgings*.¹⁷ You have gained a living which will improve your status. After many *dark clouds light* has returned,¹⁸ and you have returned to Fortune's favour and achieved what only a few men can: to be rich and honest at the same time.

¹ Cf. Perseus, 3: 3: *Ego te intus et in cute novi*.

² There were three orders of cardinals, the lowest being the cardinal deacons, the middle the cardinal priests, and the highest the cardinal bishops.

³ The chair of Saint Peter = The papacy.

⁴ The Greeks.

⁵ In 1442-1443, Campisio accompanied Cardinal Cesarini on his papal legation to Hungary.

⁶ Juvenalis, 3: 22.

⁷ Juvenalis' "friend" who, in Satire 3, denounced Rome and prepared to leave it.

⁸ Another figure from Juvenal's 3rd satire.

⁹ Juvenalis, 3: 30.

¹⁰ Juvenalis, 3: 41-42.

¹¹ The office of Grand penitentiary.

¹² "plebecula"

¹³ The territory of Siena.

¹⁴ Juvenalis, 9: 139-140.

¹⁵ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 4: 100.

¹⁶ Juvenalis, 7: 66.

¹⁷ Juvenalis, 7: 69-70.

¹⁸ Job, 17: 12.

[5] Namque, si mundanorum statum respiciamus, divitiae plerumque sunt apud eos, qui minus merentur, ac propterea Theophrasti vocem non improbo, qui *vitam regi fortuna, non sapientia* dicebat, quod licet impugnet in *Tusculanis* Cicero, mihi tamen non videtur arguendum. Non enim philosophi vitam virtutibus datam Theophrastus designabat, sed illam communem, quae divitias, honores atque potentiam sequitur, quarum rerum dispensatricem esse fortunam idem Cicero non infitiatur. Theologi {145r} fortasse negant esse fortunam, quia unum dumtaxat orbis rectorem gubernatoremque machinae mundialis censent nec aliam ullam potestatem fore arbitrantur, quae hujus primi motoris nutui valeat adversari, a quorum iudicio nec volo nec possum discrepare. Sed in illo ipso Deo, qui omnia regit et movet, plures sunt operationes, quarum si quis unam fortunam dixerit, alius vero permissionem sive ordinationem, non in re, sed in nomine reperietur contentio. Dicamus igitur prisco modo fortunam esse, quae divites aliquos, inopes aliquos reddat flatuque suo nunc elevet homines nunc deprimat, sicut Cicero, Aristoteles, Boethius et omnis antiquitas opinata est, sed non dicamus illam deam, quod desipere est, sed vim aliquam superiorem, cuius nutu haec terrena bona dispensentur dicamusve¹, ut prisci, *fortunam caecam* nihilque rationis habentem.

[6] Propterea quod indigni ditantur², digni vero supprimuntur, mihi sane arduum videtur fortunam reprehendere, tamquam male distribuat. Nam quis iudex est, ut sciat, qui digni sint quique indigni? Homo animal est varium, astutum, subdolum, mille latebrarum, et inscrutabile³ est cor ejus. Itaque saepe fallitur, qui hos dignos, illos indignos censet. Est insuper et alia ratio. Nam si verum est, quod fortuna malos ditet, bonos persequatur, non est mirandum, si nonnumquam⁴ in hoc brevi saeculo fragili, caduco et ad momentum mansuro aliquid jucunditatis permittitur malis, qui postea in alio mundo vitam sine fine miseram et calamitosam sunt habituri. Stulti praeterea malique homines, quia parum rationis habent, si pauperes essent et omnino infelices, non possent se ipsos consolari, quia virtute carent, quae sola quietem hominibus praestat, sed desperarent illico nec ultra niti scirent moxque deficerent. Atque idcirco beneficia fortunae assunt, ut suppleatur⁵ in uno, quod in altero deest, et divitiis ad bene agendum quasi pueri pomis atque blanditiis invitentur insipientes. Viri autem boni et sapientes utramque fortunam ferre sciunt et inopiam quasi virtutis cultricem non vituperant, sed patienter tolerant semperque modos habent, unde victum habeant.

¹ dicemusve WO

² em. WO; dicantur M1

³ inscrutabile WO

⁴ em. WO; nonnulli M1

⁵ em.; supplicatur M1

[5] For if we look at the world as it is, we see that wealth often belongs to those who deserve it less. Therefore, I agree with Theophrastus¹ when he says that *life is ruled by fortune, not wisdom*, which I find is irrefutable, though Cicero disagrees in his *Tusculanae*.² For Theophrastus was not talking about the philosopher's life, dedicated to virtue, but the ordinary life that pursues riches, honours and power, things that Fortune distributes, which Cicero does not deny. The theologians may deny that Fortune exists, for they believe there is only one ruler and governor of the world machine³ and no other power able to resist the will of the first mover.⁴ I will not and cannot disagree with their belief. But in God, who rules and moves all, there are many modes of action⁵: if some call one such mode Fortune and others permission or ordination, the disagreement becomes one of name, not of matter. Let us now say, in the old way, that it is Fortune which makes some rich, others poor, and, by its breath, now raises up men and now humbles them, as Cicero, Aristotle, Boethius⁶ and all Antiquity believed. But let us not call it a goddess, for that is silly, but some superior force at whose will the worldly goods are distributed, nor let us not say, as the ancients, that *Fortune is blind*⁷ and senseless.⁸

[6] Though the unworthy are made rich and the worthy poor, I think it is difficult to blame Fortune for distributing [wealth] badly. For how can you judge who is worthy and who is unworthy? Man is an inconstant, cunning and treacherous animal with a thousand subterfuges, and his *heart is inscrutable*.⁹ Therefore, those who believe some to be worthy and others to be unworthy are often mistaken. But there is another reason [why it is difficult to blame Fortune]: if it were true that Fortune makes the wicked rich and persecutes the good, it would not be strange that often, in this short, fragile and doomed age, lasting only for a moment, some joy be allowed the wicked since afterwards, in another world, they will live a miserable and wretched life without end. Moreover, foolish and wicked men with little sense would not be able to console themselves if they were poor and heartbroken, for they lack virtue that alone can provide tranquillity to men. Therefore, they would immediately despair, not know how to struggle on, and soon fail. So, Fortune favours fools so that they may have in this world what they will lack in the next. Thus, the fools are enticed with riches to live morally, like children are enticed with fruit and caresses. But good and wise men know how to bear with either kind of fortune. And since poverty fosters virtue, they do not berate it but accept it patiently and always find ways to make a living.

¹ Theophrastus (ca. 371 - ca. 287 BCE): Peripatetic philosopher.

² Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 5: 9, 25.

³ "Machina mundi:" see Mittelstrass, p. 26: ... *the expression machina mundi (world machine) refers to the idea that this order [the world order] is a "mechanical" one. ... It expresses ... the poetical character of the notion of nature, without attributing to it the*

idea of a spiritless (or dead) mechanism. ... It is safe to assume that this terminology was introduced into medieval and Renaissance thought by Sacrobosco in his Sphaera (around 1220). This textbook of astronomy was republished and commented upon even in the seventeenth century. Piccolomini may have had this notion from Nikolaus von Kues.

⁴ Primus motor: first or unmoved mover. Aristotelian concept of a

primary cause of all motion in the universe.

⁵ "operationes"

⁶ Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus (ca. 480 - ca. 525): Roman noble, consul, and philosopher.

⁷ Cicero: *De Amicitia*, 15: 54.

⁸ If Fortune is somehow a divine operation, it can presumably not be blind and senseless.

⁹ Jeremiah, 17: 9.

[7] Deinde, mi Johannes, si animum tibi debeo patefacere, nemo est, qui conqueri debeat, quamvis sit sapiens, non suppeditare fortunas, quia nemo sua industria tantum est sapiens, sed *desursum est omne datum optimum*. Si ergo ibi divitiae sint, ibi virtutes, scio, quia non commutabis virtutes cum opibus. Habes ergo, qui sapiens es, ex duobus quod est {145v} melius. Sine, quod minus est bonum apud alios esse, neque tam pertinax sis, ut omnia tibi velis vindicare. Verum te magis amat, quam rebar, fortuna. Jam virtutibus tuis addit divitias nec te sinit algere. Voluptas mihi est, quanta ex amici bonis amico potest evenire.

[8] Verum tu lacrimas mihi excussisti, dum me aliquando futurum tecum et cum domino Conte nostro dixisti, si patriam repeterem. Nam quando hoc erit, mi Johannes, quando ego te revidebo, quando in patriam veniam? Utinam non fuisset ibi hoc anno, si tam cito abeundum erat aut si numquam erat redeundum, quod admodum vereor. Legebam nuper Flaccum invenique illum ex Roma egressum Brundisium petere. Inter eundem Maecenas Cocceusque advenerunt, tum Plotius, Varius atque Virgilius. Multi illic *complexus* multaue *fuere gaudia*. At cum venissent Canusium, Varius divertit, in cujus recessu turbata est omnis jucunditas. Ait enim poeta: "*Flentibus hic Varius discedit maestus amicis*." Quod si maestus erat Varius, qui parvum iter facturus erat, quique propediem revisurus amicos fuerat, quid mihi e Roma accidisse reris abeunti longum iter facturo, et an umquam rediturus essem amicosque conspecturus nescio. Vidi te, Petrum Noxetanum, dominum Contem, Jacobum Calvum, Julianum, Nicolaum Viterbiensem¹ diuque vobis sum usus jucunde. Post abii, at quo abii? In Alamaniam. At quam Alamaniam? Nempe illuc, ubi conjungitur Hungariae. Sedem hic fixi, hic manendum, hic vivendum moriendumque est sine necessariis, sine amicis, sine notis, sine tua et amicorum aliorum conversatione.

[9] O utinam numquam vidissem Basileam! Mortuus in patria fuisset, in sinu parentum jacuissem. Plus ibi mica panis sapuisset mihi quam que nunc voro fercula ditia. Nisi fata mea duxissent me Basileam, fortasse in Romanam curiam me recepissem locumque aliquem honestum reperissem, tecumque et apud alios amicos degissem vitam. Multa sunt, propter quae Basileam odisse deberem, in qua tam diu tempus inutiliter perdidit. Ubi cum essem, imbutus opinione majorum nescivi quomodo me exuerem, nisi etiam in Germania me profundius mergerem.

[10] Itaque possum dicere me mortuum, nec alia vita est mea quam Nasonis, dum in Thomitana terra exularet. Fateor me hic dilectum esse ultra meritum facultatesque habere, quae mihi convenient. Sed quid ista sine sociis? "At non sunt," dicis, "apud te socii?" Sunt utique viri boni fidelesque, sed non meum in modum litterarum amatores, nec qui oblectentur his rebus, quibus ego. Cibi praeterea magna est dissonantia, quamvis facilius est Italicum vorare Teutonice quam {146r} Teutonicum Italice lambere.

¹ *em.*; Vitribiensem M1, WO

[7] Therefore, dear Giovanni - to open my mind to you - I believe that nobody, even a wise man, should complain that he is unable to acquire good fortunes, for nobody is that wise in himself. Nay, *every perfect gift is from above*.¹ But if there is a choice between virtues and riches, I know you will not exchange virtues for riches. Thus, my wise man, you have the better of the two. Accept that others have wealth, the lesser good, and do not insist on claiming all² for yourself. In any case, Fortune loves you more than I thought, for she now adds riches to your virtues and does not allow you to be neglected. The more a friend's advantages benefit him, the happier I am.

[8] But you made me cry when you said that I would sometime in the future be together with you and our Conte if I returned to the fatherland. But, my Giovanni, when will that be, when shall I see you again, when shall I return to the fatherland? I wish I had not been there this year since I had to leave so soon and might never return, as I greatly fear. I recently read that Flaccus had *left Rome* for Brindisi.³ On the way, he was joined by *Maecenas and Coccejus, then Plotius, Varius and Vergil. Oh the many embraces. Oh the rejoicing*.⁴ But when they arrived at Canusium, Varius left them, and all joy disappeared. As the poet says, "*Here Varius leaves us, to the grief of his weeping friends*."⁵ But if Varius was sad, who only had a small journey to make and would soon see his friends again, how do you think I felt when leaving Rome for a long travel without knowing if I would ever return and see my friends again? I saw you, Pietro da Noceto, Conte, Jacopo Calvo, Giuliano, Niccolò of Viterbo and spent many happy hours with you. Then I left, but to go where? To Germany. But which Germany? To the part of Germany which borders Hungary. Here I make my home, here I must stay, here I must live and die without family, friends and acquaintances, without the company of you and our other friends.

[9] I wish I had never seen Basel. Then I would have died in my fatherland and lain in the bosom of my parents. There, one morsel of bread tastes better than the rich dishes I devour now. If destiny had not brought me Basel, I might have gone to the Roman Curia and found some decent position there, and lived together with you and our friends. I have many reasons to hate Basel, where I wasted so much time. While there, I was influenced by the opinions of the majority and did not know how to get away unless I went deeper into Germany.

[10] Thus I can say that I am dead and have the same kind of life as Naso⁶ while exiled in the territory of Tomis.⁷ I admit that I am esteemed here and enjoy unmerited means and opportunities that suit me. But what are they [worth] without companions? "But don't you have companions there?" you ask. I certainly do, but they do not love literature as I do and do not take pleasure in the same things as I. Moreover, the food is very different, although it is easier for an Italian to eat German food than for a German to eat Italian.

¹ James, 1: 17.

² Both riches and virtues.

³ The following passage is based on Horatius: *Satirae*, 1: 5.

⁴ Horatius: *Satirae*, 1: 5, 43.

⁵ Horatius: *Sermones*, 1: 5, 93.

⁶ Ovid.

⁷ In 8 CE, Emperor Augustus banished the poet Ovid to Tomis at the Black Sea, where he remained to his death in 17/18 CE.

[11] Sed quorsum ista? Cur meam fortunam modo incuso, qui tuam laudare decreveram? Pono mihi frena gratiasque ago Deo, qui te intuetur. Nam, medius, immo integer sum beatus, quando te felicem intelligo. Ad hoc accidit prosperitas domini Contis, quem tanto beatiorem reputo, quanto vitam sortitus est sanctiorem. Nec me fugit magna cum ratione tantum virum suscepisse monasticum habitum. Faxit Deus, ut cum Magdalena sibi *sortem delegerit, quae in aeternum ab eo nequeat auferri*.

[12] Precor te, ut reverendissimo domino meo Morinensi, qui me Teutonicum dijudicavit, pro tua promotione gratias agas meo nomine, nam quod tibi contulit beneficii, mihi contulit, dicitoque Italicam esse atque Teutonicam suam reverendissimam paternitatem, quae te Italicum et me Teutonicum juvit. Cum domino Francisco de Padua, viro praestantissimo, nulla mihi notitia est, quia non conveniunt muscae cum aquila. Sibi tamen teneor, qui te favore suo dignatus est. Rogo, ut me sibi commendes dedasque nec me mancipium quamvis inutile dedignetur habere. Intellexi meam supplicationem te non neglexisse. Vellem tamen copiam habere, uti scirem, si plena est, nam de tempore satis est. Tabellarius magnifici domini cancellari nullus in curia diu fuit, itaque nescio, quis sit, qui tuas litteras ad me deferendas receperit. Tu cancellario commendatissimus es. Super Aristotelis *Politicis* nihil respondisti, nescio an me deceptum intellexeris.

[13] Nunc ad novitates transeo. Dieta Francfordensis hunc finem sortita est praeter spem voluntatemque regiam: conclusum est dietam aliam esse habendam seu concilium nationis ad dominicam *Invocavit* in Noremburga ibique videndum esse de modis seu habendi concilii generalis seu declarationis faciende. Interim venit huc orator apostolicus tibi notus, reverendus pater dominus Johannes de Carvajal, auditor palatii. Allocutus est regem multaque, ut est vir facundus et diligens, ad mutationem hujusce conclusionis locutus est et loquetur amplius. Quid sequi debeat nec scio neque coniecto. Germani, ut scis, non facile conclusionem recipiunt, at ubi recepere, difficilius mutant. Neutralitas ista plerisque bene sapit atque idcirco perseverant. Regi odiosa est libenterque abjiceret eam, si principes sui concurrerent, ad quam rem fortassis aliquis invenietur modus.

[11] But why do I say all this? Why do I blame my own fortune when I wanted to praise yours? I shall restrain myself and praise God for looking after you, for, by Jupiter¹, it always gives me great joy to see you happy. To this comes the prosperity of Conte,² whom I consider truly happy to have gained a holier life. I am sure that this great man has taken the monastic habit for an excellent reason. God give that he *hath chosen* the same *part* as Mary Magdalen, *which shall never be taken away from him*.³

[12] I ask you to give my thanks to My Most Reverend Lordship of Théroutane⁴ - who called me a German - for your appointment, for the favour he bestowed on you, he bestowed on me. So, tell His Most Reverend Paternity that he, too, is a German and not just an Italian since he favoured you, who is Italian, and me, who is German! I have no connection with His Lordship, Francesco of Padua,⁵ since eagles do not consort with flies. But I am beholden to him for deigning to favour you. I ask you to recommend me to him and [hope] he will deign to consider me his servant, although useless. I understand that you have not forgotten my request.⁶ I should like to have a copy so I can know if [the authorization] is complete - there should be enough time.⁷ But for a long time, His Magnificence, the Chancellor⁸ has not had a messenger at the curia, and I do not know who could take your letter to me. You are highly esteemed by the chancellor. You wrote nothing about Aristotle's *Politica*, so I do not know if you are aware that I am disappointed.

[13] Now I turn to the news. The Diet of Frankfurt had another result than hoped and wished by the emperor: it was decided to hold another diet or a national council on the Sunday *Invocavit*⁹ in Nürnberg and there to determine whether to hold a general council or to make a declaration.¹⁰ In the meantime, the apostolic envoy you know, Juan Carvajal, auditor of the [apostolic] palace, has arrived. He has addressed the king and, being eloquent and diligent, said much to influence this decision. They will have further talks. I neither know nor dare guess what might happen then. As you know, the Germans do not readily make a decision, and when they have made it, they do not readily change it. The Neutrality¹¹ makes sense to many, and therefore they want it to continue. But it is odious to the king,¹² who would gladly abandon it if his princes agreed. A way to achieve this may possibly be found.

¹ "medius" = mediusfidius = medivus Fidius = Jupiter (HE, p. 469).

² Conte dei Cacciaconti.

³ Luke, 10, 42

⁴ Cardinal Jean Le Jeune.

⁵ Bishop Francesco Legnamine, papal treasurer.

⁶ Piccolomini's request for permission to adjourn his priestly ordination and to be ordained by any bishop, see letter 168: 12.

⁷ For the document to be sent from Rome to Vienna.

⁸ Kaspar Schlick.

⁹ First Sunday in the season of Lent.

¹⁰ A declaration for one of the two parties in the church schism: the Roman papacy (Eugenius IV) or the schismatic council in Basel with its antipope (Felix V).

¹¹ The German neutrality in the church schism, declared in 1438.

¹² Friedrich III.

[14] Hungari sunt hic, et post nonnullos tractatus decretum est vocari Nicolaum wayvodam, qui affuturus infra quinquendium speratur. Deus res illas non ad votum Thaddaei, sed ad justitiae normam dirigat, quod magis {146v} puto cupioque. Bohemi conventionem petunt, non solum Catholici, sed etiam haeretici. Albertus, dux Austriae, contra Suicenses castrametatur¹ faventesque² habet superos, quia non semper tuta est audacia rusticorum. Invenere denique Suicenses telis suis clipeos resistentes et se ultro perforantes hastas. Oratores Athesis hic sunt, nondum tamen cum eis ad tractatum ventum est. XVII castella hoc anno adeptus est rex Romanorum in Hungaria atque Moravia, expulsis latronibus partim per se, partim per suos duces. Incepimus jam esse in castris. Scimus quid arma possint et quanta est in militia voluptas. Non erimus deinceps, cum opus fuerit, desides arma induere.

[15] Tu mihi nihil novi ex Italia significas et tamen est novitatum apud vos semper copia. Si nihil aliud scribendum erat, saltem citatum esse antistitem Agrippinae Coloniae significasses, quod boni an³ mali paritum sit aliquid, nondum scio, quia non ventis flantibus bene nixa quercus, sed ictibus securis ejicitur. Vos quid vestra bipennis valeat, melius scire potestis. Haec non solum reverendissimo domino nostro communi, sed domino reverendissimo Morinensi Cumanoque et patri meo singulari Novariensi episcopo communicata facito. Reverendissimis cardinalibus de Columna atque Nicaeno me commenda et domino meo Adriensi, cui meas operas ad omne beneplacitum offer. Cupio scire, an cardinalis Nicaenus, quod incoeperat, *De factis dictisque Socratis* opus absolverit.

Vale et, quomodo facis, scribe saepius latiusque, nisi te nimis poenitentiaria detinet et cura novae rei familiaris seu plebis instruendae. Amicos jube salvere, quibus scribo, cum ad te scribo. Iterum vale.

¹ Pitching camp, here used in the broader sense of campaigning.

² ferventesque WO

³ em. WO; in M1

[14] The Hungarians are here, and after much negotiation, it was decided to summon Voivode Miklos,¹ who is expected to arrive within five days. May God direct these affairs not according to the wishes of Taddeo² but according to the norms of justice, which I prefer and desire. The Bohemians - not only the Catholics but also the heretics³ - are asking for a meeting. Duke Albrecht of Austria⁴ is campaigning against the Swiss⁵ and is favoured by the heavenly beings, for the audacity of peasants does not always succeed. The Swiss have finally found shields that resist their javelins, and spears that can pierce them. The Tyroleans are here, but negotiations with them have yet to begin. This year, the King of the Romans⁶ expelled the robbers, either by himself or by his captains, and gained 17 castles in Hungary and Moravia.⁷ Finally, we have begun to campaign. We know what arms can achieve and how great pleasure there is in military exploits. We shall no longer be slow to take arms when needed.⁸

[15] You send me no news from Italy, although there is always an abundance of such. If there was nothing else to write, you could at least have informed me that the Archbishop of Cologne⁹ has been summoned.¹⁰ I do not yet know whether that will have good or bad results, for a deeply rooted oak tree is not overturned by raging winds but by the strokes of axes. What your two-edged sword can achieve, you may know better.¹¹ Please share this not only with Our Most Reverend common Lord¹² but also with Their Most Reverend Lordships of Théroutane¹³ and Como¹⁴ and my particular Father, the Bishop of Novara.¹⁵ Recommend me to the Most Reverend Cardinals Colonna¹⁶ and Nicaea¹⁷ and to My Lord of Adria,¹⁸ whom you should offer my services at his pleasure. I should like to know if the Cardinal of Nicaea has finished the work he began on *Socrates' sayings and deeds*.

Farewell, and continue to write often and at length unless the work at the penitentiariate¹⁹ and your new personal and pastoral charges²⁰ occupy you too much. Greet our friends: my letters to you are also letters to them. Again farewell.

¹ Miklós Újlaky.

² Taddeo degli Adelmari.

³ The Hussite party.

⁴ Duke Albrecht VI.

⁵ Old Zürich War (1440-1446).

⁶ Emperor Friedrich III.

⁷ Friedrich III's Hungarian campaign in the summer of 1445.

⁸ The emperor's campaign in Hungary inspired hope that he would show himself to be willing to use military means when needed - as he had not done in the conflict with the Tyroleans. See oration "*Si putarem*" (COR, 2: 5,

6). Such hopes were to be disappointed since Friedrich would prove to be not at all warlike.

⁹ Archbishop Dietrich von Mörs.

¹⁰ See letter 182: 3.

¹¹ Piccolomini intimates his doubts that the Roman proceedings against the archbishop of Cologne would be successful. He was right.

¹² Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Taglicozzo.

¹³ Cardinal Le Jeune.

¹⁴ Cardinal Gerardo Landriani.

¹⁵ Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti, apparently still in Rome and still endeavouring to be appointed a cardinal. See letters 167 and 171: 2.

¹⁶ Cardinal Prospero Colonna.

¹⁷ Cardinal Bessarion.

¹⁸ Bishop Bartolomeo Roverella.

¹⁹ Campisio's employer, Cardinal Berardi, had been appointed papal Grand Penitentiary.

²⁰ Campisio's functions as a newly appointed parish priest.

184. Letter to Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzi (c. 10 September 1445,¹ Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 149v-150r² **.
Editions B: HE, 186, pp. 470-471; WO, 1: 1, 186, p. 545-546 (based on M1).

{149v} Cardinali Tarentino.³ Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime.

[1] Neque congratulandum festine, cum res secundae sunt dominorum, neque sero condolendum est, cum adversae redduntur, quia in altero suspecta est adulatio, in altero despicientia⁴. Hinc ego, etsi jam diu summum poenitentiarius officium vestrae reverendissimae paternitati commissum acceperim, nam id⁵ Johannes, mei amantissimus vestrique observantissimus, cum magno gaudio scripsit, non tamen usque in hanc diem congratulatorias litteras obsignavi, quamvis laetitia ingenti summaque voluptate vestra me sublimatio affecerit. Nunc autem si tacerem, possem haud immerito reprehendi, quia ut festinatio fugienda est, sic tarditas declinanda. Verum ego, reverendissime pater, quibus verbis congaudeam nescio, quoniam⁶ major est mea voluntas, quam exprimi possit. Precor igitur, ut animum meum expendere potius quam intueri verba velitis. At ne mutus omnino sim, quantum ex dignitate patris laetari possunt filii quantumque servi fideles ex victoriis dominorum exhilarescunt, tantum ego ex augmento vestri honoris gavisus sum supplexque Deum oro, ut hoc praeclarissimum munus et diu tenere et feliciter administrare possitis.

[2] Ceterum cum hactenus voluntas benefaciendi servitoribus vestris absque potentia fuerit, nunc, ubi potestas adest, decet non abesse voluntatem. Non mei hoc causa dixerim, nam ego *inter exterarum gentes* et apud Teutones, quibus sum non invisus, sepulturam maneo. Dominum Contem, Johannem Campisium Richardumque vestra in memoria esse vestroque favore frui et augeri dignitatibus opto.

[3] Quae sunt apud nos dignae relatu novitates Campisio scripsi. Nihil est amplius, nisi quod Johannem, waywodam Transsilvanum, cum waywoda Walachie foedus percussisse ferunt, qui viribus⁷ communibus belli apparatus conficiunt, quo, si non superent, saltem prohibeant interius hostes proficisci, nam rumor est Teucros iterum venturos. Despotus Rasciae per hos dies Caesari nostro scripsit nullum se velle in regem Hungariae venerari praeter Ladislaum ac feudi sui confirmationem expostulavit. Nec alia modo. Vestro Aenea si non utimini, dum casus se offert, nihil mihi ascribendum est, qui promptus paratusque sum mandatis vestrae reverendissimae paternitatis quoad vivam, parere.

Ex Vienna ut supra.

¹

² DV, 303-304

³ Cardinali Tarentino *different hand* M1

⁴ despicienda *em.* WO

⁵ idem WO

⁶ cum WO

⁷ *em.* WO; iuribus M1

184. Letter to Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzi (c. 10 September 1445,¹).

Context: One of the cardinals in Rome courted by Piccolomini was Giovanni Berardi, recently appointed papal Grand Penitentiary.

Subject: Piccolomini congratulates the cardinal on his appointment, sends news from Hungary, and asks him to favour some of his friends.

Most Reverend Father in Lord and My Worshipful Lord,

[1] We should not be quick to congratulate our lords in prosperity nor late to condole them in adversity, for in the first case, you may be suspected of flattery and in the second of disdain. Therefore, though I heard of Your Most Reverend Paternity's appointment as Grand Penitentiary some time ago (for Giovanni,² who loves me well and respects you highly, wrote it to me jubilantly), I have not written to congratulate you before now, although your advancement gave me immense joy and pleasure. But I could be justly blamed if I remained silent any longer, for lateness should be avoided just as much as hastiness. But, Most Reverend Father, I do not know what words to use to congratulate you, for my joy is so great that I cannot express it. So, I beg you to consider my heart rather than my words. But lest I remain completely silent: I rejoice just as much in the increase of your honourable state as sons may rejoice in their father's honour and faithful servants in their lords' victories. And I beg God that you may keep this eminent office long and administer it successfully.

[2] Until now, you had the will but not the means to benefit your servants,³ so now that you have the means, please let not the will fail you. I do not say this for my own sake, for I live *among foreign peoples*⁴ and expect to be buried among the Germans, who like me well. But I wish that you will remember Conte,⁵ Giovanni Campisio and Ricardo⁶ and that they will enjoy your favour and obtain ever higher ranks and offices.

[3] The news from here worthy of note I have written to Campisio. There is nothing else except that Voivode János⁷ of Transylvania and the Voivode of Wallachia⁸ are said to have made an alliance and jointly mobilise for war. If they do not win the war, they will at least prevent the enemies from moving further [into Hungary], for it is rumoured that the Turks will return. The despot of Serbia⁹ has recently written to our emperor¹⁰ that he only recognises Ladislaus¹¹ as king of Hungary and requested confirmation of his feudal possession [of the province]. There is nothing else for now. If you do not use your Enea when the occasion arises, I am not to be blamed, for I am ready and eager to obey the wishes of Your Most Reverend Paternity as long as I live.

From Vienna, as above.

¹ After Genzsch. Concerning the date, see note in WO, 1: 1, p. 545. Presumably, the letter went with the same messenger to Rome as the preceding letter and had the same date.

² Giovanni Campisio.

³ By offering them ecclesiastical preferment and incomes.

⁴ Livius, 43: 1, 9.

⁵ Conte dei Cacciaconti.

⁶ Ricardo de Valencia: a friend of Piccolomini from the Basel period. Secretary to Alexander of Mazovia, the emperor's uncle. Later he probably transferred to Rome and became an "apostolicus scriptor". Also a friend of Campisio, see also letter 171: 6.

⁷ Voivode János Hunyadi

⁸ Voivode Vlad II Dracul.

⁹ Durad I Brankovic (1377-1456): Despot of Serbia 1427 to his death. Vassal both of the Ottoman sultans and the Hungarian kings.

¹⁰ Emperor Friedrich III.

¹¹ Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg)

185. Letter to a cardinal (c. 13 September 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: *M1, f. 148r¹ **.*

Editions B: *HE, 187, p. 471; WO, 1: 1, 187, p. 546-547 (based on M1).*

{148r} Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem.

[1] Redeunte ad vos reverendo patre domino Johanne de Carvajal nescio, quid scribere debeam. Is enim, quae apud nos geruntur, novit omnia, qui illis non solum interfuit, sed etiam praefuit. Tantum id dixerim res ecclesiae in eo statu apud Germanos esse, ut jam annis XV non fuerint in meliori. Sperandum itaque bene est, quamvis dilatio quaedam intercesserit. Credo ecclesiam esse curae omnipotenti Deo, numquam enim sic humano ingenio res perducere potuissent, ut suapte diriguntur.

[2] De cardinali Sancti Angeli, quae dixi Romae, vera sunt, nam et ipse et rex Poloniae, dum acrius insequuntur hostes vel timidius fugiunt, interfecti sunt. Constat enim de morte, quamvis modus non sit usquequaque certus. Deus illis misertus sit. Clades Teucrorum non parva fuit atque idcirco victoriam non sunt prosecuti. Hungari regem Ladislaum postulant, cum quibus tractatus habentur. Sunt enim quaedam difficultates, propter quas vocatus est Nicolaus waywoda, qui in dies expectatur. Cardinalis Strigoniensis hic est.

[3] Cum Bohemis ad Sanctum Gallum in hoc loco conventus habendus est. Regia majestas extirpatis praedonibus, qui hanc terram infestabant, imperio suo XVII oppida adjecit. Albertus frater, dux Austriae, cum Suicensibus bella gerit atque Basiliensibus² potioresque partes habet. Quid ulterius scribam, non habeo. Recomendo me vestrae reverendissimae paternitati, ad cujus mandata sum paratus. Dominum episcopum, dominum abbatem Zenonemque jubeo salvos esse.

¹ SC, 300

² Basilienses WO

185. Letter to a cardinal (c. 13 September 1445, Vienna¹).²

Context: The addressee was another Roman prelate courted by Piccolomini.
Subject: Like letter 184.

Most Reverend Father in Christ, My Worshipful Lord. After humble recommendation.

[1] Since the Reverend Father, Juan Carvajal, is returning to you, I do not know what to write,³ for he knows all about the [ecclesiastical] affairs being treated here since he not only participated in them but directed them. I shall only say that here in Germany, the outlook for the Church is better than it has been for 15 years.⁴ Thus, there is good reason to hope though further time may be needed. I believe God Himself must be looking after his Church since human wit⁵ alone could never have made matters progress so splendidly as they are doing now.

[2] Concerning the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,⁶ what I said in Rome has turned out to be correct, for he and the King of Poland⁷ were killed either pursuing the enemies vigorously or fleeing them timidly. Whereas their death is certain, the mode of death is still uncertain. May God have mercy upon them. The Turks lost so many men that they did not pursue their victory. The Hungarians are asking for King Ladislaus,⁸ and the matter is still under negotiation. There are some difficulties. Therefore, Voivode Miklos⁹ has been summoned and is expected to arrive shortly. The Cardinal of Esztergom¹⁰ is here.

[3] A meeting will be held with the Bohemians here on the Feast of Sankt Gallus¹¹. His Royal Majesty¹² has destroyed the robbers who plagued this country and added 17 towns to his realm. His brother, Duke Albrecht of Austria,¹³ is at war with the Swiss¹⁴ and the Basileans and has the upper hand. I have nothing further to write. I recommend myself to Your Most Reverend Paternity, whose wishes I am always ready to fulfil. I ask you to greet the Lord Bishop, the Lord Abbot and Zeno.¹⁵

¹ After Genzsch. See note in WO, 1: 1, p. 546.

² For comments on this letter, see VO, 2, p. 351.

³ In Rome.

⁴ Since the declaration of German neutrality in the Church schism.

⁵ "ingenium".

⁶ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

⁷ Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).

⁸ The boy king Ladislaus the Posthumous (habsburg)

⁹ Miklós Újlaky (1410-1477): Hungarian nobleman. Voivode of Transsylvania. Later titular king of Bosnia.

¹⁰ Dénes Szécsi, Archbishop of Esztergom.

¹¹ 16 October 1445.

¹² Emperor Friedrich III.

¹³ Duke Albrecht VI.

¹⁴ Old Zürich War.

¹⁵ If these three persons are the same as those referred to in letter 168: 12, they are Bishop Bartolomeo Roverella, Abbot Henri delle Cheraux of Liège, and Jacopo Zeno.

186. Letter to Francesco (c. 13 September 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 150r¹ **.

Editions B: HE, 188, p. 472; WO, 1: 1, 188, p. 547-548 (based on M1).

{150r} Francisco. Spectabilis vir, amice major honorande.

[1] Scripsi tibi jamdudum res illas, de quibus sermonem habuimus, vento carere, quia etsi Caesari gratae sunt multumque sapiunt, aliis tamen negotiis impediuntur, nam et conventio Frankfordensis aliam peperit, quae apud Norembergam haberi debet, sicut te jam arbitror audivisse. Sed puto regem non iturum, quia multa his in partibus gerenda sunt cum Hungaris atque Bohemis. Spero tamen in factis ecclesiae finem cito dari, ut postea senties. Hungari sunt hic in tractatibus petuntque Ladislaum regem. Idem quoque Bohemi postulant. Sola difficultas est, ne quod uni placet, alteri displiceat. Plura castella bello adeptus est hoc anno Caesar, quae pulsus latronibus Australi dominio adjecit. Castra pulchra habuimus in campis gentemque floridam, quae, si in medio esset Italiae, non sperneretur. Albertus, dux Austriae, adversus Suicenses castrametatur et usque in hanc diem secunda fortuna est usus. Dalphinus Viennensis non tam ferox intravit Alamanniam quam timidus recessit. Electores quidam, qui cornua contra regem elevabant, humiliores facti sunt et animo fracti. Nihil est quod amplius sit scribendum.

[2] Commissum me facito illustri domino meo marchioni Ferrariae ejusque germano, praestanti domino Borsio, pro quibus si quid possum operari, scribito mihi - numquam meas operas denegabo. Aeneam tuum jubeo salvere mei consortem nominis paedagogumque suum.

Tu vale cum conjuge felix. Si dominus Albericus illic est, meis verbis salvus sit.

Ex Vienna ut supra.

¹ SC, 304

186. Letter to Francesco (c. 13 September 1445, Vienna¹).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: Piccolomini uses the opportunity of a messenger to Italy to cultivate his acquaintances in Ferrara.

To Francesco.² Distinguished sir, most honourable friend,

[1] I have written to you a long time ago that the matters we discussed³ are in abeyance. They are acceptable to the emperor⁴ and make sense, but they are impeded by other business, for the Diet in Frankfurt⁵ engendered a new one to be held in Nürnberg,⁶ as I believe you must have heard. But I presume the king⁷ will not go there, for there is much to be done here with the Hungarians and the Bohemians. I do hope, however, that the affairs of the Church will be settled soon, as you will hear later. The Hungarians are here for negotiations and demand King Ladislaus⁸' person. The Bohemians do the same. The only difficulty is that what pleases one displeases the other. This year, the emperor acquired many castles that he added to Austria's domain after expelling the robbers. We had a splendid campaign and a flourishing army, which would not have been scorned if it were placed in the middle of Italy. Duke Albrecht⁹ of Austria has been campaigning against the Swiss, successfully until now. The Dauphin¹⁰ of Vienne has left Germany more timidly than he entered it boldly. Some prince-electors who raised their horns against the king have been humbled and chastened. There is no more to write.

[2] Please recommend me to My Illustrious Lord, the Marquess of Ferrara,¹¹ and his brother, the eminent Lord Borso.¹² If I can do anything for them, write to me - I shall never refuse to assist them. Also, greet your Enea, my namesake, and his teacher.

Fare well together with your wife. If Alberigo¹³ is there, greet him from me. From Vienna, as above.

¹ After Genzsch. See note in WO, 1: 1, p. 547.

² A Ferrarese court official.

³ Possibly during Piccolomini's visit to Ferrara in April 1445, on his way back from Rome to Austria after his first mission for the emperor to the pope. See DVI, 52-53.

⁴ Friedrich III.

⁵ Diet of Frankfurt, June 1445. VO, 2, pp. 345 ff.

⁶ The next diet was to meet in Nürnberg on 6 March 1446 but would be postponed (VO, 2, p. 354).

⁷ Friedrich III.

⁸ The boy king, Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁹ Albrecht VI.

¹⁰ Louis XI.

¹¹ Leonello d'Este (1407 - 1450): One of the three illegitimate sons of Niccolò III d'Este and Stella de' Tolomei, relatives of the Piccolomini family. He was legitimated by Pope Martin V. Marquess of Ferrara and Modena from 1441 to his death. See DVI, ch. 12.

¹² Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Illegitimate son of Niccolò III d'Este

and Stella de' Tolomei. Marquess of Ferrara and Modena, 1450. Created Duke of Modena by Emperor Friedrich III in 1452 (with Piccolomini's help) and Duke of Ferrara by Pope Paul II in 1471. Pope Pius was sorely disappointed with him and greatly revised his assessment of Borso's character, see letter of Pius II to Borso d'Este of 5 June 1463 (Pius II: *Orationes* (Mansi), 3, pp. 120-141).

¹³ Alberigo Maletta (ca. 1410-1466): Pavian jurist. From 1440, in the service of the marquesses of Ferrara.

187. Letter to a Dénes Szécsy (beg. October 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 153r-157v¹; M2, ff. 62r-65r²; M3, ff. 273r-277r³; V2, ff. 362-376⁴; V3, ff. 171v-179v⁵ **;
V4, ff. 152v.
Editions A: KOB, 78⁶.
Editions B: HE, 189, pp. 472-481; WO, 1: 1, 189, p. 548-558 (both based on M1 and V2).
Literature: Sashalmi.

¹ DV, 310-319

² SC, 131-691

³ SC, 550-558

⁴ DV, ff. 184r-193r

⁵ DV, ff. 174v-182v

⁶ DV, ff. 38r-41v

187. Letter to a Dénes Szécsy (beg. October 1445,¹ Vienna).

- Context:* On 24 April, the Hungarian estates decided for Ladislaus as their king. A high-ranking embassy had now come to the imperial court to request the transfer of Ladislaus and the return of the crown of Saint Stephen to Hungary.
- Subject:* Piccolomini describes the sad state of Hungary as a divine punishment for abandoning Ladislaus and as caused by civil discord. The only way to restore peace and strength to Hungary is to recognise Ladislaus as king on terms acceptable to the emperor.
- Note:* This text is clearly written as an oration, as shown by a number of rhetorical devices (e.g. *captatio benevolentiae* and *accumulatio*²) and by Piccolomini's own reference to it as an "oratiuncula" (see sect. 24). Apparently, he was not allowed to address the Hungarian delegates in an oration and therefore sent the text in the form of a letter to Cardinal Szécsy.

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¹ Wolkan proposes the date of beg., October, but the text must

have clearly been written in the summer of 1445, when the

Hungarian embassy was in Vienna.

² See COR, 1: sect. 7.8.1 and 7.9.5.

{171v} Dionysio, sancte Romanae ecclesiae cardinali, archiepiscopo Strigoniensi, patri et domino colendissimo Eneas Silvius¹, salutem plurimam dicit.²

[1] *Si quis me roget*, praestantissime pater, cur ego, natus in Etruria, de statu regni Hungariae loqui praesumam, respondebo³ me *hominem esse* et, ut Terentianus ille Chremes dicebat, *humani⁴ nihil a me alienum^{5 6} putare*. Dicam me Italum scire plures mei generis homines hoc⁷ in regno⁸ et opibus et honoribus auctos ad magnam gloriam evasisse. Dicam me legisse historias⁹ invenisseque¹⁰ Hungaros multis victoriis claros nomen ad astra tulisse atque idcirco, sicut natura jubet, eorum me virtutibus affici. Quid plura? Christianum me dicam solitudinemque habere, ut Christiana {172r} religio in tuto collocetur, quod sane fieri non potest, nisi et murus ejus, qui est Hungaria, sit incolumis.

[2] Sum igitur anxius nec aliud hoc tempore magis opto quam vestrae legationi bonum finem imponi. Verum, dum haec mecum saepius animo revolvo, multum hoc ex tua¹¹ et collegarum tuorum voluntate dispositioneque pendere reperio. Nam cum ubique id eveniat, ut tunc¹² res bene concludantur, cum nuntii, qui eas tractant, voluntarii pronique sunt, quanto hoc magis nunc¹³ sperandum¹⁴ est, si vos¹⁵ inclinati et affecti sitis, qui non solum legati estis regni, sed ipsum quodammodo regnum in potestate habetis¹⁶, quia quod per vos fieri contigerit, nemo dubitat, apud alios, quorum nomine venistis, haberi ratum. Sunt igitur hae causae, quae me reverendissimae paternitati tuae¹⁷ nonnulla scribere compulerunt, quae et in bonam partem recipi precor et aliis collegis tuis¹⁸ communicari, quia, etsi vestrum acre iudicium, quae regno vestro¹⁹ conducant, optime videat, non tamen quid exteri sentiant, negligendum est. Loquar²⁰ autem cum tua dignatione tamquam ceteri ex collegis audiant in principioque meorum verborum illud fundamenti loco recipiam: quidquid homines ex suo arbitrio faciant, id sibi utile iudicare, nam²¹ quod sibi damno sit, nemo²² sciens volensque facit.

¹ poeta *add.* M2-M3, V2a, HE; ~~poeta~~ *seq.* V2b

² *Titulus/salutatio:* De statu regni Hungariae et Ladislao rege. Dionysio sanctae ... M3

³ reprehende V4

⁴ humanum V4

⁵ *omit.* M3

⁶ a me alienum : alienum a me V4

⁷ *omit.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *add. interlin.* V2b

⁸ vestro *add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~vestro~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ vestras *add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~vestras~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁰ invenisse V4

¹¹ M1, M3, V2a, HE, WO use 2nd *person plural in addressing the recipient.*

¹² nunc V4

¹³ qui eas ... nunc *omit.* M2

¹⁴ superandum M2

¹⁵ nos M2

¹⁶ in potestate habetis : dici potestis M3

¹⁷ reverendissimae paternitati tuae : tuae (vestrae) reverendissimae paternitati M1-M3, V2, HE, WO

¹⁸ collegis tuis : tuis collegis V3

¹⁹ *omit.* V4; nostro WO

²⁰ loquor M2, M3

²¹ *omit.* WO

²² *omit.* V4

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Dionysius, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Esztergom, Father and Most Worshipful Lord.

1. Introduction

1.1. Captatio benevolentiae

[1] *If anybody asks me,*¹ Eminent Father, why I, though born in Toscana, presume to speak about the affairs of the Kingdom of Hungary, I shall answer that *I am human* - as Terence's Chremes said - *and I regard no human business as foreign to me.*² And I shall say that being an Italian I know that several men from my nation³ have gained wealth, honours and great glory in this kingdom.⁴ I shall say that I have read the historical works and found that the Hungarians have distinguished themselves by many victories and raised their name to the stars. So, I have, naturally, been impressed by their strength and virtues. What more? I shall say that I am a Christian and concerned that the Christian religion should be safe, which is impossible unless its wall, which is Hungary, is unimpaired.

1.2. Piccolomini's initiative

[2] So, I am concerned and wish for nothing else than a good result for your mission. But, as I often ponder this, I find that much depends on the will and disposition of you and your colleagues, for things always end well when the envoys who negotiate them are open and flexible. Therefore, we may surely be allowed to have hopes if you are well-disposed, for you are not only legates of the realm but also exercise great power in it. Therefore, those in whose name you have come will undoubtedly approve what you do here. These reasons have compelled me to write to Your Most Reverend Paternity. I ask you to receive it positively and share it with your colleagues, for though, with your keen judgment, you provide well for your realm, the opinion of outsiders should not be neglected. I shall talk to your Excellency as if your colleagues are listening, too, and I shall begin with this axiom that people consider useful what they do of their own choice and that nobody knowingly and willingly does what is harmful to himself.⁵

¹ Terentius: *Andria*, 258: *Si quis nunc me roget*. Also the opening words of Piccolomini's oration "*Si quis me roget*" to the council fathers in Basel on 4 April 1438 (COR, 2: 2, 1).

² Terentius: *Heautontimorumenos*, 78.

³ "genus"

⁴ E.g., Pippo Spano [Filippo Buon-delmonti degli Scolari] (1369-1426): Florentine condottiero,

who made a brilliant career in Hungary, in the service of Emperor Sigismund. See DVI, 61.

⁵ Meaning that Piccolomini intends to present his case from the perspective of an enlightened Hungarian self-interest.

[3] Vos igitur Hungari, viri clarissimi, qui huc venistis, in conventu Pestiensi prius fuistis¹ ac² cum ceteris regni baronibus et accolis Ladislaum regem repetere decrevistis. Nunc legationem explentes dari vobis³ regem cum sancta corona deposcitis, coronari denuo regem vultis, homagia sibi⁴ praeberi, et ipsum exinde in aliquo regni loco sub tutela Friderici Caesaris, sui patruelis, constitui. Haec est, si recte teneo, summa vestrae petitionis, quod minime conclusissetis, nisi et regno et vobis singulis id putaveritis expedire.

[4] Quid ad haec responsurus sit Caesar non scio. Illud autem scio, quia et suam quoque utilitatem et patruelis commodum Caesarea majestas intuebitur nec scienter aliquid promittet, quod suo ac patruelis statui possit obesse. Si quis ergo vult inter Caesarem et vos plenam fieri concordiam, is ea media offerat, quae sint utrique parti accomoda. Nemo enim sermonis ornatu ac⁵ verborum lenocinio plus suadet quam utilitas. Cum ergo his in rebus, quae nunc aguntur, et vos Hungari vestrum commodum sequamini et Australes suum, libet mihi pauca⁶ de statu conditioneque vestri regni⁷ in medium referre. Sic enim, quae sint⁸ vobis utilia, melius intuebimur, nam et apud Australes⁹ in eandem sententiam saepe ratiocinatus¹⁰ sum. Vos, quod¹¹ ex pura mente sinceroque corde promitur, benigna fronte et laetis animis audite et, quae vobis sint usui, quamvis longe melius quam ego prospicitis, me referente notare non pigeat.

[5] Status regni Hungariae, proh dolor, non sine gravi damno totius Christianitatis {173r} confractus, quassatus,¹² lacerus et omni splendore nitoreque pristino denudatus est, tantaque mutatio in regno vestro a paucis annis citra facta est, ut si quis procerum antiquorum jam ab inferis resurgeret Hungariamque intraret, nullatenus suam patriam¹³ recognosceret. Apud historicos veteres reperi vestrum regnum florentissimum quondam fuisse et hominibus et opibus beatum, cujus tanta latitudo longitudoque fuit, ut et ab Adrinopoli¹⁴ marique Pontico usque in¹⁵ Austriam et a Polonia usque in¹⁶ sinum Adriaticum protenderetur, in cujus ventre septem amplissima regna clauderentur, quae a corona Hungariae tamquam feuda dependebant, ut merito quidam non tantum regem, sed archiregem Hungariam habere dixerint¹⁷ ¹⁸. Nec¹⁹ sat fuit tot gentibus Hungaros imperare, sed ex se quoque populos emisissent, qui omnem illam Italiae partem, quae olim Gallia Cisalpina²⁰ vocata est, hodie vero ab ipsis Hungaris, longas barbas ferentibus, Lombardia dicitur, occupavere. Ex vobis insuper duces exierunt, qui et Alamaniam et Galliam et Hispaniam invaserunt, nec gens fuit orbe toto, quae vestrum tunc regnum lacessere auderet, tam venerabile et clarum erat ubique terrarum Hungarorum nomen.

¹ in conventu ... fuistis *omit.* V4

² at V4

³ nobis V4

⁴ aut M2

⁵ et M1-M3, HE, WO

⁶ *omit.* M2

⁷ pauca *add.* M2

⁸ sunt M3, WO

⁹ Aristoteles V4

¹⁰ rationatus V4, WO

¹¹ quos V4

¹² conquassatus V4

¹³ resurgeret Hungariamque ... patriam *omit.* V4

¹⁴ ab Adrinopoli : a Constantino-
poli M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~ab~~

Adrinopoli *seq.* V2b

¹⁵ ad M2

¹⁶ ad M2

¹⁷ dixerunt M2

¹⁸ habere dixerint : dixerint habere
M3

¹⁹ non M2

²⁰ *em.*; transalpina codd., HE,
WO

2. The Hungarian petition

[3] You Hungarians, who have come here, were first at the assembly in Pest,¹ where, together with the other barons and subjects of the realm, you decided to request Ladislaus for your king. Fulfilling your mission, you now demand that the king's person be handed over to you with the holy crown,² and you want the king to be finally crowned³ and receive homage and that he should reside somewhere in the kingdom under the wardship of Emperor Friedrich, his cousin. If I am correct, these are the main points of your petition, which you would not have decided unless it were in the interest of your kingdom and all of you individually.

[4] I do not know what the emperor will answer to this. But I know that His Imperial Majesty will be considering his own and his cousin's advantage and that he will not knowingly promise anything that may disadvantage his and his cousin's position. So anybody who wants full agreement between the emperor and you should offer terms advantageous to both parties. Indeed, advantage achieves so much more than stately speech and *flattering language*.⁴ Since in this whole affair, you Hungarians pursue your interests and the Austrians theirs, I should like to say something about the state and condition of your kingdom. Thus we can better see what is in your interest. Indeed, I have often reasoned with the Austrians in this same vein. Please hear benignly and amiably what will be said disinterestedly and sincerely,⁵ and please do not take it badly that I speak on a matter you know much better than me.

3. The sad state of Hungary

[5] Alas, the situation in the realm of Hungary is harmful to the whole of Christianity. Hungary is crushed, shaken and destroyed, and she has lost all her former splendour and brilliance. Indeed, the change in your kingdom over the last few years is so great that if a nobleman from the old days rose up from the nether world, he would not recognise his own country. In the books of ancient historians, I have read that once your kingdom was flourishing and rich in men and wealth. It was so large that it stretched from Adrianople⁶ and the Pontic Sea⁷ to Austria and from Poland to the Adriatic Bay. It contained seven large kingdoms that depended upon Hungary as feudal territories so that one could say that Hungary had not just a king but an archking. But it was not enough for the Hungarians to govern so many peoples at home; they even sent out people⁸ who conquered all the part of Italy that was once called Gallia Cisalpina,⁹ but today is called Lombardy after the Hungarians themselves who had long beards. Also, war leaders left your country to conquer Germany, Gaul and Spain,¹⁰ and no other people on Earth dared attack your kingdom, so honoured and respected was the name of Hungary everywhere.

¹ 24 April 1445. See letter 172: 4.

² The Crown of Saint Stephen, having a special significance for the Hungarians and being an important symbol of the king's legitimacy.

³ The Habsburg prince, Ladislaus, was crowned in Esztergom as a newborn baby on 15 May 1440. A new coronation would undermine the legitimacy of the first coronation and support the Hungarian position that it was an electoral,

not a hereditary kingdom, something the Habsburg emperor could not accept.

⁴ Minucius Felix: *Octavius*, 14: 4.

⁵ "pura mente sinceroque corde": with a pure mind a sincere heart.

⁶ Present-day Edirne, in Turkish possession since 1369.

⁷ The Black Sea.

⁸ The Goths.

⁹ The manuscripts (even the V2 corrected by Piccolomini himself) have *Gallia Transalpina* (*Gaul on*

the other side of the Alps), which was the Roman province Gallia Narbonensis in the present-day regions of Languedoc and Provence in Southern France. *Gallia Cisalpina* (*Gaul on this side of the Alps*) was, more or less, present-day Lombardy, the Milanese region.

¹⁰ The Visigoths.

[6] At nunc, quam lacerum sit vestrum regnum, ipsi scitis. Circumspicite totum. Veneti, qui quondam pro fundo civitatis suae tributa pendebant, jam {173v} Dalmatiam magna ex parte tenent. Turci¹ qui trans Hellespontum formidare vestros arcus solebant, in ipsis Hungariae visceribus grassantur². Poloni³ Moldaviam sui juris fecerunt. Nec Bohemi⁴ sine portione vestrorum dominiorum sunt⁵ nec Teutonici. Quid schismaticos et haereticos referam per Hungariam debacchantes? Quid tristia bella per vos cum Turcis⁶ gesta? Quid animas paene infinitas ex regno vestro⁷ quotannis asportari? Quid abigeri pecora et omnia in praedam duci? Quid monasteria magnique Dei templa ubique apud vos ruere? O regnum olim opulentissimum! O auream provinciam! O terrarum decus! Quomodo sic ex te nitor omnis abscessit? Quomodo sic abiit color optimus? Ubi vigor ille tuorum hominum? Ubi reverentia, quam tibi omnes gentes impendebant? Ubi majestas regia, ubi gloria? Quid tibi tot victoriae profuerunt, si tam cito in triumphum duci debebas? Quid Romanorum ducum restitisse potentiae juvit, si nunc nullorum vicinorum impetus ferre potes? Heu fortuna, heu rerum vicissitudo. Quam cito imperia variantur, quam cito mutantur regna, quam repente dilabuntur potestates! Regnum Hungariae, cui vix simile sol vidit, sic dissipatum⁸ est, ut vix inter se partes ullae cohaereant.

[7] Quae sit autem tantae mutationis ac ruinae causa, non est intueri facile, quia occulta sunt iudicia Dei. Non minus hodie quam olim fertiles agri sunt, non {174r} minus fecunda pecora. Assunt vinearum proventus, reddunt usuram effossae auri et argenti minerae. Sensati homines sunt industrii, magnanimes, multarum rerum experti. Litterae tam vigent quam umquam. Non possum ego de ceteris loqui, quos non vidi. De vobis, qui hic estis, illud possum dicere, quod de quovis hominum genere dici potest. Video enim vos corpore proceros⁹, forma decoros, viribus robustos, sermone gratos et in omni conversatione acceptos. Quid igitur est, quod regnum vestrum tantopere depressit, cum nec vires vestris hominibus desint, nec ingenia, sicut ex omnibus audio, qui vestram regionem peragrarunt?

[8] Sunt fortasse nonnulla peccata, quae Deus punire vult, quemadmodum in veteri testamento factum nonnumquam legimus? Ob quam rem considerandum est diligenter, ut si¹⁰ quid erratum est, emendetur, ut per opera pietatis divina majestas mitigetur, quam propter iniquitatem aliquam constat iratam esse. Nec miremini¹¹, si dixerim inter vos aliquid iniquitatis esse, nam *nulla est omnino provincia iniquitatis experts*. Ceterum cum his pie ac misericorditer Deus agit, quorum delicta in hoc mundo punit. Deus enim homines pro filiis habet et, quos *diligit*, arguit ac *castigat* et per multas adversitates ad opera virtutis indurat.¹² Quos autem nihili facit, delicate et deliciose patitur vivere, quia non putat emendatione sua dignos. Cum ergo regnum {174v} vestrum Deus¹³ multis plagis afflixerit, signum est, quia vos amat et salvos esse desiderat. Nunc vestrum est, ut omnia emendetis, in¹⁴ quibus cogitare potestis offensam esse majestatem divinam.

¹ Teucris M1-M3, V2, HE, WO

² *em.*; crassantur codd., HE, WO

³ qui vasalli quodammodo regni vestri censebantur *add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~qui vasalli quodammodo regni vestri censebantur~~ *seq.* V2b

⁴ Turci M1, M2, V2a, HE WO; *omit.* M3; *corr. ex.* Bohemi V2b

⁵ nec Bohemi *add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~nec Bohemi~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ Teucris M1-M3, V2, HE, WO

⁷ vero WO

⁸ sic dissipatum : dissipatum sic V3

⁹ proceres WO

¹⁰ *omit.* M3

¹¹ miremur HE, WO

¹² inducit M3

¹³ *omit.* V3

¹⁴ *omit.* V4

[6] You yourselves know the miserable state of your kingdom now. Look at it. The Venetians, who once paid you taxes for the land on which their city is placed, now hold a large part of Dalmatia. The Turks who used to fear your bows across the Hellespont are now running wild in the inner regions of Hungary. The Poles have conquered Moldavia. And both the Bohemians and the Germans have taken parts of your dominions. And what about the schismatics and heretics who are revelling all through Hungary? What about your bitter wars with the Turks? What about the almost countless souls abducted from your kingdom every year? What about all the cattle carried off as plunder? What about your monasteries and the temples of the Great God falling into ruin? Oh, kingdom once sumptuous! Oh, golden province! Oh, jewel among countries! Why have splendour and beauty¹ entirely left you? Where is now the strength of your men? Where is the admiration of all the peoples? Where the royal majesty, where the glory? How did so many victories profit you if now you are so quickly carried along in others' triumphal processions?² How did it benefit you to resist so many Roman generals if now you cannot defend yourself against any neighbour's attacks? Oh, fortune, oh, the fickleness of things! How quickly do empires change, how rapidly are kingdoms overturned, how speedily do powers fall apart! The Kingdom of Hungary almost had no equal under the sun, but now it has disintegrated to the extent that its parts barely hang together.

[7] It is not easy to see the cause of this great change and ruin, for God's judgments are hidden. The fields are as fruitful as ever, and the cattle as fertile. The incomes from the vineyards are still flowing in, and the mining of gold and silver is still profitable. People are sensible, industrious, tolerant and competent in many areas. Letters are flourishing as ever. I have not seen other Hungarians, so I cannot speak about those. But about you who are here, I can say what can be said about any other kind of men: you are tall, handsome, strong, fair-spoken and well-mannered. So what has brought your kingdom low when your men lack neither strength nor intelligence, as I hear from all who have visited your region?

4. Causes

4.1. Divine punishment for abandoning Ladislaus

[8] Maybe there are sins that God wishes to punish, just as we read He often did in the Old Testament. You must carefully consider how to rectify any errors so that you may, through works of piety, mollify the Divine Majesty, clearly angered because of some wickedness. Do not wonder why I say "some wickedness", for *no province is completely free of wickedness*.³ Moreover, God acts piously and mercifully with those whose sins He punishes in this world, for He considers men as His children, and *whom He loveth*, He reprimands and *chastiseth*,⁴ and through many adversities, He gives them the strength to perform works of piety. Those men whom He does not care for, He allows to live in comfort and pleasure, for He he considers them unworthy of His correction. So, if God has stricken your kingdom with many misfortunes, it is because He loves you and desires your salvation. Now it is up to you to correct everything you think may have offended the Divine Majesty.

¹ "color"

² A reference to classical Rome, where war prisoners walked be-

hind the triumphant general's chariot.

³ Leonardo Bruni: *Laudatio Florentiae Urbis*, ch. 51: *Nulla un-*

quam civitas adeo bene morata aut instituta fuerit ut malorum hominum esset omnino vacua.

⁴ Hebrews, 12: 6.

[9] Inter alia vero, quae Deus aegre tulit, forsitan illud est, quod et regi Ladislao infanti, orphano, sine crimine, non, uti par fuerat, favorabiles extitistis, nam quamvis plerique vestrum ex magna causa ipsum reliquerint, quoniam sibi quisque consulendum putavit¹ debet, regnum tamen totum excusari non potest². Utcumque sit, videndum est, ut ibi³ Deus placetur, ubi offensus est, ut et inde⁴ medela prodeat, unde vulnus fuit illatum. Nempe quantum ego imaginari possum, ex Deo datum est, ut regnum Hungariae,⁵ ad suum verum et legitimum regem Ladislaum revertatur, sub cuius auspiciis integrari⁶ possit et ad pristinum reduci nitorem. Bona est equidem vestra deliberatio, probanda, recta, salutifera, sancta.

[10] Verum quia et ante⁷ desertum Ladislaum, immo et⁸ diu ante Sigismundi potestatem regnum vestrum declinare coepit, nullam ego causam vestrae ruinae majorem fuisse arbitror⁹ quam discordias vestras, namque sicut *res vestrae per concordiam creverunt, sic per discordiam sunt diminutae*, quoniam nulla durare potestas¹⁰ valet, ubi dissensio regnat. Romani tam diu magni et rerum domini fuerunt, quam diu in caritate vixerunt. Ubi vero civilia et intestina bella suborta sunt, mox et Romana majestas¹¹ defecit. Sic et Athenas et Spartam et Carthaginem {175r} domestica¹² deleverunt odia. Civiles autem dissensiones invidia et ambitio alunt, quae pestes in regno vestro grassantes¹³ omnium contentionum vestrarum et omnium malorum causa fuere.

[11] Et utinam non etiam hodie inter vos¹⁴ hi essent morbi! Namque si depositis simultatibus¹⁵ intestinisque odiis concordēs essetis et unanimi voto ad commune regni bonum intenderetis, nihil est¹⁶, quod vestri vicini contra vos auderent. Nec enim provincia ulla est, quae si viros habet et hi sint uniti¹⁷, suum non possit tueri¹⁸ statum. Difficile monumentum est amor civium, inexpugnabilis est civitas, quam unitas populi tuetur. Quod si parva regna, sterilia, paupercula per concordiam sese tuentur nec vicinorum impetus timent, quanto magis gloriosum regnum vestrum, amplissimum, ditissimum et omnium rerum copia abundans insultantibus resisteret hostibus, si omnes in unum barones regnicolaeque concurrerent¹⁹. Sed sunt connexae invicem, nescio quomodo, justitia atque concordia nec usquam altera sine altera reperitur, nisi fortasse ad modicum tempus etiam in malo quidam conspiraverint. Sed hi non possunt esse diuturni, quia nullius criminis est longaeva societas. Qui diu concordiam appetunt, hos necesse est in virtute jacere fundamentum.

¹ consulendum putavit : consulere debet M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* consulere debet V2b

² quod si unitum pro justitia pueri fuisset, numquam Polonus ex adverso intrasset (fuisset ingressus) *add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~quod si unitum pro justitia pueri fuisset, numquam Polonus ex adverso intrasset~~ *seq.* V2b

³ ibi *add.* M1, M3, HE, WO

⁴ unde M3

⁵ quod sub adulterino rege periclitatum est, jam *add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~quod sub adulterino rege periclitatum est, jam~~ *seq.* V2b

⁶ reintegrari M1, M3; redintegrari M2

⁷ antea M2

⁸ immo et : et immo M3

⁹ fuisse arbitror : arbitror fuisse M2

¹⁰ durare potestas : dominare potestas M3

¹¹ Romana majestas : maiestas Romana M2

¹² *omit.* M2

¹³ *em.*; crassantes codd., HE, WO

¹⁴ nos M2

¹⁵ simulationibus V4

¹⁶ esset V3, V4

¹⁷ sint uniti : uniti sint V3

¹⁸ possit tueri : tueri possit M2

¹⁹ concurrerunt M3

[9] Possibly, one of the things that angered God is that you did not support King Ladislaus, as you should have, though he was an orphaned innocent infant. Many of you may have abandoned him for some cogent reason - believing they had to put their own interests first - but that cannot excuse the whole kingdom.¹ Whatever the matter, you must placate God where he was offended and apply the remedy where the wound was made. As far as I can see, God has given the Kingdom of Hungary² the opportunity to now return to its true and legitimate king, Ladislaus. Under his auspices, it can become whole again and return to its former splendour. So, the choice³ you have made is surely good, commendable, right, salutary and holy.

4.2. Civil discord

[10] But your kingdom began its decline before you deserted Ladislaus and even before Sigismund's⁴ rule. I believe that it had no other cause than your conflicts, for just as *your state grew greater through harmony, it has grown smaller through discord*.⁵ No power can last where dissension reigns. As long as they lived in charitable harmony, the Romans were great and the lords of all. But when civil and internal wars arose, the Roman majesty soon disappeared. In the same way, domestic enmity destroyed Athens, Sparta and Carthage. Civil conflicts are nourished by jealousy and ambition, plagues that infect your kingdom and cause all your conflicts and evils.

[11] How I wish that these plagues were not still with you today! If you were to put away strife and internal enmity, reach harmony and unanimously provide for the common good of the kingdom, your neighbours would not dare to undertake anything against you. All provinces with men who are united can defend themselves. The citizens' love is a strong bulwark, and the city guarded by a united people cannot be conquered. If small, barren and poor kingdoms protect themselves through concord and do not fear attacks from their neighbours, how much better could your glorious, large and rich kingdom, overflowing with all things, resist hostile attacks if only all the barons and the kingdom's subjects became united. But justice and concord are somehow linked, and one is not found without the other except for short periods when some people may conspire to do evil. But such people cannot last long, for a long-lasting society does not allow for crimes, and those who strive for long-lasting concord must find it on virtue.

¹ The early version of the text (M1-M3, V2a) added: *If it had been united in the just cause of the boy, the Pole would never entered as an opponent (quod si unitum pro justitia pueri fuisset, numquam Polonus ex adverso intrasset (fuisset ingressus), i.e. the Polish king Ladislaus would not have become king instead of Ladislaus)*. This passage was not included in the later version (V2b, V3-V4). Apparently, the Polish C-

ardinal Olesnicki did not protest against it - as he had done against anti-polish passages in other Piccolomini-letters, see letters 366 and 406. So, either he had not noticed it, or it had been expurgated from the volume of letters Piccolomini sent to him.

² The early version of the text (M1-M3, V2a) added: *which fell into danger under a false king (quod sub adulterino rege periclitatum est), i.e. the Hungarians*

were defeated by the Turks at the Battle of Varna in 1444. This passage, too, was excluded from the later version (V2b, V3-V4). See note 1 above.

³ "deliberatio"

⁴ Emperor Sigismund.

⁵ Sallustius: *Bellum Jugurthinum*, 10: 6: *concordia res parvae crescut, discordia maximae dilabuntur*.

[12] Dicam plane, quod sentio, nec vos aegre laturos puto, quod in bonum finem eloquor. Liquidum est apud me idcirco vestrum regnum in magna parte vastatum esse, quia concordia caruistis. {175v} Concordia vero propterea vos¹ deseruit, quia justitiam non amavistis². Vos ipsi potestis reminisci multis in locis apud majores vestros justitiam fuisse neglectam. Nostris vero temporibus magnum illud fuit, quod Ladislaum deseruistis infantem et nullum habentem, qui suum jus³ tueretur, nisi Deum, quamvis nonnulli vestrum necessitate magis quam voluntate ab eo defecerint, quibus nihil est imputandum, si metu gravi perculsi vitae suae consulere voluerunt. Nec enim hi hodie sumus, qui pro justitia capita nostra ponamus. Diximus jam causarum aliquas, regno quae vestro⁴ obfuerunt, quantum nos opinari valemus. Apud Deum fortasse, motorem omnium, in cujus manu sunt omnia regna mundi, aliae sunt, quas ignoramus.

[13] Nunc de remediis transigendum est, ut eam inveniamus, quam quaerimus, utilitatem. Nempe, viri praestantissimi, si regnum vestrum vultis instaurare - vultis enim⁵, non ambigo - contrariis artibus enitendum est. Quaerenda justitia est, habenda concordia, jungendus⁶ amor, Ladislaus, qui verus rex est, repetendus, juvandus, fovendus, ut violata in eo justitia resarciatur. Dicitis forsitan: “Frustra⁷ sic loqueris, cum jam ob eam causam hic simus.” Sed hoc haud satis est, nam et legatio vestra condiciones quasdam habet, quas possibile est Caesarem non admittere. Quid tunc⁸ facietis? Quid, si non detur puer ad Albam regalem, quia non videatur⁹ Caesari faciendum? Quid, si negetur coronatio nova? An infecto negotio recedatis¹⁰? Hic, hic deliberandum {176r} est, hic consulendum, hic videndum est, ne justitia deseratur et ne, quod expedit regno vestro, negligatur.

¹ propterea vos : vos propterea M2

² amastis M2

³ suum jus : jus suum WO

⁴ nostro V4

⁵ vultis enim : eum V4

⁶ fugendus M2

⁷ superflue *glossa interlin.* M1

⁸ autem M2

⁹ omit. M2

¹⁰ recordetis M3

[12] I shall tell you plainly what I think, believing you will not take it badly since I speak with the best intentions. It is clear to me that a large part of your kingdom has been laid to waste because concord was lacking. And concord deserted you because you did not love justice. You may yourselves remember the many occasions on which your forefathers neglected justice. In our own times, however, the most important [reason for your troubles] was that you deserted the infant Ladislaus, who had no one to protect his rights except God. Many of you may have rejected him because they had to, not because they wanted to. They ought not to be criticised if, overwhelmed with fear, they wanted to protect their lives. For, today, we are not willing to lay down our lives for justice. We have now mentioned some of the reasons causing problems for your kingdom - at least as far as we can judge. God, the mover of all, in whose hand are all the kingdoms of the world, may have other reasons that we do not know.

5. Remedies

5.1. Restoration of Ladislaus as king

[13] Now we must talk of the remedies so that we can find the solution¹ we are seeking. Surely, excellent men, if you want to restore your kingdom - and I do not doubt you want to - you must resort to the opposite means. You must seek justice, have concord, and join in love. You must ask for Ladislaus, help him and favour him so that the rights he was denied may be restored to him. Maybe you answer, "You say this in vain since we are already here for this reason." However, that is not enough, for your embassy poses some conditions that the emperor may not agree to. Then, what will you do? What will you do if the boy is not presented at Alba Regalis² because the emperor is against it? What will you do if a new coronation is refused? Will you leave with your business unfinished? Now you must deliberate, now you must consider the matter carefully, now you must ensure that justice is not abandoned and that what benefits your kingdom is not left undone.

¹ "utilitas".

² Székesvehervár.

[14] Scitis quia jus gentium est neque electionem neque coronationem regnum dare sed successionem. Quod si quibusdam in regnis electio regem facit, id certe apud vos¹ non est, nam et apostolicae sedis sententia est² successionem in regno vestro locum habere, sicut et Bonifacius diffinivit et vetus observatio docet. Est igitur vobis ad justitiam conservandam Ladislaus in regem habendus, qui Sigismundi nepos, Alberti et Elizabeth filius, avito et materno jure regnum vendicat. Ninus patri Nino successit apud Assyrios. Apud Macedones Philippi successor Alexander extitit. Apud Hebraeos Salomon patris David solium tenuit. Apud Romanos, cum prole careret Julius, adoptivum filium Augustum successorem habuit. Apud Trojanos Laumedontam patrem secutus est Priamus. Apud Francos Pipini sedem post obitum Karolus Magnus accepit. Apud Gothos autem, qui et ipsi vestri generis fuere, Almal patri suo Gapt successit. Sic et Alberto regi vestro par est Ladislaum succedere filium, nisi et pietatem et humanitatem et omnium populorum, gentium nationumque jura velimus pervertere.

[15] Verum ne propositi nostri metas egrediamur, cum justum sit Ladislaum apud vos regnare, videamus an etiam utile existat. Stoicorum sententia est nihil utile fore, quod non sit idem {176v} honestum, nec – ut mihi videtur - false³ arbitrantur Stoici, quia nihil est utile, quod turpe sit⁴. Videri potest utile, esse autem⁵ non potest, nam turpia et vitiosa caduca sunt, mutabilia, fluxa, curas semper atque molestias afferentia. Quae justa sunt et honesta, ea manent nec umquam⁶ mentem turbant. Sed disseramus haec alio modo. Sunt - ut accepi - nonnulli, qui nec vocandum Ladislaum rentur nec cum Caesare quidquam practicandum. Quidam vero honestum ajunt, uti jam factum est, vocari Ladislaum, quod si non detur, per alium modum regno consulendum censent. Apud hosce homines minima est de justitia mentio, utilitatem solummodo sectantur, sed nesciunt, quia nulla est sine virtute utilitatis possessio. Discutiamus ergo istorum opiniones respondeamusque contrariantibus.

¹ nos V4

² quod si ... est *omit.* M3

³ falso M3

⁴ scit M2

⁵ esse autem : autem esse V4

⁶ numquam V4

[14] You know that, according to the law of nations¹, kingdoms are granted not by [right of] election or coronation but by [right of] succession. In some kingdoms, the king is elected, but that is certainly not your case, for the Apostolic See has judged that in your kingdom [the principle of] succession prevails, as Bonifatius² resolved and ancient custom tells us. You will, therefore, serve justice by having Ladislaus for your king, who is the grandson of Sigismund³ and the son of Albrecht⁴ and Elizabeth⁵ and thus claims the kingdom both by paternal and maternal right. In Assyria, Ninus⁶ succeeded his father, Ninus⁷. In Macedonia, Alexander⁸ was the successor of Philip.⁹ In Israel, Solomon¹⁰ took the throne of his father, David.¹¹ In Rome, when Julius¹² lacked offspring, he took his adoptive son Augustus as his successor. In Troy, Priam¹³ followed his father Laomedon.¹⁴ In the Frankish kingdom, Charlemagne¹⁵ took Pepin's¹⁶ seat when he died. Among the Goths, who were of your own race, Amal¹⁷ succeeded his father Gapt.¹⁸ Thus it is right that King Albrecht's son, Ladislaus, should succeed him unless we should wish to pervert piety, humanity and the laws of all peoples and nations.¹⁹

[15] But to not digress from my purpose²⁰: it is just that Ladislaus should be your ruler, but let us see if it is also useful.²¹ The Stoics held that nothing is useful if it is not also honourable, and it seems to me that the Stoics were right, for nothing is useful if it is immoral. It may appear to be useful, but it is not really so, for that which is immoral and nefarious is changeable, unstable and always brings worries and troubles. On the other hand, that which is just and honourable remains the same and never disturbs the mind. But let us look at this in another way. Some people think you should not call Ladislaus [to the kingship] nor negotiate with the emperor. Others say that Ladislaus has, in fact, already been called, but if that cannot be accepted [by the emperor], then another solution for the kingdom should be found. These people are not concerned with justice but only pursue their own advantage, not knowing there is no [true] advantage without virtue. So let us discuss these opinions and answer the opponents.

¹ "jus gentium": the translation as "law of nations" may be anachronistic and reflect a development of the concept of nation occurring later than Piccolomini. He used the term "nation" (see the end of the section), but probably not in the sense of a sovereign nation. He knew, of course, of the development of states like France, Spain, England etc. as independent kingdoms, but he still considered their independence as theoretically limited by the authority of the two international institutions, the Holy Roman Empire and The Papacy.

² Bonifatius VIII (ca. 1235-1303): Pope 1294-1303.

³ Emperor Sigismund.

⁴ Emperor Albrecht II.

⁵ Elizabeth of Luxembourg.

⁶ Ninyas: Mythical successor to Ninus.

⁷ Ninus: Mythical founder of Niniveh, capital of Assyria.

⁸ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of Macedon from 336 to his death. World conqueror.

⁹ Philippos II (382-336 BCE): King of Macedonia.

¹⁰ Solomon (10 c. BCE): (Bibl.) King of Israel

¹¹ King David (10th c. BCE): (Bibl.) King of Israel.

¹² Julius Caesar.

¹³ Priamos: legendary king of Troy.

¹⁴ Laomedon: legendary king of Troy.

¹⁵ Charlemagne (747-814): King of the Franks (768), King of the Lombards (774), First Emperor of the Romans (HRE) (800).

¹⁶ Pepin the Short (c. 714-768): King of the Franks from 571 to his death.

¹⁷ Amal: legendary king of the Goths. Great-grandson of Gapt. Jordanes: *Getica*, 14: 79: *Primus fuit Gapt qui genuit Hulmul. Hulmul vero genuit Augis, at Augis genuit eum qui dictus est Amal.*

¹⁸ Gapt: legendary king of the Goths.

¹⁹ Note Piccolomini's use of the term "nation" as equivalent to "people".

²⁰ Cf. Petrarca: *Itinerarium ad sepulchrum domini*: "extra propositi metas eam."

²¹ "utile". The utile/justum discussion is inspired by classical philosophy.

[16] Ego quidem tunc utile putarem regno vestro negligi Ladislaum, si sine ipso et concordēs esse possetis et ab hostibus regnum tueri. Quod si haec absint, quid vobis esse utile queat? Examinemus ista. Si pacem in regno et concordiam vultis habere, aut populare regimen aut regale habendum est. Dimitto nunc illam Aristotelis, quam in *Politicis* de modo regendi considerationem habuit. Nam ad haec duo possunt omnia referri. Quid - vos obsecro - inter haec eligetis? Quis vestrum est, qui populare regimen audeat suadere? Omnes vos, qui hic estis, nobiles estis¹, at in regimine populari omnis nobilitas suspecta est. Surgunt plebeji et {177r} aequato² jure rem publicam administrant; quidquid excellit, amputant. Respicite civitates, quae in communi gubernantur. Nullus in atrio nobilis est, mercatorum sunt omnia. Ego non puto quemquam vestrum sub artificibus potius esse velle quam sub regibus. At vestrum praeterea³ regnum usque in hoc aevi semper sub auspicio regum gubernatum⁴ est, nec reor novitatem vos⁵ velle nunc agere, quae mater erroris esse consuevit. Exinde cum regnum vestrum undique bellis flagret, necessarium est regem habere, ad quem omnia referantur. Ubi pax est, multitudo regnare potest; ubi sunt bella, nisi unus sit, qui dirigat, omnia corruunt. Cum⁶ Cimbri cum trecentis milibus armatorum Italiam peterent, urbes Italiae, quae tunc erant liberae, sponte sua Romanum populum sibi⁷ praefecerunt. Romani autem Marium ducem omnium constituere. Nec enim sine principe frementibus armis possunt provinciae defendi. Vos ergo, qui cum Turcis⁸ assidue bella geritis, necessarium est regem habere.⁹

[17] Sed hic quoque de rege deliberandum est. Ajunt nonnulli, multos esse in regno¹⁰ et sanguine claros et¹¹ virtutibus¹² praeditos, quos reges esse nequaquam dedecet¹³, quod ego non negaverim. Nam et ex vobis, qui hic estis, non irem inficias corona dignum aliquem fore, sive claritas generis, sive formae decus, sive animi magnitudo et probitas requiratur. Verum, cum non possit nisi unus rex fieri, inter vos autem plures sint {177v} diademate digni, sitque¹⁴ magna aequalitas inter vos, quis non videt magnam invidiam nasci, si quis vestrum in regem sublimetur. Inter pares numquam invidia deest, nec aequo animo quisquam sui similem sibi praeferrere sinit. Sunt inter vos diversae voluntates et, ut Comicus ait, "*quot capita, tot sententiae.*" Quis umquam sibi suadeat tot praelatos, tot proceres, tot civitates, tot incolas in unum consentire, qui ex Hungaria praeficiatur in regem.

¹ nobiles estis *omit.* M2

² aequato M2

³ At vestrum praeterea : ad hoc est quod vestrum M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* ad hoc est quod vestrum V2b

⁴ quod vestrum ... gubernatum *omit.* M2

⁵ nos M2

⁶ cur V4

⁷ populum sibi : sibi populum M2

⁸ Teucris M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO

⁹ assidua M2

¹⁰ esse in regno : on regno esse V4

¹¹ ex M3

¹² vir(tu)te V4

¹³ delectat M3

¹⁴ *Due to an error in binding, V4 continues on ff. 162r-162v and then resumes on f. 159r.*

5.2. Alternatives

[16] I, too, would consider it advantageous for your kingdom to pass over Ladislaus if, without him, concord would reign among you and your kingdom be safe from enemies. But if that is not possible, then what advantage can you have? Let us look closer at this. If you desire peace and concord in your kingdom, you must be ruled either by the people or by a king. (Here, I shall not consider what Aristotle wrote about the forms of government in his *Politica*,¹ for basically there are only these two forms). So, which of them – I ask - will you choose? Who among you would dare to argue for a popular government? All of you here are nobles, but under a popular government, all the nobility is suspect. The plebeians rise up and administer the state with equal rights and status. All that excels will be cut down. Look to the city-states with democratic rule. There are no nobles in the halls of state; the merchants dominate everything.² I do not believe that any of you would rather be the subjects of artisans than of kings. To this comes that, until the present time, your kingdom has always been ruled under the auspices of kings, and I do not believe you would want a political change now since that is usually the mother of error. As there is war all over your kingdom, it is necessary to have a king responsible for everything. Where there is peace, the many can govern; where there is war, everything falls apart unless there is only one leader. When the Cimbrians came to Italy with 300,000 soldiers, the Italian cities, free until then, voluntarily decided to become subject to the Roman people, and the Romans appointed Marius³ the supreme commander. When weapons reign, the provinces cannot be defended without one leader. Thus, you, who are continuously fighting the Turks, must have a king.

[17] But we should also consider the question of which king. Some say there are many men in your Kingdom of noble blood and great ability whom it would not be shameful to have as king. This I do not deny, for I freely admit that among you who are here some are worthy of the crown whether you require a noble line, a distinguished appearance, a lofty mind and decency. But only one man can become king, and several among you are worthy of the crown. So, since you strongly feel that you are all equal, who does not see that great jealousy would arise if one of you were raised to the throne? Among equals there is always jealousy, and nobody tolerates that one equal to him is preferred. You have different ambitions,⁴ and - as the Comic writer⁵ says - “*there are as many opinions as there are people.*”⁶ Who will ever be able to persuade so many prelates, so many nobles, so many cities, and so many subjects to agree on appointing any man from Hungary as king.

¹ In his *Politica*, Aristotle distinguished between three forms of government: democratic, aristocratic and monarchical. Here, Piccolomini only accepts two: democracy and monarchy, considering oligarchy as belonging to one of the other two.

² Piccolomini knew this well from his own city of Siena where the nobles, including his own family, had been excluded from government. He also knew well the conditions in Florence.

³ Gajus Marius (157-86 BC): Roman politician and general.

⁴ “voluntates”

⁵ Terentius.

⁶ “*Quot capita, tot sententiae*”. Latin proverb inspired by Terentius: *Phormio*, 454: *quot homines, tot sententiae*.

[18] Addite, quod¹ inimici vestri circumstantes Turci vires mox vestras contemnerent, audientes ex vobis esse creatum regem, cum propterea scirent, vos ab omnibus Christicolis destitutos et a Germanis praesertim, quorum sanguinem per injuriam reliquissetis. Quid ultra? An putandum est regem Bossnae despotumque Rasciae et alios Hungariae magnates, qui vix Sigismundum Ludovicumque regem supra se ferebant, jam unum ex vobis aequo animo sibi dominantem pati? Taceo civitates, quae in parte sunt Ladislai. Taceo domum² Austriae et comitem Ciliae, qui numquam ab oboedientia pueri recederent³. Quocirca non video, quomodo ex vobis⁴ eligi rex possit, qui et⁵ hostes repellat et regnicolis pacem praebet.

[19] Venio extra regnum nec quo pacto ex aliis gentibus regem habere possitis video⁶. Nec enim eo deductos vos⁷ arbitror, ut ex infidelibus reges accipiatis, qui multis non dicam annis, sed saeculis fidem Christi proprio sanguine contra infidelium impetus defendistis. Polonia, quae vobis regem {178r} dare voluit, in eo jam statu est, ut vix⁸ regem suum habere possit⁹. In Alamannia quicumque sunt principes regio digni fastigio, Ladislao regi arcissima juncti sunt consanguinitate. Nec quisquam est ex his tam regnandi cupidus, ut proprium sanguinem laedat. Bohemia Ladislaum respicit, ceterae nationes remotissimae sunt, ex quibus si regem velletis¹⁰ vocare, et si personam haberetis, auxilium tamen per tot regiones, tot gentes, tot terrarum marisque spatia non possetis habere.

[20] Sed concedamus esse aliquem vel in Germania vel alibi, qui vestro vocatu regnum accipiat, ut sit¹¹ verum, quod usurpare Caesar solebat ex Euripide, *si violandum jus est, regnandi causa violandum est, in ceteris rebus pietatem colas*. An propterea pacem habebitis, an Turcis¹² resistere poteritis, an utilitatem, quam vultis, consequemini? Num¹³ hinc Australes, inde Teucris regnum vestrum infestabunt, num¹⁴ partes in regno erunt, quae nihil otiose fieri permittent¹⁵. Sane, viri prudentissimi¹⁶ et alto sanguine nati, si pacem in regno vultis habere inimicosque Turcos¹⁷ procul arcere, nec populare habendum est regimen nec ex¹⁸ vobis¹⁹ rex assumendus nec in alia gente quaerendus quam in Austria.

¹ addite quod : additi qui V4

² dominum V4

³ recesserunt V4

⁴ nobis M2

⁵ omit. M2

⁶ nec quo ... video omit. V4

⁷ nos M2

⁸ regem dare vix omit. V4

⁹ suum habere possit : sibi regem
inveniat M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO;
corr. ex sibi regem inveniat V2b

¹⁰ velitis V4

¹¹ sub V4

¹² Teucris M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO;

corr. ex Teucris V2b

¹³ nunc V4

¹⁴ nunc V4

¹⁵ an propterea ... permittent *omit.*
M3

¹⁶ Sane viri prudentissimi *omit.* V3

¹⁷ Teucros M1-M3, V2, HE, WO

¹⁸ a V4

¹⁹ nobis M2

[18] Add to this that your hostile neighbours, the Turks, would scorn your strength if they heard you had elected a king [from your own people], knowing that then you would be abandoned by all Christians and especially the Germans whose blood¹ you would have unjustly deserted. What more? Do you really believe the King of Bosnia,² the Despot of Rascia³ and the other Hungarian magnates who barely tolerated being subject to Sigismund and King Louis⁴ would tranquilly accept that one of you be made their lord, not mention the cities that support Ladislaus nor the House of Austria and the Count of Cilly,⁵ who will never leave the boy's obedience. For these reasons, I do not see how you could possibly elect one of your own as a king able to repel the enemies and give peace to the subjects.

[19] Nor, looking outside your kingdom, do I see how you could get a king from another people. I do not you have come to the point where you would accept a king from the infidels since, for many years, not to say centuries, you have defended the Faith of Christ with your own blood against the attacks of those very infidels. Poland, which wanted to give you a king,⁶ is now in a situation where it can hardly find a king for itself. In Germany, the princes worthy of exalted kingship are bound to Ladislaus with the closest bonds of consanguinity, and none of them is so avid to rule that he would harm his own blood. Bohemia is looking to Ladislaus. And the other nations are so far away that if you wanted to call [a prince] from there to the kingship and managed to find someone willing, you could not get help from them across so many regions, peoples, countries and seas.

[20] But let us grant for a moment that there is someone in Germany or elsewhere who would accept your invitation to the kingship – as if it were true what Caesar used to quote from Euripides, *that if wrong may ever be right, for a throne's sake were wrong most right. Be God in all else feared.*⁷ Would that give you peace? Would that make it possible for you to resist the Turks? Would that bring you the benefits you desire? Or would not the Austrians attack you from one side and the Turks from the other? Are there not factions in Hungary that will prevent anything from being done peacefully? Indeed, most prudent and highborn men, if you want peace in your kingdom and cast the Turks far away, you should not create a popular government nor take a king from among yourselves or any other country but Austria.

¹ The Habsburg dynasty.

² Stjepan Thomas (ca. 1411-1461): King of Bosnia from 1443 to 1461.

³ Durad I Brankovic (1377-1456): Despot of Serbia from 1427 to his death.

⁴ Louis I (1326-1382): King of Hungary from 1342 and of Poland from 1370.

⁵ Ulrich II von Cilly.

⁶ Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).

⁷ Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum / Julius Caesar*, 30. Cicero: *De Officiis*, 3: 21, 83. Quoting Euripides: *Phoenissa*, 524-525.

[21] Hic est, de quo locutus sum, et quem vos accersitis, Ladislaus, Alberti filius¹, in quo, si nobilitatem quaeritis, nemo est eo in orbe toto nobilior, cujus paternum genus ab ipsa Julii Caesaris stirpe derivatur. Sic enim domus Austriae initium habet, in qua plurimi Romanorum reges {178v} fuere, quae et Bohemiae et Poloniae et aliis regnis persaepe reges dedit. Maternum genus ex regibus vestris² prodit. Mater illi regina vestra Elizabeth fuit, avus Sigismundus imperator, proavus Karolus quartus. Exinde Johannes, rex Bohemiae, ac Henricus septimus, Caesarum, qui post translationem imperii apud Germanos fuerunt, excellentissimus. Ubinam tanta nobilitas tantaque sanguinis claritudo?

[22] Certe hic potissime ex omni Christianitate dignus est, qui vobis generis claritate pollentibus esse rex debeat. Hic inter vos³ natus est et in ipsa infantia coronam vestram adeptus⁴. Nemo in regno vestro jus habet, nisi puerulus iste. Hic vobis⁵ Teutonicos omnes amicos reddere potest atque Bohemos conjungere. Hic pacem vobis intrinsecam reddet. Hic despotum et comitem Ciliae in unum vobiscum conjunget, hic vobis Fridericum Caesarem, patruelem suum affectissimum faciet, hic omnia dominia Austriae. Hic ducem Burgundiae, consanguineum suum, et Franciae domum sibi conjunctam in vestrum auxilium, cum opus fuerit, advocabit.

[23] In hoc puero regia majestas relucet. Jam in puerili aetate liberalitatem ostendit ac prudentiam prae se fert singularem. Forma illi egregia et plus quam dici possit, decora. Jamjam paternam magnanimitatem et avitam sagacitatem indicat. Brevi tempore grandiusculus erit ac per se ipsum loqui, equitare et gubernare poterit. Cum hoc extirpare schismaticos {179r} de regno poteritis, cum hoc Turcos⁶ repellere, Dalmatiam vindicare, et quidquid alienatum est, ad coronam reducere paceque sancta et optima frui.

[24] Quocirca cum tanta et tam evidens utilitas appareat, si perseverare cum Ladislao rege volueritis, quamvis non puto vos⁷ ullo pacto absque desiderata conclusione recessuros, ut tamen oratiunculae meae destinatum finem imponam, circumspersiones vestras oro, precor, obsecro et obtestor, ut haec tot tantaque regni commoda considerantes cum Caesare nostro⁸ conveniatis nec in eo vim faciatis, si quid est, quod ex vestris petitionibus diminuatur, dummodo rex in regni vestri aliquo loco sit majestati Caesareae accepto. Nam nec Caesar ipse, quod justum fuerit, denegabit, quia etiam de sua utilitate agitur, cum⁹ regnum vestrum amicum habet.

¹ Alberti filius : filius Alberti M2

² omit. V3

³ nos M2

⁴ omit. M1

⁵ nobis M2, V4

⁶ Teucros M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO;

corr. ex Teucros V2b

⁷ nos M2

⁸ omnino add. M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~omnino~~ seq. V2b

⁹ tum V4

6. Conclusion: Restoring Ladislaus as king is the only way to make Hungary peaceful and strong again

[21] The one in Austria is him I have been talking about and whom you have summoned, Ladislaus, son of Albrecht. If you seek nobility, nobody in the whole world is more noble than him, whose paternal family descends from Julius Caesar.¹ For this is the origin of the House of Austria which counts many kings of the Romans and often gave kings to Poland and other kingdoms. His maternal family descends from your own kings, his mother being your Queen Elizabeth,² his grandfather Emperor Sigismund, and his great-grandfather Karl IV.³ Karl's father was King Johann⁴ of Bohemia, and his father again Heinrich VII,⁵ the most outstanding of the German emperors after the translation of the empire. Where can you find such great nobility and such a distinguished bloodline?

[22] He is surely the most worthy in all of Christianity to be the king of your illustrious people. He was born among you and crowned as an infant. None but this boy has the right to your kingdom. He will make all the Germans your friends and join you with the Bohemians. He will give you peace at home. He will unite the despot⁶ and the count of Cilly⁷ with you. He will dispose his cousin, Emperor Friedrich, most favourably towards you. He will ally the Austrian domains, his relative the Duke of Burgundy,⁸ and the House of France with you and call on their help when needed.

[23] Royal majesty shines forth in this boy. A child, he shows singular liberality and wisdom. He is more handsome and becoming than I can say. He already gives signs of his father's⁹ magnanimity and his grandfather's¹⁰ sagacity. Soon he will grow up and be able to speak for himself, ride and govern. With him, you can root up the schismatics from the kingdom, repel the Turks, reclaim Dalmatia, bring alienated lands back to the crown and enjoy holy and excellent peace.

[24] If you continue with Ladislaus as king, you will gain great benefits. I do not believe you will return [to Hungary] without the desired results. However, to put an end to this small oration,¹¹ I ask, beg, and implore you, circumspect men, to consider carefully the many and great advantages for your kingdom in coming to an agreement with our emperor and not pressuring him unduly if your petitions are not granted in full, as long, as King Ladislaus is allowed to reside in some place in your kingdom acceptable to His Imperial Majesty. Indeed the emperor will not refuse what is just since it is also to his advantage to have your kingdom as a friend.

¹ According to a fictive genealogy invented for the House of Habsburg.

² Elizabeth of Luxembourg.

³ Karl IV (Luxembourg) (1316-1378): King of Bohemia. Elected emperor in 1346 and crowned in Rome in 1356.

⁴ Johann (Luxembourg) (1296-1346). King of Bohemia from 1310 to his death.

⁵ Heinrich VII (Luxembourg) (ca. 1273-1313): Count of Luxembourg. Elected emperor in 1308 and crowned in Rome in 1312.

⁶ Durad I Brankovic, Despot of Serbia.

⁷ Ulrich II von Cilly.

⁸ Philippe III.

⁹ Albrecht II.

¹⁰ Sigismund.

¹¹ The text was evidently written as an oration.

[25] Nec moveant vos instructiones in Peste factae, nam et vos ipsi potissimi auctores earum fuistis. Nemo moleste accipiet, si quid per vos¹ pro² regni pace fuerit immutatum. Palatinus autem et qui cum eo sentiunt allegare Pestienses ordinationes nullo modo possunt, qui ab eisdem multis jam modis recesserunt. Sumite igitur animum, viri praestantes. Concludite cum rege quocumque modo potestis. Dicite demum nullius vos regis nisi Ladislai dominatum passuros. Amplectimini justitiam pueri. Recipite, quae vobis utilia esse ostendimus. Efficite, ut et Hungaria tota per vestram operam se quietam et pacificam intelligat redditam, et {179v} puer ipse Ladislaus vester Hungarus suum regnum per manus vestras vestraque studia recuperasse cognoscat, et³ cum virilem togam acceperit, te cardinalem, qui eum baptisasti, te Visprimensem⁴ episcopum, qui patri suo servivisti, te Nicolaum vaivodam, qui militem eum creasti⁵, te Ladislaum banum, qui sanguine sibi⁶ conjungeris, te Giskram, qui ejus partes indefesso animo semper defendisti, te Emericum, qui avo suo carissimus fuisti et vos omnes legatos praesentes⁷ tamquam suos tutores, suos defensores, suos parentes veneretur ac honoribus, dignitatibus, opibus et⁸ omnibus officiis et beneficiis super ceteros regni proceres singulari quadam affectione⁹ et animi¹⁰ jucunditate prosequatur.

Viennae, kal. Julii 1445¹¹ ¹².

¹ nos M2

² *omit.* M2

³ ut V4

⁴ *omit.* M1, M3; Vesprimensem M2

⁵ fecisti M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO;

corr. ex fecisti V2b

⁶ suo M3

⁷ praestantes M3

⁸ ac M1-M3, HE, WO

⁹ quadam affectione *omit.* V3, V4

¹⁰ omni V4

¹¹ Viennae etc. 1451 *omit.* M1; etc. M2; Finis. Vale. Ex Vienna M3

¹² 1445: 1444 V4

[25] Do not let yourself be restricted by the instructions decided in Pest,¹ for you yourselves were their powerful authors. Nobody should take it badly if some points are altered for the peace of your kingdom. The Palatine² and those who side with him can in no way appeal to the decisions in Pest, for they themselves have already and in many ways neglected them. So, take courage, excellent men, and make an agreement with the king³ in any way possible. Finally, declare that you will not accept the lordship of any other king than Ladislaus. Embrace the rights of the boy. Accept what we have shown to be to your advantage. Let all Hungarians understand that it has been given peace and quiet through your efforts. Let the boy Ladislaus, a Hungarian like you, see that he has regained his kingdom through your assistance and efforts. And you, the cardinal⁴ who baptised him, you the bishop of Veszprém,⁵ who served his father, you Voivode Miklos,⁶ who knighted him, you Ban Ladislaus⁷ who are related to him, you Jiskra,⁸ who always and indefatigably defended his cause, you Emmerich⁹ who was most dear to his grandfather, and all you legates present here, let Ladislaus, when he assumes the virile toga, lovingly and joyfully honour you – above all the other nobles in the kingdom - as his tutors, defenders and parents and grant you honours, high offices, wealth and all kinds of favour and benefits.¹⁰

Vienna, 1 July 1445.¹¹

¹ HBO, p. 482; Engel, p. 288.

² Lőrinc Hedervary.

³ Friedrich III.

⁴ Dénes Szécsi.

⁵ Mátyás Gataloczi: Bishop of Veszprém

⁶ Miklós Újlaky.

⁷ László Garai.

⁸ Jan Jiskra.

⁹ Emericus de Canisa (HE, p. 481).

¹⁰ This passage clearly indicates, that the text was originally written and intended as an oration to the Hungarian delegation.

¹¹ This date is erroneous.

188. Letter to Johann von Eich (21 October 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 158r-159r; M2, ff. 65r-65v¹; M3, ff. 178v-179v²; V2, ff. 350-355³; V3, 213v-216v⁴ **; V4, ff. 203v-205v.

Editions A: KOB, 79⁵.

Editions B: HE, 190, pp. 481-484; WO, 1: 1, 190, p. 558-561; (both based on M1 and V2).

{213v} Reverendo patri et claro⁶ principi, domino Johanni de Eych, electo Eystetensi⁷, Aeneas Silvius, imperialis secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit⁸.

[1] Fecisti benigne, pater optime, quod in litteris tuis, quas huc ad amicos misisti de tuo successu, mei quoque⁹ memoriam habuisti, {214r} nec enim Aeneam tuam, quae tibi obvenerant bona, ignorare voluisti, quem sciebas tua gaudia solide gavisurum. Ego igitur, vir praestantissime, gratias in primis *optimo et*¹⁰ *maximo* Deo refero, qui te dignis honoribus extulit. Post hoc¹¹ laudo magnopere capitulum tuum singulosque canonicos, qui suae provisuri ecclesiae non, ut plerique faciunt, indoctos, imperitos, inexpertos inertesque sibi assumunt, sed te, virum scientia juris et omnium litterarum peritia clarum, in rebus agendis diu versatum apud principes et singulari solertia praeditum elegerunt. Utinam horum exemplum et alii sequerentur. Nempe non sic laicorum impressionibus ecclesiae terrerentur¹², si earum gubernacula apud eos essent, quos studere sapientiae contigisset.

[2] Postremo tibi admodum regratior, qui factus major non despicias me minorem, ut plerumque fieri solet. Mos enim hominum est, ut, quae infra se sunt, semper contemnant. Hinc¹³ vulgo proverbium est societates¹⁴ hominum dirimi, quotiens alius alium dignitate vel opibus excedere coepit. Sed ista inter plebejos contingunt, qui non in virtute, sed in utilitate omnem vitae rationem ponunt. Viri autem boni et virtutis amatores, ut magis elevantur, eo magis amicorum meminerunt. Nec enim Africanus junior Laelii umquam oblitus est aut eum parvi fecit, quamvis¹⁵ ipse duos consulatus {214v} cum summo populi desiderio suscepisset, ille vero candidatus ex petitione dejectus fuerit. Nec Perithous Architam neglexit, quamvis ipse fortunatus, ille vero captivus esset, sed libertatem amico impetravit.

[3] Amicitia namque, quae inter virtuosos est, nec varietate fortunae nec tempore diminuitur. Ita et inter nos¹⁶ esse video bonitate tua, qui licet jam inter antistites ecclesiarum et saeculi principes sublimatus sis, qui modo privatus fuisti, non tamen mei¹⁷ memoriam ponis, sed inter varias occupationes, quae in principibus dignitatum adeptarum evenire solent, inter magnas curas interque diversos strepitus de me scribere¹⁸ non neglexisti. Judicium est hoc mihi maximum firmam esse, stabilem, perpetuam et immortalen benevolentiam nostram.

¹ SC, 137-138

² SC, 363-365

³ DV, ff. 180v-183r

⁴ DV, 216v-219v

⁵ DV, ff. 41v-42v

⁶ preclaro M3

⁷ domino suo praecipuo *add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~domino suo praecipuo~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ *seque ipsum totum exhibet add.* M1, M3, HE, WO; *se ipsumque totum exhibet add.* M2; *seque totum exhibet add.* V2a; ~~seque totum exhibet~~ *seq.* V2b

⁹ mei quoque : meique M3

¹⁰ *omit.* M2

¹¹ hec M1, WO

¹² tererentur M1, WO

¹³ hic M3

¹⁴ societas M1, M3

¹⁵ *et add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~et seq.~~ V2b

¹⁶ vos V4

¹⁷ mei *omit.* M2, M3, V2

¹⁸ *omit.* M2, M3

188. Letter to Johann von Eich (21 October 1445, Vienna¹).

Context: Piccolomini's colleague and friend in Vienna, Johann von Eich, had been elected bishop of Eichstätt.
Subject: Piccolomini congratulates von Eich on his election and gives him advice on how to conduct himself as a bishop, stressing the need for people who attain high position to keep their old friends.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to the Reverend Father and Excellent Prince, Lord Johann von Eich, Bishop of Eichstätt.

[1] Excellent Father, it was kind of you to mention me in the letter you sent to your friends here about your advancement, for, knowing how deeply I share your joys, you wished your Enea, too, to learn of your success. Therefore, oh best of men, I first thank the *Best and Greatest* God² for raising you to such a distinguished and deserved position. Second, I greatly commend your chapter³ and the individual canons who, in providing for their church, did not - as many do - elect an unlearned, inexperienced and incompetent fellow, but you, a man distinguished by his profound knowledge of law and all the letters, who has long experience with princes and exceptional abilities. I wish others would follow their example. Indeed, the churches would not be terrified by laymen's depredations if they were governed by men seeking wisdom.

[2] Finally, I am most grateful that, having become a great man, you do not despise me, who is still in humble circumstances, as often happens. For men usually disdain all that is below them. Thus the proverb that relations between men break up when one gains higher status or more wealth than the other. However, this happens only between common men, who see the purpose of life as gaining prosperity⁴, not as growing in virtue. But good men who love virtue more remember their friends the more they are raised up. Therefore, the Younger Africanus⁵ never forgot or despised Laelius,⁶ though he himself was chosen consul twice by an enthusiastic people whereas Laelius was rejected as a candidate for the consulate.⁷ Nor did Perithous⁸ forget Architas⁹, though he himself was fortunate and Architas a prisoner, but obtained his friend's release.

[3] A friendship between men of virtue is weakened neither by the vagaries of fortune nor time. In our case, I see how good a friend you are: having advanced from private status to become a bishop of the church and a prince of the world, you have not forgotten me. On the contrary, you have not failed to write about me though you are occupied with the many things that happen in the beginning when men accede to high office, in the middle of great concerns and much agitation. So, I am firmly convinced that our friendship is strong, solid and permanent, nay immortal.

¹ Concerning the date, see note in WO, 1: 1, p. 558.

² Epithets of the Roman God, Jupiter: "Jupiter optimus maximus". An example of Piccolomini's use of epithets of Roman gods for the God of the Christians.

³ The cathedral chapter of Eichstätt.

⁴ "utilitas"

⁵ Scipio Africanus the Younger (ca 185-129 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁶ Laelius Sapiens, Gaius (born ca. 188 BC): Roman general and statesman.

⁷ Laelius was actually a consul in 140 BCE. Piccolomini may be confusing this Laelius with the

Gaius Laelius, who was a friend of the Elder Scipio and was not elected consul in 192 BCE despite Scipio's recommendation to the Roman people.

⁸ Perithous [Perithous] (Greek myth.): Best friend of Theseus.

⁹ Here, too, Piccolomini has a lapse of memory.

[4] Verum, praesul amantissime, quamvis ego mihi congaudeo, quod amicum honoribus auctum et in sublimi positum video, tibi tamen an congaudere debeam haereo, nam tuam dignitatem tuasque divitias multae cure, multae anxietates, multi metus sequentur, nec enim augeri opes possunt, quin et labores crescant. Omnis potentia subjecta est invidiae. Qui episcopus est, in specula sedet omniumque oculos in se conversos habet. Si bene facit, fecisse debitum¹ dicitur; si male, linguis omnium carpitur. Adde, quod nemo tam sancte vivere potest, quin aliqui se offensos reputent. Nihil est, mihi crede, in hac vita mortali durius quam pontificatum gerere, {215r} in quo si Deo places, hominibus displices. Servare medium arduum est. Utcumque² sit³, navigandum est hoc pelagus pro salute communi, serviendum est rei publicae. Nec enim *nobis nati sumus*, ut Plato dicebat, sed *ortus nostri partem amici, partem patria vendicant*. Ego autem addo partem quoque deberi ecclesiae, et si nos totos obligatos sibi dixerim, quae nos Christo *regeneraverit*, non erraverim.

[5] Exinde⁴, cum te *intus et in cute norim* moderationemque tui animi sciam, nullum mihi dubium est, quin tuus honor perpetuo duret⁵ ⁶ cum tua sit virtus aeterna. Et quia *magistratus virum ostendit*, ut Bias inquit, in hoc pontificio tuo praestantes animi dotes, quae latebant, manifestabis. Sed omnia haec cum labore multo diversisque anxietatibus facies. In omnibus his tamen⁷ moneo te⁸, precor, obtestor, ne magis populo quam tibi vivere studeas. Metire tempus tuum et aliud rei publicae tribue, aliud tibi retine. Relaxa nonnumquam curas animumque oblecta. *Scipio Laeliusque*, de quibus supra memini, quamvis magni essent viri et rem publicam suis ingeniis ac studiis sustinerent, nonnumquam tamen in Laurentem agrum exeuntes, sic se otio quietique dabant, ut *conchas umbilicosque* legentes ad magnam diei partem jactu lapillorum⁹ oblectarentur. Oportet sic agere, mihi crede, praesul insignis, nam qui semper seria tractat, quamvis non est mortuus, {215v} tamen vivens moritur. Tu ergo, qui jam maximam dignitatem adeptus es, effice, ne te magis dignitas, quam tu illam in potestate habeas. Multi sunt modi, quibus animus relaxatur: interdum libris indulgendum est, interdum venatibus non prohibitis¹⁰ ac piscationibus. Multi sunt mentis secessus.

[6] Cura, ut fideles comites habeas, cum quibus non aliter quam tecum ipse loquaris. Inter omnia hominum oblectamenta nulla major voluptas est, nulla jucundior, nulla securior quam cum fideles amici invicem coeunt. Denique ita est: *nullius boni*, ut Seneca dicit, *sine socio jucunda possessio est*. Quanto quisque major est, quanto ditior, quanto potentior, tanto fideli amico magis indiget.

[7] Tibi haec pluribus verbis dico, quam opus sit. Tu hoc¹¹ partim legendo, partim inter homines vivendo didicisti. Fac ergo, uti opus facto scis. Ego mihi ipsi congratulor, quod te sic sublimatum audio. Scripseram tibi nuper *De miseria curialium* longam epistolam, sed tu jam eo in statu es, ut his scriptis non indigeas. Curabo tamen, ut epistolam videas, nam quanto majores sunt illorum anxietates, qui principibus servientes taedia subeunt curiarum, tanto magis laetaberis, cum te his¹² liberatum videbis.

¹ fecisse debitum : debitum fecisse M2

² tamen *add.* M1-M3, HE, WO

³ est M3

⁴ exin M1-M3, V2, HE, WO

⁵ durans V4

⁶ perpetuo duret : perpetuo sit M1-M3, V2, HE, WO

⁷ *omit.* M3; ~~tamen~~ V3

⁸ moneo te : te moneo M3

⁹ lapillarum M1, WO

¹⁰ non prohibitis : *omit.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *add. in marg.* V2b

¹¹ hec M2, M3

¹² te his : his te M3

[4] However, my dear bishop, though I congratulate myself on seeing a friend being granted such honours and placed in an exalted position, I am in two minds about congratulating you since your high office and wealth will bring many concerns, many anxieties and many fears, for when wealth grows, so do troubles. All power is subject to envy. A bishop sits in a high place, and all eyes are turned towards him. If he does well, he is simply doing his duty. If he does badly, he is reviled by all. Add to this that nobody can live so blamelessly that there are not some people who feel offended. Believe me, nothing is harder in this mortal life than to exercise the episcopal office, in which you displease men if you please God. It is most difficult to keep a middle course. Nonetheless, this sea must be navigated for the common good, and the commonwealth must be served. For - as Plato said¹ – *we are not born for ourselves alone, but our country claims a share of our being and our friends a share.*² To this, I add that a [third] share is owed to the Church: I would not be mistaken in saying that we owe everything to her, who *regenerated*³ us in Christ.

[5] Moreover, since *I know you inside out*⁴ and the moderation of your soul, I do not doubt that your honour will last forever since your virtue is eternal. And since – as Bias⁵ says – *the office shows the man,*⁶ you will, in your episcopal office, show your eminent qualities of mind, latent until now. But all this you will do with much labour and diverse worries. But in this whole situation, I advise, urge and beg you to endeavour to not live more for your people than for yourself. Measure your time and allocate some to your public affairs and some to yourself. Do sometimes relax from the cares and refresh your mind. Though *Scipio* and *Laelius*, whom I mentioned above, were great men sustaining the state with their intellects and efforts, they sometimes went out to the *Laurentum* and, giving themselves to leisure and quiet, collected *mussels and top-shells*⁷ and spent a large part of the day throwing stones. You should do similarly, believe me, excellent bishop, for the man who is always occupied with serious affairs, dies alive though not dead. Therefore, you who have gained the highest office should ensure that it is you who possess the office and not the office that possesses you. There are many ways to relax one's mind, to enjoy books, for example, or to go on non-forbidden hunts⁸ and fishing. The mind has many places it can escape to.

[6] Take care to have faithful friends with whom you can speak as if with yourself. Among the pleasures of men, none is greater, none more joyful and none more safe than the meetings of faithful friends. Finally – as Seneca says - *no good thing is pleasant to possess without friends to share it.*⁹ The greater someone is, the richer and the more powerful, the more he needs a faithful friend.¹⁰

[7] I may have used more words than necessary to say this. You already know it from reading and living among men. So, do what you know is necessary. Recently, I wrote a long letter to you *On the Misery of Courtiers*, but you are now in a position where you do not need such writings. Still, I shall take care that you may see that letter, for great are the worries of those who, as servants of princes, are subject to the miseries of court life, so you will be happy that you have been freed from them.

¹ Platon: *Letter IX to Archytas*, 358A.

² Cicero: *De Officiis*, 1: 7, 22.

³ 1. Peter, 1: 3.

⁴ Persius, 3: 30.

⁵ Bias (6th c. BCE): Greek philosopher.

⁶ Aristoteles: *Ethika Nikomacheia*, 5: 1, 26: *archa ton andra deixei*.

⁷ Cicero: *De Oratore*, 2: 6, 22

⁸ The Early Version just had "hunts".

⁹ Seneca the Younger: *Epistolae*, 6: 4.

¹⁰ Von Eich would have understood that Piccolomini was offering himself as such a faithful friend.

[8] Apud Italos Antonius Massetanus ex ordine minorum magnus {216r} verbi Dei praedicator fuit, cujus sermo tam populo acceptus erat, ut ad magnam diei partem absque cibo audiretur, callebatque homo et in Graecis et in Latinis litteris. Hunc sua virtus generalem ordinis magistrum fecit, post episcopum Massetanum¹. Non tamen tot dignitatibus auctus sermones deseruit. Me praesente Senis praedicare de paupertate coepit multaque incommoda pauperum multasque miserias in medium adduxit. Exinde “Quid dicam,” inquit, “tot sunt paupertatis taedia, ut nihil supra. Ego quidem gratias Deo refero, qui per episcopatum his liberatus sum.”

[9] Sic ergo et tu dicere potes, nam episcopatus ex miseris curialium te extraxit, quod tam mihi jucundum est quam tibi utile. Tu vide, ut dives factus non sis pauper. Jam tibi facultas est, qua² potes quam multos ditare. Cura, ut homines dignos promoveas. Non tamen sic te hac lege astrinxeris, quin etiam pro tuo libito aliquibus non excellentibus omnino³ beneficia. Is, cui scripsisti de tua promotione, multum in te sperat, vir bonus est et tui amantissimus. Fac, ut ejus notitia non sit apud te infructuosa. Inter alios autem, quos dignos et virtute praestantes ad beneficia ecclesiastica promoveris, si unum vel alterum minus dignum⁴ beneficio sublevaveris, non erit reprehendendum, quia non vituperatur, qui semel errat, sed qui nimis⁵ errat⁶. Concedendum {216v} est aliquid amicitiae atque consuetudini, non tamen⁷ cum praejudicio veritatis, quam Platoni praetulit Aristoteles⁸ meo iudicio magis famae quam veritatis amore.⁹

[10] Michael Pfullendorfius, secretarius regius¹⁰, ex tua promotione mecum valde laetatus est, nec ego quemquam scio, qui hanc dignitatem in te collocatam non magnopere commendet¹¹.

Ex Vienna, die 21. Octobris 1447^{12 13}.

¹ *corr. ex* Massenatum V3; Massanatum V4

² qui V4

³ non excellentibus omnino *omit.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; non excellentibus omnino *add. in marg.* V2b

⁴ minus dignum : indignum aliquando aliquo M1-M3, V2a, HE; *corr. ex* indignum aliquando aliquo V2b

⁵ magis M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; minus V4; *corr. ex* magis V2b

⁶ quam benefacit *add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *del.* V2b

⁷ non tamen : etiam M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* etiam V2b

⁸ quam Platoni praetulit Aristoteles : quamvis Aristoteles Platoni veritatem praetulerit M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* quamvis Aristoteles Platoni veritatem praetulerit V2b

⁹ Vale et mihi aliquando scribe. Ex Vienna, die 21. Octobris 1445 *add.* M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *del.* V2b

¹⁰ Pfullendorfius, secretarius regius *omit.* M1-M3, HE, WO

¹¹ ~~Datum ut supra~~ *add.* V2

¹² 1446 V4

¹³ Ex Vienna ... 1447 *omit.* M1-M3, HE, WO

[8] In Italy, Antonio da Massa,¹ of the Order of the Minorites,² was a great preacher of God's word. His sermons pleased the people so much that they heard them for many hours without eating. He was proficient in both Greek and Latin letters. Because of his virtue, he became a Master General of his order and later bishop of Massa. However, his high offices did not make him abandon preaching. Once, when I was in Siena, he began to preach about poverty and spoke about the many hardships and miseries of the poor. Then he said, "What shall I say? Nothing is more burdensome than poverty. For my own part, I thank God for freeing me from them through the episcopal office."³

[9] You could say the same, for the episcopal office removed you from the miseries of courtiers, which gladdens me as much as it benefits you. See to it that, having become rich, you shall not be poor. Now you have the ability to enrich many. Take care that those you promote are worthy men, but do not be so bound by this rule that you do not sometimes favour those men you wish though they are not the very best. The one to whom you wrote about your appointment has great hopes in you. He is a good man and greatly devoted to you. Please do not let your relationship with him be infertile. Should one of the worthy and eminently virtuous men you appoint to ecclesiastical benefices prove to be, infact, less than worthy and you remove him from his benefice, you will not incur blame, for it is not the man who errs once but too much who earns rebuke. Some concessions must be made to friendship and custom but not with prejudice to the truth, which Aristotle preferred to Plato – though, in my opinion, he did so more out of love for his own reputation than for truth.

[10] Michael Pfullendorf, royal secretary, was as happy as I at your promotion,⁴ and all I know are delighted that you have been granted this high office.

From Vienna, 21 October 1447.⁵

¹ Antonio da Massa Marittima (-1435): Franciscan friar. Bishop of Massa from 1430 to his death.

² Franciscans.

³ In his DVI (from the same period), Piccolomini said about Antonio da Massa: *In Bernardino's time, there were other famous preachers, like Antonio da Massa. He was proficient in both Greek and Latin letters, became a Master*

General of the Minorites, and died as bishop of his city. Once he preached a sermon about poverty and, holding forth on the miseries of poverty, said, "Nobody can tell the evil poverty brings, unless he has experienced it himself like I who for a long time had to subsist on morsels of bread. Now I thank God for giving me back the whole bread." Another time, when asked

if he wanted to become a cardinal, he said: "Bring me the hat, and I shall tell you" (DVI, 99).

⁴ Apparently, the breach in the friendship between Piccolomini and Pfullendorf (see letter 157 of 1. October 1444) had now been healed.

⁵ This date is erroneous.

189. Letter to Adam Moleyns (26 October 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 65v-66r¹; M3, ff. 179v-180r²; V2, ff. 355-356³; V3, ff. 168r-169r⁴ **; V4, ff. 149r-149v.

Editions A: KOB, 80⁵.

Editions B: HE, 191, pp. 484-485; WO, 1: 1, 191, p. 561-562; (both based on V2).

{168r} Aeneas Silvius⁶, imperialis⁷ secretarius⁸ ⁹, reverendo patri Adam de Mulin, apostolicae sedis protonotario et serenissimi regis Angliae secretario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Tantum est inter nos terrarum, maris, montium fluminumque, ut raro inveniam, qui vel ad te vel abs te veniant. Sic fit, ut nec tu meas litteras, ut¹⁰ vellem, crebras accipias, nec ego tuas videre possim. Est mihi hoc grave, nam summopere quid rerum agas quidve fortunarum habeas scire cupio. Num cum lator praesentium, vir probus, ad te venturum se diceret, statui hanc brevem epistolam ad te mittere¹¹, ex {168v} qua, si non multa intelligeres, tuum saltem Aeneam bene valere cognosceres.

[2] Verum quia nulla petitio amici causa refutanda est, cum vir litteratus magnaque vitute praeditus, Michael Pfullendorf, secretarius imperialis, mihi amantissimus, insigne¹² serenissimi principis regis tui, deferre¹³ cupiat sitque hoc munere dignissimus, te precor, hortor obtestorque, ut hoc sibi apud regiam majestatem impetratum reddas litterasque mihi transmittas regias, per quas ei hoc¹⁴ ferre liceat. Quod si feceris, mihi singularem complacentiam gratiamque¹⁵ conferes et hominem dignissimum promovebis, qui¹⁶ regiae majestati non minus honori praestabit, quam ipsa sibi majestas¹⁷ decus praebet. Scis enim tales res illis committi debere, qui tueri earum honorificentiam possint¹⁸, sicut¹⁹ is est, pro quo tibi scribo. Tu fac, ut preces meae, sicuti consueverunt, apud te bene receptae efficacesque sint.

Vale mihi que omnino rescribe. In rebus ecclesiae brevi percipies, quae majestatis imperatoriae mens existat. Datum Viennae, 26. Octobris 1445²⁰ ²¹.

¹ SC, 138-139

² SC, 365-366

³ DV, ff. 183r-183v

⁴ DV, 171r-171v

⁵ DV, ff. 42v

⁶ poeta add. M1-M3, V2a, HE,

WO; ~~poeta~~ seq. V2b

⁷ corr. ex imperialisque V2b

⁸ imperialisque secretarius *omit.*

M2, M3

⁹ *omit.* WO

¹⁰ uti M3

¹¹ destinare M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* destinare V2b

¹² divisiam M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* divisiam V2b

¹³ deferri M3

¹⁴ talem divisiam M1-M3, V2a, talem HE, WO; *corr. ex* divisiam V2b

¹⁵ singularem complacentiam gratiamque : singularis complacentie gratiam M3

¹⁶ regiae majestati : divisiae regiae M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* divisiae regiae V2b

¹⁷ divisia M1-M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* divisia V2b

¹⁸ possunt M3

¹⁹ sic M3

²⁰ 1444 V4

²¹ Viennae ... 1445 : etc. M2, M3

189. Letter to Adam Moleyns (26 October 1445, Vienna¹).

Context: Piccolomini's English friend and correspondent, Adam Moleyns, had a high position at the English court.

Subject: Piccolomini uses an opportunity to communicate with Moleyns and send him a petition for Michael Pfullendorf to use the English king's coat of arms.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to the Reverend Father, Adam Moleyns,² protonotary of the Apostolic Sea and secretary to the Most Serene King of England.

[1] So many lands, mountains, rivers and the sea separate us that I rarely find people who go to you or come from you. Therefore, you receive fewer letters from me than I should wish and vice versa. I deplore this since I would very much like to know what you are doing and how your fortunes develop. So, when the bearer of the present letter, an honourable man, told me he was going to you, I decided to send this short letter to you. You will not learn much from it except that your Enea fares well.

[2] No request on behalf of a friend should be denied. So, since Michael Pfullendorf, an imperial secretary and a close friend and, moreover, a highly literate and virtuous person, wishes to use the coat of arms of your Most Serene King³ and is entirely worthy of such an honour, I ask, exhort and implore you to obtain His Royal Majesty's permission for this and to send me the royal letter allowing him this usage. In doing so, you will make me very happy and grateful and promote a most worthy man who will honour His Majesty as much as His Majesty will be an honour to him. You know such things are allowed to those who can live up to this honour. The one on whose behalf I am writing is such a man. Please receive and fulfil my request, as you usually do.

Farewell, and do write back to me. In the ecclesiastical affairs, you will shortly see what the intentions of His Imperial Majesty are. Given in Vienna on 26 October 1445.

¹ Concerning the date, see note in WO, 1: 1, p. 61.

² Adam Moleyns (d. 1450): At the time, Dean of Salisbury clerk of the ruling council during the mi-

nority of Henry VI, and papal protonotary. Later, Lord Privy Seal (1444) and Bishop of Chichester (1445). He attended a diet in Frankfurt in 1441 or 1442 (Stieber, pp. 234-246), where he ap-

parently met Piccolomini. On his murder in 1450, see Piccolomini's *Europa* (HE), 5949.

³ Henry VI [Lancaster] (1421-1471): King of England 1422-1461, 1470-1471.

190. Letter to Leonhard Laiming (27 October 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 66r-69r¹; V2, ff. 381-397²; V3, ff. 181v-191³ **; V4 ff. 161v-181r.
Editions A: KOB, 81⁴.
Editions B: HE, 192, pp. 485-495; WO, 1: 1, 192, p. 562-579; (both based on V2).

¹ SC, 139-145

² DV, 196r-204r

³ DV, 184v-194r

⁴ DV, ff. 84v-46v

190. Letter to Leonhard Laiming (28. October 1445, Vienna).

Background: After the death of the Polish-Hungarian King Wladyslaw in the Battle of Varna in 1443, the issue of the Hungarian succession to the throne became of vital interest both to the Hungarians and the Habsburg imperial court.

Subject: In the present letter, Piccolomini gives a systematic account of this matter from Ladislaus the Posthumous' birth to the recent negotiations between the Hungarians and the emperor. It is a piece of contemporary history writing, which he much favoured. It is addressed to his benefactor, the bishop of Passau, a prelate to whom he owed much.

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{181v}¹ Reverendissimo in Christo patri et illustri principi,² Leonardo, episcopo Pataviensi, domino suo colendissimo, Aeneas Silvius, secretarius imperialis³, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quamvis res Hungaricas post obitum divi Sigismundi partim videris partim audiveris, usque in hanc diem⁴, quo pacto sunt⁵ gestae, scripturus tamen ego nunc aliqua de Hungaris, cui magis quam tuae dignationi talia dirigam, non scio, nam etsi vera scripsero, auctoritatem epistolae dabis, et si falsum aliquid interciderit, lima tua eradetur. Referam ergo brevissime, quod menti sedet, ut sciant posterius, et a quibus impugnatum Ladislai regis Hun-⁶ gariae jus fuerit et a quibus defensum, ac⁷ ipse postea, cum grandiusculus fuerit, nostra legens scripta, si quando illa in manus suas devenerint, qui de se bene et qui male sint meriti, sciat, ut illis praemia et istis, si se humiliaverint, veniam tribuat. Pertinaces autem in poenam rapiat. Est enim principis officium, *parcere subjectis, debellare superbos*. Sed ne modum⁸ propositae⁹ brevitatis excedam, narrationis hic principium erit.

[2] In Hungaria mortuo Sigismundo gener ejus Albertus, dux Austriae, regnum suscepit, qui dum variis bellorum strepitibus fatigatur dumque caloribus insuetis se miscet, contracto morbo, relicta Elizabeth uxore praegnante, brevi tempore extinctus est. Hungari {185r} more hominum, qui novitatibus oblectantur, reginam adeunt, regnum amplissimum multisque¹⁰ hostibus circumdatum rege carere non posse dicunt, viduam quoque nubere admonent. Extorquent denique Wladislaum, Poloniae regem¹¹, adhuc ephebum vocari. Illa etsi partum expectari cuperet, ubi tamen precibus locum furor negat, oratores mitti annuit, qui Wladislaum accersant eamque legem adjicit, ut si marem interea pariat, nulla legationi vis insit. Dum legati viam faciunt, priusquam Wladislaum conveniant, pariente regina Ladislaus, Alberti filius, nascitur, scitulus infans et in orbe toto nobilissima progenies. Scribitur legatis, ne quid ulterius attingant.

¹ V3 has this title: *Epistola 122. Historia de Rebus Hungaricis.*

² domino *add.* M2, V2a, HE, WO; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

³ se ipsum *recommndat ac add.* M2, V2a, HE, WO; ~~se ipsum~~ *recommndat ac seq.* V2b

⁴ *omit.* M2

⁵ *sint* M2

⁶ *Due to a binding error, V4 continues on ff. 158r-158v and resumes on f. 163r*

⁷ *at* V4

⁸ *dum* V4

⁹ *preposite* HE, WO

¹⁰ *multis* WO

¹¹ *Poloniae regem : regem Poloniae* WO

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to His Worshipful Lord, the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Illustrious Prince, Leonhard, Bishop of Passau.

1. Introduction

[1] You have either seen or heard of affairs in Hungary after the death of Holy [Emperor] Sigismund and how they have developed until the present. So, now that I am going to write something about Hungary, I do not know to whom I could better address [my account]¹ than Your Excellency, for if what I write is true, you will lend your authority to the letter, and if some error should occur, your file will erase it. So, now I shall briefly relate what is on my mind. Thus, posterity will know who opposed King Ladislaus of Hungary's right [to his kingdom] and who supported it. Later, he himself, when he has grown up, will - if this account comes into his hands - know who is well deserved of him and who is not. Then he will reward the first and forgive the others if they submit to him. But those who persist [in opposing him] he will punish, for it is the prince's duty *to spare the vanquished and crush the proud*.² But, lest I disregard the brevity I intended, I shall begin the account right here.

2. Birth of Ladislaus the Posthumous

[2] In Hungary, after Sigismund's³ death,⁴ his son-in-law Albrecht, Duke of Austria,⁵ succeeded to the throne.⁶ Exhausted by the various wars, he suffered during a heat wave, fell sick and died in a short time,⁷ leaving his pregnant wife, Elizabeth.⁸ The Hungarians, who enjoy political turmoil, went to the queen and told her that this vast kingdom, surrounded by enemies, could not do without a king and advised the widow to marry. In the end, they forced her to agree to call in Wladyslaw, King of Poland,⁹ though still a young man. She wished to await the birth, but in their excitement, they would not heed her requests, so she agreed to the despatch of ambassadors to invite Wladyslaw. However, she posed the condition that if, in the meantime, she bore a male infant, the embassy would lose its powers.¹⁰ While the legates¹¹ were on their way and before they had met Wladyslaw, the queen gave birth to Ladislaus,¹² son of Albrecht, a lovely infant and the noblest scion in the whole world. So a letter was sent to the legates to not proceed further.

¹ See also Piccolomini's account of these affairs in EUR, ch. 1.

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 853.

³ Emperor Sigismund (Luxembourg).

⁴ Sigismund died on 1 December 1437 in Znojmo, Moravia.

⁵ Emperor Albrecht II (Habsburg).

⁶ Albrecht was crowned king of Hungary on 1 January 1438. Szalay, 12, pp. 3-5.

⁷ Albrecht died on 27 October 1439. Szalay, p. 29. DVI, sect. 142.

⁸ Empress Elizabeth of Luxembourg, queen of Hungary.

⁹ Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).

¹⁰ Szalay, pp. 19-22.

¹¹ The embassy left for Krakau on 18 October 1440, Szalay, 12, p. 22.

¹² Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg). He was born on 22 February 1440. Lazlay, pp. 23-25.

[3] Ladislaus apud Albam regalem ex Dionysii, Strigoniensis archiepiscopi, manibus coronam, quam beati Stephani fuisse sacram¹ putant, inunctus recepit². Nicolaus autem, vayvoda Transsilvanus, militiae balteo et gladio eum³ cinxit. Legati vero in Poloniam missi, spretis reginae jussibus, sive corrupti auro (quis non in⁴ munere vincitur?) sive Teutonici nominis odio (nam raro inter vicinos concordia est) tamquam nihil de puero scirent, Wladislaum accedunt, promissoque regno secum in Hungariam ducunt sibique Budam in adventu tradunt. Scinditur e vestigio regnum, et hinc regina puerum defendente, inde Polonis impugnantibus infinitae rapinae caedesque fiunt. Nicolaus, {182v} vaivoda Transsilvanus, sive novarum cupidus rerum sive reginae laccessitus injuriis (quam enim non⁵ fidem contemptus frangit), ad Polonum deficit, et quia, ubi fortuna favet, illic et favor hominum se inclinatur, intra paucos dies major procerum pars Wladislaum sequitur.

[4] Erat Wladislaus adolescens, quamvis⁶ corpore debilis⁷, liberalitate tamen et animi magnitudine dignus laude. Alloquebatur populum absque interprete. Quos virtute praestantes viros novit, muneribus sibi conciliavit. Plura donavit quam sibi retinuit. Itaque dives in modum regis videri tamen pauper poterat. Nulli rei difficili atque periculosae se ipsum negavit, quibus artibus et vulgi sibi et nobilium animos conciliavit. Fit ergo conventus regnicolarum apud Budam. Vocantur utriusque partis praelati atque barones tamquam de communi totius⁸ regni utilitate sit transigendum et, ne quis venire formidet, litterae salviconductus quibuslibet accedentibus exhibentur, sub quarum fiducia et Dionysius archiepiscopus et Ladislaus banus de Gara Budam proficiscuntur. Sed *nulla est sancta regni societas*, ut Ennius inquit, nulla pietas *fidesque* locum habet, ubi dominium quaeritur. Capiuntur igitur archiepiscopus banusque, licet centum et amplius sigillis sese tutos arbitrarentur, et nisi mortem subire velint, alter coronare novum regem, alter jurare {183r} et fidelitatem Polono promittere cogitur. Quod si neque Cato fecisset neque Regulus, qui vitam submittebant honori, non tamen improperandum hoc est nostro tempore, si propter vitam facimus, que non videntur facienda. Nec enim hi hodie sumus, qui pro justitia capita nostra ponamus, quamvis et stultum est propter justitiam mori, si nullum justitiae commodum nullumque juvamen mors ipsa contulerit.

[5] In reginae partibus Albertus, dux Austriae, magni cordis adolescens⁹, Ulricus Ciliae comes, consilio maturus, Giskra Bohemus, inconcussae vir fidei, cum nonnullis civitatibus et aliquibus¹⁰ baronibus permanserunt. Sed regina, cum se debiliorem vidit imparemque Polono, filium parvulum cum corona ad Fridericum Caesarem transmittit sibique patrualem commendat. Archiepiscopus autem banusque, ut primum libertati redditi sunt, ad reginam redeunt, quia non potest esse diuturnum, quod violentum est, nec stabile fieri potest, quod animis promittitur invitis¹¹. Interjecto deinde tempore, cum regina ad colloquium cum Polono venisset nonnullaque pacis foedera percussisset, ex matricis dolore, qui sibi familiaris erat, vitam et regnum amisit. Quidam eam veneno extinctam putavere, ut sunt homines in malas suspiciones prompti et ad criminandum magis quam laudandum nati.

¹ sacram V4

² *corr. ex* recipit V2a; recipit V3, V4, WO

³ Militiae balteo ... eum : militiam illi contulit eumque gladio M2, V2, HA, WO

⁴ non in : enim non M2, V2, V4, HA, WO

⁵ *del.* V3

⁶ facie et *add.* M2, V2a; ~~facie~~ et *seq.* V2b

⁷ deformis M2, V2a; *corr. ex deformis seq.* V2b

⁸ *omit.* V3

⁹ magni cordi adolescens *omit.* M2

¹⁰ *omit.* V3

¹¹ invitus M2

3. Two kings of Hungary: Ladislaus and Wladyslaw

[3] In Székesfehérvár, Ladislaus was anointed by Dénes, Archbishop of Esztergom, and it was from his hands that he received the Crown of Saint Stephen, which they hold sacred. The legates sent to Poland ignored the queen's commands, either because they had been bought (for who is not won over by gifts?) or because they hated the German name (for rare is concord between neighbours). So, they pretended to know nothing of the [new-born] boy and went to Wladyslaw, whom they promised the kingdom and brought back to Hungary. Upon their arrival,¹ they² delivered Buda to him. The kingdom was split in two: on one side, the queen defended the boy, and on the other, the Poles opposed her. Countless robberies and murders were perpetrated. Voivode Miklos³ of Transylvania defected to the Pole, whether he wished for a political change or was incensed at the queen's insults (for contempt destroys loyalty). And since men's favour follows Fortune's, most of the nobles joined Wladyslaw's party in a few days.

[4] Wladyslaw was a young man. Though he was not physically strong, his generosity and largeness of spirit were commendable. He spoke to people without an interpreter. Those whom he knew to be strong and courageous he won over with gifts. He gave away more than he kept for himself, thus appearing to be a wealthy king rather than a poor one. He avoided no difficult or perilous enterprise. By these means, he won the hearts of both the common people and the nobles. Then an assembly of the realm⁴ was held at Buda.⁵ The prelates and the barons of both parties were invited to come and deliberate on the common good of the whole kingdom. Lest anybody should fear to come, safe-conducts were issued to all comers. Trusting in these, Archbishop Dénes⁶ and Ban Ladislas Garai went to Buda. But - as Ennius says - *there is no fellowship inviolate when kingship is concerned*,⁷ and when power is at stake, there is neither piety nor faith. The archbishop and the ban thought that the more than 100 seals [on the safeconducts] made them safe, but still, they were seized. Under threat of death, the archbishop was forced to crown Wladyslaw as the new king, and the ban to swear fidelity to the Pole.⁸ Neither Cato⁹ nor Regulus¹⁰ would have done so since they put honour above life, but people of our time cannot be reproached if, for the sake of their lives, they do what they ought not to. Today, we do not give our lives for justice, and indeed it would be stupid to die for justice if such a death did not benefit or support it.

[5] The queen's party counted Duke Albrecht of Austria,¹¹ a youth of great courage, Count Ulrich of Cilly,¹² a man of great intelligence, Jiskra the Bohemian,¹³ a man of unshaken loyalty, and some cities and barons. But when the queen saw that she was weaker than and unequal to the Pole, she sent her little son with the crown to Emperor Friedrich, entrusting him to his cousin.¹⁴ As soon as the archbishop and the ban were released, they came to the queen. Indeed, what is done with violence cannot last, and what has been promised under duress cannot hold. After some time, the queen came to a meeting with the Pole and made some agreements, but then she lost her life and kingdom due to a disease of the uterus she had been suffering from.¹⁵ Since people are ready to believe the worst and are naturally prone to accuse others rather than praise them, some believed she had been poisoned.

¹ 10 May 1440. Szalay, p. 30.

² They Palatine Lörenc Hedervary.

³ Miklos Ujlaki.

⁴ "regnicolarum"

⁵ 29 June 1441. Szalay, p. 31.

⁶ Dénes Szecsy.

⁷ Ennius (Vahlen, 404). Quoted in Cicero: *De Officiis*, 1: 8, 26.

⁸ Szalay did not believe this version of events, which may have

been a device to whitewash the two later supporters of the boy king, see Szalay, p. 32-33.

⁹ Cato the Younger [Marcus Porcius Cato "Uticensis" (95-46 BCE): preferred to commit suicide rather than surrender to Caesar.

¹⁰ Marcus Atilius Regulus (fl. 267-255 BCE): cf. Cicero: *De officiis*, 1: 13, 39

¹¹ Albrecht VI. Szalay, pp. 27, 30, 31.

¹² Ulrich II von Cilly.

¹³ Jan Jiskra.

¹⁴ Szalay, 12, p. 38

¹⁵ She died on 19 December 1442. Szalay, p. 51.

[6] Post haec, cum jam Fridericus Caesar ex Rheni partibus accepto diademate {183v} remeasset, Julianus, Sancti Angeli cardinalis, vir et ingenii et animi dotibus singularis, qui tunc apostolicae sedis legatus pacem in regno componere ac¹ exercitum contra Turcos² excitare jussus³ erat, majestatem Caesaream apud Viennam venit, quem secuti sunt Waciensis episcopus et decanus Cracoviensis, regis Poloniae oratores, alter comitate⁴ praecipua, alter eloquentia maxima⁵ memorabilis, hortatique Caesarem sunt, ut et⁶ contra Turcos⁷ auxilia mitteret, et ut de pace cum rege Poloniae conveniret, quem regem Hungariae nuncupabant. Sed quia nec leges pacis offerebantur, quae Ladislao regi conducerent nec tutum erat, id bellum juvare, in quo rex Poloniae principatum teneret, qui post triumphum - sicut insolentes homines victoria facit - adversus Austriam signa verteret, infectis rebus Julianus atque collegae remissi⁸ sunt. Factae fuerunt tamen⁹ paulo post ad biennium indutiae, quibus cautum est nec partibus Ladislai regis per Wladislaum suosque dari nocumentum nec rursus turbari debere, qui regem Poloniae¹⁰ sequerentur. Si quis violator foederis esset, hunc ambae partes compescerent.

[7] Rex autem Poloniae Juliani suasu et instigatione regnicolarum cum exercitu in Turcos¹¹ trajicit¹² cumque ad flumen venisset, quod Moravam incolae vocitant, auditum est in propinquo exercitus hostium delitescere. Itum est igitur in proelium {184r} ac cum bassa conflictatum, quo victo duo milia hominum caesa fuerunt, quattuor milia capta, inter quos ductores tredecim fuere, signa militaria novem. Sic enim Julianus suis litteris Caesari, qui tunc in Carinthia fuit, significavit, quamvis alii¹³ more hominum¹⁴, qui de magnis majora loquuntur, triginta millia¹⁵ cecidisse suis epistolis annotaverint¹⁶. Tum quoque et Sophia, urbs Bulgarorum, nonnullaque¹⁷ oppida et castella hostium in deditionem recepta sunt. Exin, cum fame laboraret exercitus nec angustias Romaniae transire liceret, nam Turco¹⁸ milite custodiebantur, dimissis copiis Budam revertentem¹⁹ est, quam Wladislaus cum magna totius populi laetitia quasi triumphator intravit²⁰. [cont.]

¹ et WO

² Teucros M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* Teucros V2b; Turcum V4

³ missus WO

⁴ humilitate M2, V2, WO; *corr. ex* humilitate V3

⁵ eloquentia maxima : fastu maximo M2, V2a; *corr. ex* eloquentia maxima V2b

⁶ ut et : et ut WO

⁷ Teucros M2, V2, WO

⁸ missi WO

⁹ *omit.* WO

¹⁰ regem Poloniae : Polonum M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* regem Poloniae V2b

¹¹ Teucros M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* Teucros V2b

¹² trajecit WO

¹³ Wladislaus M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* Wladislaus V2b

¹⁴ Polonorum M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* Polonorum V2b

¹⁵ hominum *add.* M2

¹⁶ annotaverit M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* annotaverit V2b

¹⁷ nonnulla M2

¹⁸ Teucro M2, V2, WO

¹⁹ revertentem V4

²⁰ quasi triumphator intravit : intravit quasi triumphator M2

4. A truce between the emperor and King Wladyslaw

[6] When Emperor Friedrich returned from the Rhineland after his coronation, Giuliano,¹ Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, a man of outstanding intellectual and spiritual gifts, came to His Imperial Majesty in Vienna.² He had been sent as a legate of the Apostolic See to make peace in the kingdom and raise an army against the Turks. He was followed by the ambassadors of the king of Poland, the bishop of Vac,³ a man distinguished by exceptional courtesy, and the dean of Krakow,⁴ distinguished by eminent eloquence.⁵ These men urged the emperor to send help against the Turks and to come to a peace agreement with the king of Poland whom they called 'King of Hungary'. But they did not offer peace terms advantageous to King Ladislaus. Also, it would not be safe to send help to a war led by the king of Poland, for after a victory – since victory makes men arrogant – he would turn his army against Austria. Therefore Giuliano and his colleagues were sent back without an agreement.⁶ A little later, however, the parties agreed on a two-year truce stipulating that King Ladislaus' party should not be harmed by Wladyslaw and his people, while the Polish king's partisans should not be disturbed either. If anyone violated this treaty, both parties would restrain him.⁷

5. Hungarian war with the Turks 1443⁸

[7] So, at Giuliano's advice and the people's urgings, the king of Poland went with his army against the Turks. When they arrived at the river called Morava by the locals, they heard that the enemy army was nearby. They proceeded to do battle⁹ and fought the pasha,¹⁰ who was defeated. Two thousand of his men fell, and four thousand (among them 13 captains) and nine standards were taken. This is what Giuliano wrote to the emperor, then in Kärnten. Others,¹¹ like those people who exaggerate even great things, claim in their letters that 30,000 fell.¹² Then they also took Sophia, the Bulgarian capital, and many enemy towns and castles surrendered to them. In the end, the army began to suffer from hunger and was unable to pass through the narrow defiles of Romania, guarded by Turkish soldiers. So, having dismissed the troops, they returned to Buda, which Wladislaus entered in triumph to the great joy of the people. *[cont.]*

¹ Giuliano Cesarini.

² June-July 1443. See letter 54.

³ Péter Ágmandi (-1450): Bishop of Vac 1440 to 1450.

⁴ Mikolaj Lasocki (ca. 1380-1450): Dean of Krakow.

⁵ The early version of this text (M2, V2a) did not have "eminent eloquence" but "great arrogance" (*fastu maximo*). In his DVI from 1447 (the latest), Piccolomini had called him "*fastu plenus*". This and later changes were dictated by the needs of diplomacy and expediency in Piccolomini's relations with Poland.

⁶ In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote about this negotiation: *Later, ambassadors arrived from Hungary together with the [papal] legate, Guliano. They came on behalf of King Wladyslaw of Poland, who claimed to be [also] King of Hun-*

gary. The ambassadors were the Bishop of Vac and the Dean of Krakow, Mikolaj Lasocky, an arrogant man. They asked the King of the Romans to help the Hungarians, who were going to fight the Turks, to let Count Ulrich of Cilly leave unharmed, and to release Ban Ladislaus, a baron from Hungary, from captivity. They were told that the king wanted the Turks to be punished in any way possible, but he believed that first a general peace in the kingdom must be established since now there was a conflict between powerful parties. However, the king's ambassadors showed that they held the party supporting Ladislaus of little account. Concerning the Count of Cilly, they were told that he was a subject of Austria and that the king knew quite well what

to do with him. Concerning [Ban] Ladislaus, he had offended so gravely that he merited punishment. The mediation of the legate, Giuliani, could accomplish nothing further at the time (DVI, 161).

⁷ See EUR, p. 59. On these negotiations, see Szalay, pp. 53-58.

⁸ Szalay, pp. 59-64.

⁹ The Battle of Nish, 3 November 1443. See letter 117: 7. On this campaign, see Szalay, pp. 59-64.

¹⁰ Kasim Pasha (fl. 1442-1443): Albanian Ottoman general, beylerbey (commander-in-chief, governor) of Rumelia.

¹¹ The earlier version of this text had Wladyslaus.

¹² See EUR, p. 82.

[*cont.*] Sed hujus victoriae praeter auspiciū nihil ad eum pertinuit, nam solus Johannes, vaivoda Transsilvanus, rei militaris peritissimus, cum decem milibus expeditorum militum hoc bellum confecit.

[8] Fracti hac pugna Turci¹ - nam et² in Asia conflagere cogebantur - indutias petunt, quas traditis quibusdam arcibus³ jurejurando⁴ firmatas obtinuerunt. Sed audito paulo post classis adventu, quam pontifex maximus Eugenius ac Philippus, Burgundorum dux, in Hellespontum transmiserant, tamquam ex Asia in Europam transire Turcos⁵ prohibitura foret, elati prioris victoriae successibus Hungari suadenteque⁶ Juliano, qui treugas nullius momenti fore dicebat injussu⁷ sedis apostolicae {184v} cum hostibus Christiani nominis factas, pacem ruperunt collectoque grandi exercitu terras hostium ingrediuntur vastantesque ferro et igne, quaecumque obviam fiunt, non longe ab Andrinopoli castra locant. Quibus cognitis et ipse magnus Teucrorum imperator⁸ ingentes copias congregat ac⁹ - si vera est fama - centum milium virorum exercitum conflavit, tranatoque¹⁰ mari - ut quidam volunt - circa Bosphorum Thraciae, non sine magna Genuensium¹¹ infamia, in Europam venit, nam et quaedam Genuensium¹² naves praebuisse transitum illis referebantur, cujus tamen veri periculum ad me non recipio nec mihi persuasum est, tanta quemquam avaritia fore, ut Christianum sanguinem pecunia vendat, nisi quem diabolus in modum Judae sibi subjecerit.

¹ Teucri M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* Teucri V2b

² si *add.* V4

³ artibus V4

⁴ *omit.* WO

⁵ Teucros M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* Teucros V2b

⁶ suadente M2, V3

⁷ injusso WO

⁸ Turcorum imperator : Teucer M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* Teucrorum imperator V2b

⁹ at V4

¹⁰ transitoque WO

¹¹ Januensium M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* Januensium V2b

¹² Januensium M2, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* Januensium V2b

[cont.] But this victory was not truly his since he was only its nominal leader. It was Voivode János¹ of Transylvania, an expert on warfare, who, with 10,000 light soldiery,² brought the war to a successful conclusion.³

6. The crusade of Varna, 1444⁴

[8] Crushed in this battle, the Turks, who were forced to also fight in Asia,⁵ requested a truce. Handing over some fortresses, they obtained a truce confirmed by oaths.⁶ However, shortly afterwards, news reached [Hungary] of the arrival in Hellespont of the fleet that Supreme Pontiff Eugenius and Duke Philippe of Burgundy had sent to prevent the Turks from crossing over from Asia to Europe.⁷ Then, Giuliano⁸ declared the truce was not valid since it had been made with enemies of the Christian name⁹ without the knowledge of the Apostolic See. So, at his urgings, the Hungarians, elated by the success of their prior victory, broke the peace¹⁰: having gathered a large army, they invaded and ravaged the enemy territories with fire and sword, crushing all resistance in their way. [Finally,] they made camp at Adrinople. When he heard it, the great Turkish ruler¹¹ also gathered an immense army, consisting – if the rumour is true – of 100,000 men, crossed the Bosphorus at Thracia and arrived in Europe. Some claim that the Genoese infamously provided the ships for this crossing, but I dare not say that this is true: I am convinced that nobody can be so greedy that he would sell Christian blood for money unless the devil took possession of him as he did with Judas.¹²

¹ János Hunyadi. See EUR, p. 59.

² Cf. Julius Caesar: *De Bello Civili*, 3: 6: *militēs ... expediti (soldiers ... unencumbered)*

³ This is correct. For a brief survey of this campaign, see the Wikipedia articles on The Crusade of Varna, and the Battle of Nish.

⁴ For an account of this crusade, see Setton: ch. 3. Szalay, pp. 74-82.

⁵ Asia Minor. During the Hungarian/Turkish war of 1443, Ibrahim II of Karaman plundered Ottoman cities in Anatolia. Murad II,

caught between two attacks, had to withdraw and return to Anatolia.

⁶ The treaty of Szeged, 1444. Ratified in Varad on 15 August 1444. See Setton: p. 80.

⁷ The fleet arrived in the summer of 1444, see Setton: p. 84-86. Szalay, p. 69-70.

⁸ Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.

⁹ There was apparently some basis for this opinion in Canon Law, see Setton: p. 82.

¹⁰ Already on 5 August 1444, 10 days before the formal ratification of the treaty in Varad, Ladislaus

had sworn to pursue the crusade (Setton: p. 80).

¹¹ 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.

¹² Judas Iscariot, who sold Jesus for 30 silver coins. Matthew, 26: 47-50.

[9] Adventus Turcorum¹ tam subitus fuit, ut prius venisse visi sint hostes quam auditi venire. Ubi ergo in conspectu fuere, visaque multitudo est² pugnatorum longe major quam putaretur, ingens terror Christianos invasit, ut fit, quando ex inopinato pugnandum est. Non tamen detractavere certamen Hungari nec regio sanguini defuit animus, sed structis ordinibus aciem educunt, committiturque durum et atrox proelium. Ac dum nostri pro fide et illi pro³ perfidia pugnant, tantum sanguinis utrimque effunditur, ut in modum lacus campi stagnarent. Diu certatum est aequis viribus, dum Christiani suas acies virtute sustentant, {185r} Turci⁴ vero numero suppleant, cumque per plures horas nunc illi nunc isti cederent, ad extremum inclinata Christianorum acie victores evadunt Turci⁵ juramentaque non solum *domesticis fidei* sed etiam hostibus servanda demonstrant.

[10] In hoc proelio clarus adolescens aut captus est aut occisus⁶ rex Poloniae. Nec enim adhuc aequata est notitia veritati. Poenas tamen certum est eum dedisse usurpati alieni regni, qui dum spoliare paterno regno Ladislaum quaerit, suum amittit. Caeca est nimirum cupiditas hominum, qui non contenti civitatibus dominari provincias quaerunt, post regnum, nec sic expleti etiam regnis regna cumulare nituntur, nescientes quia parva res est, quae vitam eripit homini et omnibus pompis ac dominiis nudum in momento reddit. Corpuscula nostra, ubi spiritus evolavit, modico *sarcofago* contentantur, et tam laeta sunt inter aurum gemmasque recondita quam inter faeces hominum ferarumque collocata. Quod si Wladislaus animadvertisset, quietus in regno suo - nam satis divitiarum possidebat - numquam Hungariam attigisset. Sed secuti sunt eum Varadiensis et Agriensis episcopi, qui regnum in divisionem adduxerant⁷, pluresque alii proceres dominique⁸ potentes, viri qui, dum inconsultius quam audacius⁹ proeliantur, hostium gladiis occubuerunt. Caesa ex ambabus partibus circiter XL milia referuntur, nam et {185v} *cruenta* lugubrisque *victoria* hostibus fuit, qui¹⁰ ut erant numero plures, sic etiam ex suis plures desiderarunt¹¹.

¹ Teucrorum M2, V2a; *corr. ex* Teucrorum V2b

² multitudo est : est multitudo M2

³ *omit.* V4

⁴ Teucri M2, V2, HE, WO

⁵ Teucri M2, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* Teucri V2b

⁶ est *add.* M2

⁷ adduxerunt WO

⁸ *em.* [after WO]; dominique codd., HE

⁹ audacter M2; *corr. ex* audacter V2

¹⁰ vixerant *add.* M2

¹¹ ceciderunt M2

[9] The arrival of the Turks was so sudden that they were seen before they were heard. But when they came in sight, the multitude of soldiers was far greater than had been expected, and a great terror seized the Christians, as happens when battle conditions suddenly change. Still, the Hungarians did not decline battle, and courage did not fail the royal blood. Having arrayed the soldiers, they marched out and began a hard and bitter battle.¹ Ours fought for the [true] Faith, whereas the others fought for a false faith. So much blood was spilt on both sides that the battlefield was swimming in blood. They fought with equal strength for a long time, the Christians maintaining their ranks with courage and the Turks with numbers. Having advanced and retreated again and again for several hours, the Christian battle line finally broke, and the Turks became the victors. Thus they proved that oaths should be kept not only to *those of the household of the Faith*² but also to enemies.^{3 4}

[10] The noble adolescent,⁵ the king of Poland, was either killed or taken prisoner in this battle, but true information has yet to be received. In any case, it is certain that he was punished⁶ for usurping another kingdom and that, while seeking to rob Ladislaus of his paternal kingdom, he lost his own. Blind is the greed of men: not content with their own cities, they also seek to become lords of whole provinces and then the entire kingdom, and, still not satisfied, they finally try to add kingdoms to their kingdom. They do not know that a small thing may take a man's life⁷ and, in a moment, strip him of all his splendour and domains. When the spirit leaves us, our little bodies are kept in small *coffins*,⁸ and they are not happier to lie hidden among gold and gems than to be placed among the dregs of men and beasts. If Wladyslaw had known this, he would have stayed tranquil in his own kingdom - for he had wealth enough - and never gone to Hungary. The bishops of Varad⁹ and Eger,¹⁰ who had caused the division in the kingdom, followed him [into battle] with many other nobles and mighty lords, who, while fighting more bravely than prudently, fell to the enemies' swords. From the two sides, about 40,000 men reportedly fell. The *enemies' victory was bloody and mournful*¹¹: being more numerous, they also lost more men.

¹ The Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444.

² Galatians, 6: 10.

³ In his sermon (1445) to his parishioners in Aspach, Piccolomini said: *In war, you must keep your word to your enemies* (COR, 3: 129).

⁴ In letter 173: 51, of June 1445, Piccolomini had said: *He [Wladyslaw] did not neglect his reputation by marching against the Turks, with whom he had a treaty, for treaties made with infidels are only binding with the consent of the Apostolic See. However, this see had not given its approval, and the apostolic legate⁴ ordered the treaty to be torn up. It was more damaging to the Polish king that he violated the rights of Ladislaus [the Posthumous] than that he broke the*

treaty with the Turks. However, in passage above, Piccolomini implicitly reproves Cardinal Cesarini for the rupture of the Treaty of Szeged (See Setton's comments on this and similar passage, Setton, 2: pp. 80-81). Such criticism is not shared by Setton: *There has long been some dispute whether the Christian disaster at Varna in November, 1444, was the consequence of a broken pledge to Murad II. On the whole it seems reasonable to assume that neither Murad nor the Christians intended to keep the peace "sine aliquo dolo vel fraude usque ad annos decem"* (Setton: p. 79, and p. 82). See also Szalay, pp. 69-74.

⁵ Wladyslaw III

⁶ By God.

⁷ In his great crusade oration, the "*Cum bellum hodie*", at the

Congress of Mantua on 26 September 1459, Pius II would return to this theme: *Insignificant things destroy a man. Little insects plague us, and sometime we die of the bite of a small snake or scorpion. The poet Anacreon was choked by a single seed of grape, as was Fabius the Senator by a hair in his milk. Nothing is more fragile than human life, both uncertain and short* (COR, 8: 45, 39).

⁸ Juvenalis, 10: 172.

⁹ János Dominis [Johannes de Dominis] (-1444): Bishop Varad 1440 to his death.

¹⁰ Simon Rozgon [Rozgoni] (-1444): Bishop of Eger (Erlau). His niece was married to Jan Jiskra, a captain who supported King Ladislaus (Habsburg). See

¹¹ Sallustius: *Bellum Catilinae*, 58: 21.

[11] Julianus cardinalis in bello vulneratus est ac dum fugit amisso¹ sanguine deficiens apud paludem quandam impiis Hungarorum manibus non ex voluntate nobilitatis sed ex furore plebis occisus est, clarumque illum spiritum emisit, qui quondam suavi oratione generale concilium cunctosque patres Basileae congregatos ex arbitrio suo gubernavit. Paucissimi ex tanto exercitu superfuerunt, eosque non tantum fuga liberavit, quantum hostium timor, qui dum se victos arbitrantur persequi fugientes negligunt. Diu post mors Wladislai et Juliani incredita fuerat. Quidam namque ut invictae virtutis illos sciebant, sic et immortales esse rebantur, quae res per plures menses absque novitate regnum suspendit. Laurentius praeterea, palatinus Hungarie, acri vir ingenio, novas in dies litteras confingebat, quibus populi mentes pasceret, nunc Wladislaum in Polonia sospitem esse, nunc intra dies paucos venturum asserens.

[12] At ubi demum comperta mendacia auctori abrogarunt fidem - sic enim plectitur mendax, ut, dum credi sibi falsa vult, etiam in veris repellatur - conventum regni haberi placuit, et quia palatinus Budam clauserat, in Peste, qui locus pars Budae trans Danubium censetur, congregatio facta est. Quod - ut accepi - loci nomine {186r} sum² exterritus, sicut³ et Pompejum, cum in Cyprum venisset, Chacobasilea deterruit, quod "mala regina" interpretatur. Mihi quidem in Peste, quod in malum sonat, nihil boni videbatur posse concludi, nec adhuc meliorem spem habeo. Illic praelati baronesque regni convenientes unanimo voto Ladislaum, Alberti filium, in regem eligunt, vicarios regni ordinant, decreta pro communi pace faciunt et oratores nominant, qui ad Caesarem petaturi⁴ puerum destinantur. Placet tamen in Poloniam mitti investigarique regem ac certo tempore notitiam expectari. Nuntius in Poloniam missus matrem regis allocutus nihil certi reperit. Labitur expectationis terminus. Tum oratores iter arripiunt⁵.

[13] Sed interim Gunzenses Hungari, qui plura latrocinia in dominiis Austriae commiserant, crudeliores sese in dies⁶ ostendentes mansuetudinem Caesaris ad iracundiam provocarunt, qui praeparato exercitu intra paucos dies eos in muris clausit, obsidione cinxit et ad deditionem compulit. Quo cognito maturatur oratorum adventus intervenientibusque tractatibus Caesar, qui Budam usque cum exercitu profecturus⁷ fuerat, auditurus Hungaros, dimissa militia Viennam rediit.

¹ emisso WO

² sunt M2

³ sic WO

⁴ petiturum V4

⁵ eripiunt M2

⁶ dietim M2, V2, HE, WO; *corr.*
ex dietim V3

⁷ profectus HE, WO

[11] Wounded in the battle, Cardinal Giuliano fled, but weakened by the loss of blood, he was killed at a swamp by impious Hungarian hands¹: [he fell] not to the will of nobles but to the fury of the people. Thus he gave up his spirit, who had once governed² the General Council and all the Fathers assembled in Basel with his delightful speaking. Only a very few of this great army survived, and they were saved not so much by their flight as by the enemies' fear: thinking they were defeated, the Turks failed to pursue the fleeing. For a long time, the deaths of Wladyslaw and Giuliano were not believed. Some, considering their unvanquished courage, thought they were immortal.³ This kept the kingdom in suspense for several months. Moreover, Laurentius,⁴ Palatine of Hungary and a clever man, every day wrote new fictive letters to calm the people's minds, declaring now that Wladyslaw was safe and sound in Poland, now that he would be arriving in a few days.⁵

[12] But in the end, the lies were discovered and their author discredited - for this is the punishment of liars that wanting to be believed when they speak falsehoods, they are spurned even when they speak the truth. They then decided to hold a diet, and since the palatine had closed Buda to them, the assembly would meet in Pest, a place on the other side of the Danube, opposite Buda.⁶ (When I heard the name "Pest", I was terrified,⁷ just as Pompey, arriving in Cyprus, was by the name of Chacobasilea,⁸ which means "evil queen." Likewise, I thought nothing good could be decided in evil-sounding Pest, and so far, I have not had better hopes). There the prelates and barons of the kingdom met and unanimously elected Ladislaus, son of Albrecht, as their king. Then, they passed decrees for the common peace and chose ambassadors to be sent to the emperor and ask for the boy. However, they also decided to send [an envoy] to Poland to inquire about the king but to wait for information only until a certain date.^{9 10} The envoy sent to Poland spoke with the queen¹¹ but heard nothing certain. When the date arrived, the ambassadors returned [to Hungary].

7. Hungarian embassy to the emperor, Autumn 1445¹²

[13] In the meantime, the people of Güns in Hungary, who had committed many robberies in Austrian lands, became ever more ferocious and turned the emperor's clemency into anger. Having prepared an army, he, in a few days, drove them back behind their walls, laid siege to their city, and forced them to surrender.¹³ When this was known, the Hungarians decided to speed up the arrival of their ambassadors, so – after negotiations – the emperor, who had intended to advance to Buda with his army, dismissed the soldiers and returned to Vienna for the audience with the Hungarians.

¹ According to Szalay, Cesarini was murdered by Walachian ferry-men searching for valuables on his person as he endeavoured to cross the river Donau (Szalay, p. 81).

² As the papal legate and president of the Council of Basel, 1432-1438.

³ Piccolomini gives vent to sarcasm!

⁴ Lőrinc Héderváry.

⁵ Szalay, pp. 85-86.

⁶ End of April, 1445 (Szalay, p. 87).

⁷ Pest (in Latin) meaning pest, plague, curse.

⁸ The reference unidentified. Also occurs in Rabelais' Gargantua!

⁹ Sunday after the Feast of the Trinity.

¹⁰ Szalay, pp. 87-90.

¹¹ Queen Sophia of Halshany.

¹² Szalay, pp. 91-95

¹³ Campaign of Güns, 19-28 July 1445, see letter 168: 5. In his EUR, Piccolomini wrote about the Güns campaign: *The town of Günz is in Hungary, very close to Styria and Austria. This place and many*

surrounding castles were seized by brigands, who forayed from them into Austria and drove off a large quantity of livestock and people. Disturbed by this, Frederick rapidly put together an army and crossed into Hungary, where he sacked the strongholds and hanged eighty of the brigands on three gallows. See also DVI, 176; Szalay, p. 92.

[14] Jam Giskra Bohemus, rerum omnium gnarus, antequam Caesar in campo foret, Novam Civitatem intraverat et, quae facturi essent Hungari, praedixerat. Is praesentiam regis Ladislai desideravit, ad quem cum {186v} venisset puerulumque conspexisset, collacrimatus est et, “Heu quantos,” inquit, “pro te labores subii, quot adivi pericula, quantum sanguinis perdidit. Sed tu haec per aetatem non intelligis. Utinam tantum mihi vitae detur, quod tu sensa eloqui possis et, qui tibi cum fide serviverunt, cognoscere.” Nonnullaque munera puero contulit. Tum Johannes, magister camerae imperialis, qui tunc forte aderat, “Hic,” inquit, “serenissime princeps diu tuas partes in Hungaria tutatus est, hic tuus dux, tuus tutor, tuus defensor tuusque rector est. Cur non sibi stipendium praebes?” Ad haec puellus, divino quodam spiritu ductus, apertis oculis¹, qui juxta phylacterias Johannis pendebant, sex nummos recepit Giskraeque tradidit, quos ille filo aureo ad collum suspendit et usque in hanc diem ob memoriam puerilis liberalitatis secum defert.

[15] Sed remeante ab obsidione Caesare ex his², qui regni legati fuerant deputati, Dionysius cardinalis et archiepiscopus Strigoniensis venit³, magnae prudentie et integritatis pater. Cum eo Ladislaus banus profectus est, magni generis vir. Nicolaus autem vaivoda, palatini verbo retentus⁴, quattuor ex amicis suis transmisit. Cum istis et Giskra tamquam regnicolam se conjunxit. Interea comes Georgius, comites Croacenses, Oswaldus de Rosgon ad Caesarem profecti sunt, scituri, res Hungariae quem exitum sortirentur. Petitio⁵ legatorum fuit: “Quia regnum in Peste conveniens Ladislaum, {187r} Alberti filium, in regem delegit, oramus te, Caesar, hunc ad Albam regalem cum sancta corona nobis assignes, nam et ibi coronare eum volumus et sibi, ut par est, homagia praestare. Post haec satis erit, si eum in regno coronamque habuerimus.” Verba alia fuerunt, sententia tamen⁶ ista. Responsum est, qui coronatus sit, eum non esse amplius coronandum. Ladislao et paterno et avito et materno jure regnum deberi Hungariae. Bene tamen fecisse Hungaros, qui verum suum haeredem, non alium, elegerant. Quod in regno puer teneatur non esse invitum Caesarem, quamvis et alia regna eum respiciant et alia dominia. Pluraque alia dicta sunt, ut est in curiis principum mos, ad ostentationem magis quam ad⁷ veritatem.

¹ oculis V4

² iis V3

³ vir *add.* HE, WO

⁴ *omit.* V3, V4

⁵ NB: see notes in WO

⁶ tantum V3, V4

⁷ ad *omit.* HE, WO

[14] Jiskra,¹ the Bohemian, a man of all skills, had arrived in [Wiener] Neustadt before the emperor left for his campaign and had told them what the Hungarians would do. He asked to see King Ladislaus,² and when he met and saw him, he wept and said, “Alas! How much trouble I have had in your cause! How many dangers have I met! How much blood have I spilt! But you are too young to understand this. I wish I shall live long enough to see you speak your mind and recognise those who have served you faithfully.” He brought the boy several gifts. Then Hans,³ the king’s *Kammermeister*, who happened to be present, said, “This man, Most Serene Prince, has long supported your cause in Hungary. He is your captain, your protector, your defender and your helmsman. Why not give him something as payment?” Then the boy, guided by some divine spirit, opened the purse hanging beside Hans’ amulets⁴ and took out six coins that he gave to Jiskra. Jiskra hung them on a golden string around his neck and still carries them in memory of the boy’s liberality.

[15] When the emperor returned from the siege,⁵ the ambassadors sent by the kingdom arrived.⁶ [First,] Cardinal Dénes,⁷ Archbishop of Esztergom, a Father of great wisdom and integrity. With him came Ban Lazlo,⁸ a man of a great family. Voivode Miklos⁹ was detained by the palatine¹⁰ and sent four of his friends. They were joined by Jiskra, as if he were a subject of the kingdom. In the meantime, also Count Georg¹¹, the counts of Croatia, and Oswald Rozgon¹² arrived at the imperial court to know what would happen in the Hungarian matter. This was the ambassadors’ petition: “Since the kingdom, assembled in Pest, has chosen Ladislaus, son of Albrecht,¹³ as its king,¹⁴ we ask you, emperor, to entrust him to us to bring him to Székesfehérvár with the holy crown,¹⁵ for we will crown him there and pay him homage as is proper. After that, it will be enough if we keep him and the crown in the kingdom.” The words were different, but this was the meaning. In answer, they were told that one who has been crowned need not be crowned again. Ladislaus was owed the Kingdom of Hungary by rights of his father,¹⁶ his grandfather¹⁷ and his mother.¹⁸ ¹⁹ The emperor would not be unwilling to let him be kept in the kingdom, although he also had other kingdoms and lands.²⁰ Many other things were said since posturing is customary in princely courts rather than truth.²¹ ²²

¹ Jan Jiskra.

² Piccolomini also related this episode in the chapter on Jiskra in his DVI, written about the same time: *He came to Neustadt in Austria to see his king, Ladislaus. When he entered his presence and saw the boy’s beauty and dignity, he began to cry and sighed, “Alas! How much trouble I have had in your cause! How many dangers I have encountered! How many plots I have suffered! I hope you will reach an age when you may know who were loyal to you. I shall always be your man.” By chance, Hans, by the king’s grace master of his chamber or treasurer, was present and said to the boy, “This man is the commander of your army, Most Serene King.*

Why not give him something as payment?” The boy was six years old. When he heard the treasurer and did not himself have a purse, he grabbed the treasurer’s and took six coins which he gave to Jiskra. Jiskra hung them on a golden neck chain that he still carries, saying that by this sign, he knew the boy would be generous in the future if he lived. (DVI, 271).

³ Johann Ungnad (bef. 1429-1461); *Kammermeister* and counsellor of Friedrich III.

⁴ “*phylacteriae*”

⁵ The siege of Güns.

⁶ Towards the end of September 1445.

⁷ Dénes Szecsi.

⁸ Lázló Garai.

⁹ Miklós Újlaky.

¹⁰ Lőrenc Héderváry.

¹¹ Georg Rozgon.

¹² Oswald Rozgon (1430-1460).

¹³ Emperor Albrecht V.

¹⁴ The Hungarians claimed the right to elect their king.

¹⁵ The Hungarians thus denied the legitimacy of Ladislaus’ first coronation, as a baby.

¹⁶ Emperor Albrecht V.

¹⁷ Emperor Sigismund.

¹⁸ Empress Elizabeth of Luxembourg.

¹⁹ The emperor refused to recognise the principle of election and maintained the principle of inheritance.

²⁰ Especially the Duchy of Austria.

²¹ Szalay, pp. 92-93. DVI, 176; Chmel: *Geschichte*, 3: 317.

²² Ms. M1 contains a summary of the negotiations, printed in WO, 1: 1, pp. 569-576.

[16] Cum pluribus utrimque tractatibus habitis nulla concordia inveniri posset, Nicolaum vaivodam accersiri placuit¹, ad quem Ladislaus banus et nonnulli alii missi sunt. Sed is, nescio qua diffidentia motus, venire noluit², nisi et aliqui ex consilio Caesaris ad eum mitterentur. Ob quam causam Ulricus, comes de Schaunberg, adolescens supra aetatem prudens, cujus pater ob singularem sapientiam Alberto regi acceptissimus fuit et modo apud Fridericum Caesarem percarus in quovis magno negotio consultus habetur, tum³ Gaspar Sligk cancellarius, ingenio celeri, consilio gravi et in Hungaria notissimus cum plerisque aliis destinati sunt. Hi apud {187v} Sopronium convenientes Nicolaum, in quadam inhospita villa commorantem, accesserunt multisque verbis ac promissionibus, ut Wiennam peteret, induxerunt. Nullius tamen verba magis eum movere quam Gasparis, quem ipse cum Sigismundo et Alberto Caesaribus potentem viderat et in primis acceptum. Is ergo in celebritate divi Jeronimi Wiennam ingressus est. Comites illi erant Matthias, episcopus Vesprimiensis, antiquus regni cancellarius, vir corpore brevis sed honesta facie atque canitie venerabilis. Aderat et Emericus de Marcellis, curiae quondam regiae magister antiquisque regibus carus. Plures etiam alii venerant domi nobiles. Equitatus circiter quingentarum personarum fuit, loricati⁴ ducenti, quadrigae quattuor atque viginti.

[17] Caesar illi cum omni militia Sigismundoque duce, vivaci et animoso juvene⁵, extra portas obviam ivit, praemissis qui vaivodam monerent⁶, ne in conspectu suo equum descenderet. Sic enim hodie imperii dignitas attenuata est, ut vix illi comites caput⁷ inclinent, cui maximi reges sese solebant⁸ ad terram prosternere. Sed est omnium potestatum finis. Nec Romanum⁹ imperium, ut Virgilius credit, sine fine datum est, quod, si jam videtur aegrotum, ut de sepultura magis quam de medico sit cogitandum. Pomposus ergo Nicolai adventus fuit, cui et Caesar obviam processit et omnis civitas quasi ad spectaculum effusa {188r} est. Hungarorum quoque intuitu Ladislaus puer, qui tunc in arce Schadvienensi, ubi Stiriam Austria terminat, tamquam in munitissimo loco tenebatur, usque in Lachsenburg deductus est.

[18] Postquam finitis solemnitatibus ad tractatus reventum est, Nicolaus eadem postulavit, quae cardinalis atque collegae prius petierant. Dum variae collocutiones habentur, Hungari, qui consilium regis intrabant, cum aliis Hungaris usque ad probrum contenderunt. Giskra quoque Nicolaum jurgio aggressus est, quod is¹⁰ nova quadam coronatione se, qui fidem mutaverat, justum ostendere vellet, et alios, qui fidem inconcussam tenuerant, reprobare. Dolebat enim Giskra, quod amplius in consilium Hungarorum non reciperetur, sed clam eo singula fierent. Itaque postea in Caesareo consilio receptus est et quamvis industria Gasparis cancellari et aliorum amicorum reconciliatus Nicolao fuerit, Hungarorum tamen consiliis noluit¹¹ interesse.

¹ omit. V4

² uoluit M2

³ et add. M2

⁴ gloricati M2

⁵ omit. [blank space] V4

⁶ mouerent M2, V4

⁷ capita M2

⁸ sese solebant : solebant sese M2

⁹ Romanorum HE, WO

¹⁰ in WO

¹¹ uoluit V4

[16] When, after much discussion back and forth, no agreement could be reached, they decided to summon Voivode Miklos,¹ to whom they sent Ban Lazlo² and some others. However, he was distrustful - I know not why - and did not want to come unless some from the emperor's council were sent to him. Therefore they sent Count Ulrich of Schaunberg,³ an adolescent prudent beyond his years (whose father,⁴ because of his great wisdom, was very close to King Albrecht⁵ and most dear to Emperor Friedrich and was consulted in all important affairs), Chancellor Kaspar Schlick, a man of quick intelligence and grave counsel and very well known in Hungary, with several others. They met Miklos, who was staying in a rather inconvenient farm-house at Sopron and, with many words and promises, persuaded him to come to Vienna. Most convincing of all was Kaspar, whom Miklos had seen as a powerful man and a favourite with emperors Sigismund and Albrecht. Miklos entered Vienna on the Feast of Saint Jerome.⁶ He was accompanied by Matthias,⁷ Bishop of Vezprem, old chancellor of the kingdom, a man of short figure but with a distinguished appearance and venerable grey hair. Present was also Emerich Marczali,⁸ lord chamberlain of the former royal court and dear to the late kings.⁹ Many other nobles had come, too. There were about 500 mounted knights, 200 with cuirasses and 24 chariots.

[17] The emperor went to meet him before the gates with all his guards and Duke Siegmund, a lively and spirited youth. He had sent people ahead to advise the voivode not to dismount when he saw him, for nowadays, the imperial dignity has fallen so low that counts barely bow to the emperor before whom great kings would formerly prostrate themselves. But all powers have their end, and contrary to what Virgil thought, the Roman Empire is not without end. Indeed, it now seems so decrepit that it is more appropriate to think of its burial than a physician.¹⁰ In any case, Miklos' arrival was splendid: he was met by the emperor, and the whole population streamed out as to a spectacle. Out of regard for the Hungarians, the boy Ladislaus, who had until then been kept in the fortress of Schadwien¹¹, a most secure place, where Steiermark meets Austria, was brought to Lachsenburg.

[18] After the welcome ceremonies, they resumed the negotiations. Miklos made the same demands as the cardinal¹² and his colleagues, and various meetings were held. On one occasion, the Hungarians, having entered the king's council, began to quarrel between themselves. Jiskra¹³ reviled Miklos for demanding a new coronation because he wanted to show that his change of loyalties was justified and to blame those who had stayed loyal. Moreover, Jiskra was chagrined that the Hungarians no longer wanted his counsel but kept him apart from their discussions. Then he was invited to join the emperor's council, and though, through the intervention of Chancellor Kaspar, he became reconciled with Miklos, he no longer wanted to be part of the Hungarians' deliberations.

¹ Miklos Újlaky.

² Lázló Garai.

³ Ulrich III von Schaunberg (-1484).

⁴ Johann II von Schaunberg.

⁵ Emperor Albrecht II.

⁶ 30 September.

⁷ Mátyás Gatalóczi (-1457): Bishop of Vezprem. 1440-1457.

⁸ Em(m)erich Marczali [Marczal]: Hungarian noble.

⁹ Siegmund and Albrecht.

¹⁰ The decline of the Holy Roman Empire was openly discussed at

the Diet of Regensburg, 1453, cf. Piccolomini's *Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta* (CRDM, 6 and 9: 4.

¹¹ Schottwien.

¹² Dénés Szecsi.

¹³ Jan Jiskra.

[19] Post haec, cum jam Hungari in convivio cum Caesare fuissent pluraque tractata in vanum viderentur, ultimum responsum postulatum est, quod in hanc fere sententiam Caesar dedit: coronationem novam, quamvis necessaria non esset, unctioe omissa pro pace et unione regni permissurum se fore. Velle tamen publicis regni litteris caveri, primam propterea nullatenus violari coronationem securitatemque dari et puerum {188v} et¹ coronam post haec sibi restitui, quem² in Posonio, qui est regni locus insignis, nutrire vellet, si nomine pueri, cujus est³, arx sibi consignaretur. Obligationem⁴, quam Hungari petebant, absque voluntate vicariorum regni puerum non abduci, fieri non decere, quia Caesari solum tamquam proximo consanguineo et per matrem et per alios commendatus puer⁵ fuisset. Promittebat tamen litterisque se firmaturum Caesar dicebat, deficiente puero, nec coronam nec castrum Posonii alienari a regno, viderique sibi bonum dicebat praelatos ac barones regni apud Posonium convenire, ubi de modo celebrandae coronationis cum securitate⁶ deque regno gubernando concluderent, super quibus rebus, si potestatem Hungari haberent regni nomine, statim se cum eis determinationem facturum ajebat. Sin⁷ autem, hortatus est talia ad communitatem regni deducerent⁸ responsumque mitterent⁹. Novitates autem fieri magnopere dissuasit, praedicens eis verum Hungariae regem esse Ladislaum nec sine ipso pacem inveniri posse, cujus fundamentum est justitia.

[20] Quo responso conturbati, Hungari mox se recessuros ajebant, sed quamprimum ad¹⁰ diversoria redierunt, vocato Ulrico, Ciliae comite, viro cordato atque sagaci, qui propter hujusmodi tractatus advenerat, Gasparem quoque cancellarium appellavere, nam et sibi magnam fidem habebant, tum quod industrium {189r} virum cognoscebant, tum quod eum Caesari acceptum putabant ex responsis, quae fere omnia¹¹ ipsius ore pronuntiabantur. His ajunt Hungari responsum Caesaris injustum esse¹² futurumque regno ingratum. Contra Gaspar atque Ulricus omnia aequa dicunt, quae Caesar responderit mirarique se Hungaros tam aridos sterilesque venisse, ut neque unam regni arcem assignare Ladislao possent, in qua post coronationem juxta decus regium habitaret. “Quid multa!” “Nolumus,” inquit Hungari, “sic nudi recedere, sunt etiam alia, si vultis, in quibus conveniri potest. Arx Posonii¹³ in potestate nostra non est, sed Albam Regalem Caesari trademus, qui eam, dum coronatio celebratur, suo ex arbitrio munit nec plures introire¹⁴ permittat, quam velit. Nos, qui sumus hic ex Hungaria, et tu, comes Ciliae, cum Giskra fidem Caesari dabimus puerum celebrata coronatione ad Hainburgam, quod est Austriae oppidum, restituere. Coronam in manibus vicariorum regni servari volumus, aut si hoc non placet, sub tua custodia ponetur¹⁵, Ulrice. Tum quoque et Alba Regalis Nicolao vaivodae reddenda erit.”

¹ *omit.* M2

² quos M2, V2

³ gubernator *omitt.* codd. ?

⁴ oblectationem V4

⁵ *omit.* M2, V3, V4; *corr. ex* puer V2

⁶ serenitate WO

⁷ si V4

⁸ deduci M2, V2a; *corr. ex* deduci V2b

⁹ mitti M2, V2a; *corr. ex* mitti V2b

¹⁰ *omit.* V4

¹¹ *ex add.* V4

¹² fore M2

¹³ Pozonii V2, V3

¹⁴ intromittere M2

¹⁵ WO

[19] Later, when the Hungarians had dined with the emperor, and the negotiations appeared to be failing, they demanded the emperor's final answer, which he gave. It ran as follows: Although a new coronation was not necessary, he would permit it for the sake of peace and harmony in the kingdom on the condition that there would be no unction.¹ But he required an open letter from the kingdom attesting that the second coronation in no way violated the first one and guaranteeing that the coronation would be secure. He also required guarantees that both the boy and the crown would be returned to him after the coronation. [Furthermore,] he wanted the boy to be raised in Pozon, a prominent city in the kingdom, if the fortress would be handed over to him in the boy's name since it belongs to him.² The guarantee sought by the Hungarians that the boy would not be removed [from Pozon] without the assent of the vicars of the kingdom³ was not acceptable since the boy had been entrusted to the emperor as his closest relative both by the mother⁴ and by others. But the emperor also promised and would confirm it by a letter that in case of the boy's demise, neither the crown nor the castle of Pozon would be alienated from the kingdom. Finally, the emperor would welcome that the prelates and the barons of the kingdom met in Pozon to decide on security measures for the coronation and on the government of the kingdom. If the Hungarians were empowered to settle these matters on behalf of the kingdom, the emperor would immediately make a formal agreement with them. If not, he exhorted them to refer the matter back to the estates of the kingdom and send him their answer. He urged them to avoid political disturbances, declaring that Ladislaus was the true king of Hungary and that there could be no peace without him since peace builds on justice.

[20] Upset by this answer, the Hungarians said they would leave soon. However, before returning to their lodgings, they summoned Count Ulrich of Cilly, a brave and clever man, who had come because of these negotiations, and Chancellor Kaspar, in whom they had great faith since they knew him to be a conscientious person close to the emperor who had used him to deliver almost all his responses. The Hungarians told these two men the emperor's response was unjust and unacceptable to the kingdom. Kaspar and Ulrich countered that all that the emperor had replied was just and that they were surprised the Hungarians had come so lacking in powers that they could not even assign a single castle to Ladislaus where he could live in royal style after his coronation: "That is really not much!" The Hungarians replied, "We do not want to return empty-handed. There are other possibilities for an agreement. We are not empowered [to offer] the castle of Pozon, but we shall hand over Alba Regalis⁵ to the emperor for the duration of the coronation so that he may fortify it as he wishes and not admit more people than he wants to. We who are here from Hungary and you, Count of Cilly, and Jiskra will swear to the emperor that after the coronation, we shall return the boy to Hainburg, a town in Austria. As for the crown, we want it to remain in the hands of the vicars of the kingdom or, if that is not acceptable, in your custody, Ulrich.⁶ Afterwards, Alba Regalis must be returned to Voivode Miklos⁷."

¹ The unction was seen as an essential part of the coronation ceremony, bestowing divine legitimacy upon the king (going back to Samuel's unction of Saul as the first king of Israel). To omit it in the second coronation meant a recognition of the validity of the first coronation, confirming the status of Hungary as a hereditary

kingdom and not an elective one (since the infant Ladislaus was not crowned after being elected king but as the heir of his father, Emperor Albrecht II.).

² Or: whose [guardian] he (the emperor) is.

³ Presumably, governors appointed by the Hungarian estates during the king's minority.

⁴ Empress Elizabeth of Luxembourg.

⁵ Székesfehérvár.

⁶ Since the Crown of Saint Stephen was considered essential to the legitimacy of coronation of the Hungarian kings, it was important for the Hungarians to have it in their possession.

⁷ Miklós Újlaky.

[21] Referuntur haec Caesari: quidam laudant, quidam improbant. Comites Croatiae et hi, quorum longe diversa sententia fuit, ajunt Hungaros humiles factos nonnulla justa promittere, multo tamen plura promissuros, si propositum teneatur. Exinde quod semel responsum est, minime placet mutari, nam quod reges dicant, fixum et solidum {189v} esse debere contenditur. Inconstantiam, cum in privatis quoque hominibus vitanda sit, in regibus detestandam¹ esse, quorum verba pro legibus recipiuntur.

[22] Rursus Hungari, quae supra² retulimus, offerunt adjiciuntque coronam quoque in manus Caesaris se reddituros. Caveri tamen volunt, ne vel pueri vel Caesaris morte a regno possit alienari. Caesar in consilio postquam hoc audivit, “Grave est,” inquit, “viri consulares, si Hungaris non confidimus, regnum puero perdere, sed gravius est confidendo regno puerum amittere. Consulite in medium, mihi jurati fidelesque estis.” Non defuerunt, qui dicerent regnum manifeste perdendum esse, nisi fides habeatur, de puero dubium esse,³ nec videri causam, cur puerum regnicolae perdituri crederentur. Nihil tamen in consilio plus reperiri potuit quam prius⁴.

[23] Sic re infecta Hungari recesserunt, quos Caesar extra urbem comitatus est. Cum rogaretur Nicolaus suum regem⁵ visere, qui suo proximus erat itineri, “Nescio adhuc,” inquit, “quem regem sim⁶ habiturus, nec puerum hunc venerabor, nisi prius scivero meum esse dominum.” Quidam ex Hungaris ajebant Ladislaum se regem habere nec sibi quidquam imputandum, qui per aetatem loqui non posset. Ac propterea complures eorum suum regem adiverunt muneraque puero tradiderunt et, quasi divinum aliquid numen intuerentur, genibus flexis multas {190r} lacrimas ante ipsum effuderunt. Visprimiensis antistes, “O,” inquit, “generosissime puer, dabitne umquam Deus, ut prius te in regno videam, quam haec senectus deficiat? Cresce, puer, cresce, nemo te vivo regnum Hungariae⁷ tibi surripiet.” Dionysius autem cardinalis magnam auri pateram⁸ in manus⁹ regis dedit osculatusque puerum¹⁰, “Heu¹¹ quot,” inquit, “pro te labores subivi, quot damna sustinui, quot me periculis objeci, sed omnia mihi dulcia forent, si te semel in regno viderem,” mansitque triduo apud Caesarem. Sic res acta cum Hungaris est.

¹ detestanda V4

² super WO

³ est M2

⁴ nihil tamen ... prius *omit.* M2

⁵ suum regem : regem suum M2

⁶ sum HE, WO

⁷ *omit.* WO

⁸ copiam M2; coppam V2a; *corr.*

ex. coppam V2b

⁹ manibus M2, V2, HE, WO

¹⁰ *omit.* WO

¹¹ hero M2

[21] These [proposals] were reported to the emperor [in council]. Some praised them, and others criticised them. The counts of Croatia and those who most disagreed with the proposals said that the Hungarians had become more humble and made some equitable promises but they would promise even more if the emperor kept his ground. In the end, it was decided to change nothing in the first response, for – as it was argued - a king’s word must be unchanging and firm. Inconstancy must be avoided in private people, and it is detestable in kings whose words have the force of law.

[22] The Hungarians repeated the offers mentioned above, adding that they would return the crown to the emperor. However, they demanded that it must not be alienated from the kingdom in case of the boy’s or the emperor’s death,. When this was related to the emperor in council, he said, “It is serious, my counsellors, if we do not trust the Hungarians and therefore lose the kingdom for the boy. But it is even more serious if we trust them and therefore lose the boy for the kingdom. Please give your counsel on this matter, my sworn and loyal men.” Some then said that if the Hungarians were not trusted, the kingdom would surely be lost. Concerning the boy, it was uncertain what would happen, but they could see no reason to believe that the Hungarians would let him perish. [In the end,] the result of the council’s deliberations was the same as before.

[23] Then the Hungarians left, having failed in their mission. The emperor accompanied them out of the city. When Miklos¹ was invited to visit his king,² who was staying in a place close to the travel route, he answered, “I do not yet know which king I shall have, and I will not honour this boy before I know him to be my lord.” Some of the Hungarians said they considered Ladislaus their king and that he could not be blamed since he was too young to speak [for himself]. Therefore, several of them went to see their king. They brought gifts to the boy, gazing at him as if he were a divinity, and, kneeling before him, they cried. The bishop of Vezprem³ said, “O, Most Noble Boy, will God grant me to see you in the kingdom before this old age shall fail? Grow up, boy, grow up, and nobody shall take the Kingdom of Hungary from you as long as you live.” Cardinal Dénes⁴ gave a big golden cup into his hands, and kissing the boy, he said, “Alas, how many troubles I have suffered on your behalf, how many losses, and how many dangers. But all will be fine if only I see you in the kingdom.” Afterwards, he stayed for three days with the emperor. This is how things went with the Hungarians.

¹ Miklos Újlaky.

² Ladislaus the Posthumous.

³ Mátyás Gatalóczi.

⁴ Dénes Szecsi.

[24] Accepi exinde conventum regni apud Albam Regalem brevi habendum esse, ubi responsum Caesaris ad notitiam regnicolarum deducatur. Faxit Deus, ut quod Pestis reliquit infectum, Alba ipsa perficiat et pro regni salute et pro jure pueri, de qua re non despero, cum despotus Rasciae, comes Ciliae, Giskra, archiepiscopus Strigoniensis, comes Georgius Rosgoniensis tam firmiter pueri partes¹ teneant, ut nulla regnicolarum possint suasionem nullaque violentia mutari. Nec video, quem possint Hungari regem habere² nisi Ladislaum puerum, qui et avito et paterno atque materno jure Hungaris imperare debet.

[25] Ex Hungaria post haec novitates allate sunt Johannem, vaivodam Transsilvanum, adversus Turcos³ conflictasse et quamvis felici bello quaedam castella prius obtinuisset, ad extremum tamen mutata fortuna, quae nulli {190v} perpetuo bona est, ingentem gloriam, quam prioribus annis adeptus pugnando fuerat⁴, victum occisumque maculasse. Veritas tamen rei adhuc in obscuro est. Classis Eugeniana, quam in Ponto fuisse diximus, per Histrum contra fluminis impetum navigando Christianis, dum haec fiebant, opitulabatur. Nunc quid rerum agat, incertum est.

[26] In Bohemia per eos, qui parum fidei habent, novae res parantur, quae nisi praepediantur in earum ortu, postquam creverint, difficile poterunt emendari. Malum cum nascitur cumque recens est, absque negotio raditur, cum adultum est difficile extinguitur. In Italia contra Franciscum comitem Eugenius armis regis Aragonum pugnat estque superior. Sed omnis eventus belli dubius est. Saepe, qui victus videtur, victor exurgit. Nemo vere vicit, nisi qui domum reversus sibi suisque subditis pacem fecit. Bononienses post occisionem Hannibalis Bentivolii⁵ et Baptistae Cannetuli⁶ per ducem Mediolani obsidione cincti sunt; Veneti et Florentini eos juvant. Si⁷ Caesar cum aliquo exercitu Italiam peteret, omnium harum rerum moderator existeret⁸. Sed non sapiunt haec nobis nec nos aliis sapimus. Ut homines imperare sciunt, sic subditos habent obedientes. Nisi vos Germani, ad quos imperium translatum est, majorem reipublicae curam habueritis, timeo, ne dives illa et insignis Italorum tellus, a quae quondam imperii caput fuit et adhuc sub imperio se fore {191r} fatetur, in alias deducta manus et nomen mutet et jugum.

[27] Haec fuerunt, quae nunc tibi⁹ scribenda putabam. Cetera, quae apud nos aguntur, ex magnificis Gaspare cancellario, Johanne de Neitperg ac Johanne Ungnad, viris praestantibus ac¹⁰ consiliaris regis, qui nunc in Bavariam et in¹¹ Sueviam legati mittuntur, audire poteris, nam et per Pataviam ut arbitror viam facient. Ego me tuae¹² paternitati commissum do, cui¹³ parere sum¹⁴ pronus.

Ex Vienna, 5. kalendis Novembris 1445¹⁵.

¹ patres V4

² haberi M2

³ Teucros M2, V2a, HE, WO;

corr. ex Teucros V2b

⁴ fuit V3

⁵ *omit.* M2

⁶ *omit.* M2

⁷ sic V4

⁸ excitaret V4

⁹ tuae reverendissimae paternitati

M2, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* tuae

reverendissimae paternitati V2b

¹⁰ magnificis Gaspare ... ac *omit.*

M2

¹¹ Bavariam et in *omit.* M2

¹² vestrae reverendissimae M2, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex.* vestrae reverendissimae V2b

¹³ sum assidue *add.* M2, V2, HE, WO; ~~sum assidue~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁴ *omit.* M2, V2a, HE, WO; *add.*

V2b

¹⁵ Ex Vienna ... 1445 : etc. M2

[24] Later, I heard that the Hungarian estates would assemble soon in Alba Regalis¹ to be informed about the emperor's answer. For the sake of the realm's safety and the boy's rights, I hope God will grant that what was left unfinished in Pest will be finished in Alba. I am somewhat optimistic since the despot of Rascia^{2 3}, the count of Cilly,⁴ Jiskra, the archbishop of Esztergom,⁵ and Count Georg Rozgon support the boy's cause so firmly that the Hungarians cannot sway them by arguments or violence. And I do not see which other king the Hungarians can have but the boy Ladislaus, who should rule Hungary by rights of his grandfather, his father and his mother.

[25] Otherwise, we have had news from Hungary that Voivode János⁶ of Transylvania has been campaigning against the Turks. At first, he was successful in the war and gained some castles, but in the end, fortune changed – it does not last for anybody – and tainted the immense glory he had won by fighting in the previous years, [leaving him] defeated and dead.⁷ The truth of this is still unclear. Meanwhile, the fleet of Eugenius,⁸ which we had said was in Pontus,⁹ sailed up the Ister river¹⁰ to bring relief to the Christians there. It is uncertain what will happen now.

[26] In Bohemia, those of little faith are preparing for a revolt. It should be crushed in the beginning, for it will be difficult to do anything about it after it has grown. An evil can easily be destroyed when it is born or new; afterwards it is difficult. In Italy, Eugenius fights Count Francesco¹¹ with the arms of the king of Aragon¹² and has the upper hand. But all outcomes of war are uncertain. Often he who is defeated becomes the victor. And nobody truly wins unless he returns home and restores peace to his subjects. Having killed Annibale Bentivogli¹³ and Battista Canetoli,¹⁴ the Bolognese are now under siege by the duke of Milan.¹⁵ They are supported by the Venetians and the Florentines. If the emperor went to Italy with an army, he would become the arbiter of all. But we¹⁶ do not understand them, and they¹⁷ do not understand us.¹⁸ If men know how to rule, they have their subjects' obedience; if not, they don't!¹⁹ Unless you Germans, to whom the Empire has been transferred,²⁰ have greater care for your state, I fear that the rich and distinguished country of Italy, which was once the head of the Empire and still considers itself to belong to it, will pass into other hands²¹ and change both name and yoke.

[27] This is what I had to write to you. The other things happening here, you can hear from Their Magnificences, Chancellor Kaspar, Johann Neitperg and Johann Ungnad, excellent men and royal counsellors, who are now being sent as legates to Bavaria and Swabia, for I believe they will pass through Passau.

I recommend myself to Your Paternity, as always your obedient servant. From Vienna, 27 October 1445.

¹ Székesfehérvár.

² Serbia.

³ Durad I Brankovic.

⁴ Ulrich II von Cilly.

⁵ Dénes Szecsi.

⁶ Janos Hunyadi.

⁷ The rumour of his death proved to be false.

⁸ Pope Eugenius IV.

⁹ Pontus Euxinus: The Black Sea.

¹⁰ The Donau.

¹¹ Francesco I Sforza.

¹² Alfonso V.

¹³ Annibale I Bentivoglio (1415-1445): Member of the Bentivoglio family and ruler of Bologna from 1443 to his death.

¹⁴ Battista Canetoli [Canneschi] (-1445): Head of the powerful Bolognese Canneschi clan, rivals of the Bentivogli. Piccolomini wrote about the murders of Bentivoglio and Canetoli in his DVI (sect. 46).

¹⁵ Filippo Maria Visconti.

¹⁶ At the imperial court / the Germans.

¹⁷ The Italians.

¹⁸ In his *Pentalogus* of 1443, Piccolomini had given the emperor an account of Italian conditions and relationships with the empire.

¹⁹ A veiled exhortation to the emperor to show determination and firmness in his dealings with the Italians.

²⁰ The *translatio imperii* to the Franks in the person of Charlemagne, year 800.

²¹ E.g. King Alfonso V.

191. Letter to Johann Vront (20 November 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 70r-70v¹; M3, f. 399²; V2, ff. 356-358³; V3, ff. 168v-169v⁴ **; V4, ff. 150r-150v.
Editions A: KOB, 83⁵.
Editions B: HE, 193, pp. 495-496 (based on M2, V2); WO, 1: 1, 193, p. 580-581 (based on V2).
Translations: ME, 36, pp. 197-199.

{168v} Aeneas Silvius, secretarius imperialis,⁶ ⁷ Johanni Vront, secretario insignis⁸ civitatis Coloniae, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Plura tibi per hos dies scripsi. Si⁹ litteras meas suscepisti, laetus sum, {169r} quod si secus accidit, aegre fero. Multa enim fuerunt, quae alienas manus incidere noluissem. Utcumque sit, pauca modo ut ex me recipias velim, amicorum more, qui tristia dolent et laeta gaudent, quae amicis accidunt. Johannes, secretarius Nurembergensis¹⁰, vir bonus doctusque et tui observantissimus, ad nos jam reversus est atque te maestum reliquisse, nam et Capitolina clades te quaedam affecerat. Nescio quid ex capitolio fugerit, quod animum conturbarit tuum. Is retulit suo in recessu te adeo dolentem fuisse, ut ne verbum effari posses. Non intellexi ego virum, dicebat enim: “In capitolio fuit, illuc ibat Johannes saepe, delicias ibi habuit, aufugerunt, doluit, non inveniuntur.” Nimis perplexe locutus est¹¹. Non potui, quid rerum esset¹², agnoscere¹³. Solum te maestum percepi nec¹⁴ consolationem recipere¹⁵. Vah, mi Johannes, quid¹⁶ nam¹⁷ hoc esse potest? Ego¹⁸ te virum esse novi. Ubinam mutatus es? Quid est, quod te queat sic alienare?

[2] Viri est sic suas rationes constituere, ut nihil novi possit accidere. Animadvertenda sunt omnia futura, et praeparandus est animus ad ea ferenda, si accidant mala. Nam quae *praevisa sunt, minus ferunt*¹⁹ *jacula*. Si amicus mortuus est, moriturum sciebas²⁰. Si perditae opes sunt, sciendum erat haec fortunae bona ad nutum fortunae ponenda fore. Si amica recessit, consideranda fuit instabilitas mulierum, quarum voluntas {169v} in horas mutatur. Nihil incertius animo femineo. Nullus amor feminae diu durat. Fallax est animal mulier, varium, crudele, absque fide, plenum dolis. Verum cum omnibus infideles sunt feminae, senibus quidem²¹ infidelissimae sunt.

¹ SC, 146-147

² SC, 798

³ DV, ff. 183v-184v

⁴ DV, ff. 171v-172v

⁵ DV, 48r

⁶ secretarius imperialis : poeta
M2, M3

⁷ domino *add.* M2, M3, V2a, HE,
WO; ~~domino~~ *seq.* V2b

⁸ insigni V4

⁹ *omit.* M3

¹⁰ Nurembergensium V3, V4

¹¹ sum M3

¹² est WO

¹³ cognoscere M3

¹⁴ non V3

¹⁵ velle *add.* WO

¹⁶ qui M2

¹⁷ jam M2, M3, WO

¹⁸ et M3

¹⁹ ferunt WO

²⁰ scire debebas M2, M3, V2a,
HE, WO; *corr. ex* scire debebas
V2b

²¹ quid est M2

191. Letter to Johann Vrunt (20 November 1445, Vienna).

Context: A common friend had told Piccolomini that Johann Vrunt was apparently suffering from a broken heart.
Subject: Piccolomini consoles his friend, telling him that he is too old for commerce with women and that women are, anyway, faithless and fickle and not worth to trouble about.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Johann Vrunt, secretary of the noble city of Cologne.

[1] If you have received the letter I recently sent to you, I am glad; if not, I am sorry, for they contained much I should not want to fall into others' hands. However that may be, I should like you to hear a little from me now in the way of friends who become sad when sad things happen to their friends and glad when glad things happen. Johann, secretary of Nürnberg,^{1 2} a good man and most devoted to you, has returned to us and says that he left you in a state of dejection, for you had suffered some setback at the town hall³. I do not know what could have happened at the town hall to disturb you, but Johann said that when he left you, you were so morose that you could barely say a word. I did not quite understand him, for he said: "Johann was at the townhall where he often went,⁴ perfectly content. But that has stopped, and he has become quite downcast." He spoke somewhat confusedly, so I could not understand him. I only understood that you are dejected and inconsolable. But, my Johann, what is the matter with you? I know you to be a man. Why have you changed? What is it that can perturb you so?

[2] A man must arrange his life so that no reversal can trouble him. He must foresee all that may happen and prepare his mind for any possible mishap, for the darts foreseen hurt less. If your friend has died, you knew that he would die. If you lost your fortune, you knew that fortune's gifts disappear at fortune's whim. If your girlfriend has left you, you should consider the fickleness of women, who change their minds every hour. Indeed, nothing is more changing than the female mind. A woman's love does not last long. Woman is a deceitful animal, shifting, cruel, disloyal and treacherous. Women betray all, but most of all old men.⁵

¹ Also mentioned by Piccolomini in letter 142: 1. He was, apparently, quite the ladies' man.

² According to Diemar, this Johann is presumably Johann Marquard, syndicus of Nürnberg (Diemar, p. 87). Wolkan objects to this identification on the grounds that syndicus (Marquard's title was *Stadtsyndikus*) is something different from a secretary and

proposes two other men titles *Schreiber* in Nürnberg instead (3: 1, p. 580, n. a). However, Piccolomini used the term secretary in a broad sense and calls Johann Vrunt a secretary though his official title was a protonotary. Moreover, according to the *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch*, *Stadtsyndikus* is *mancherorts Synonym mit Stadtschreiber*.

³ Capitolium.

⁴ In his capacity as town secretary, Vrunt either had his office in the town hall or would often have business there.

⁵ Piccolomini rightly guesses that Vrunt's trouble is connected with a woman.

[3] Tu, mi Johannes, in¹ vesperum² pergis: nihil est, quod vel tibi³ cum feminis conveniat. Derisui es⁴ et fabula⁵, nulla te⁶ sequitur, nisi questus causa. Absit hoc maledictum a te⁷ genus, quod et bursam exhaurit et animam occidit. Nempe, mi Johannes, si abiit femina, non te laesit, sed alium laesura recessit. Gaude quia fugit. Ego haec dico, quia mihi sic videtur⁸ Johannes Nurenbergensis⁹ judicare. Nescio, an verum sit. Si aliud est, te ipsum cura. Nihil est tam acerbum, quod tempus non minuat. Consule tibi, mi Johannes, et maerorem pone, nam qui tristatur ob rem perditam, se ipsum cruciat et tamen, quod perdidit, non recuperat, et - ut Tusci dicunt - centum librae maestitiae unciam debiti non exsolvunt.

Vale. Ex Vienna, die 20.¹⁰ Novembris 1445^{11 12}.

¹ ut V4

² mecum *add.* M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO; ~~mecum~~ *seq.* V2b

³ vel mihi *add.* M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO; vel mihi *seq.* V2b

⁴ sumus M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* sumus V2b

⁵ fabule M2, M3, HE, WO

⁶ nos M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* nos V2b

⁷ nobis M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr. ex* nobis V2b

⁸ dictum *add.* WO

⁹ noris M2, M3

¹⁰ 15. WO

¹¹ 1444 V4

¹² Ex Vienna ... 1445 : etc. M2, M3

[3] You, my Johann, are moving towards your¹ [life's] evening: you should have no commerce with women. You are a laughingstock and a joke²: women only follow you to exploit you. Banish this cursed race that only empties your purse and destroys your soul. Indeed, my Johann, if a woman has left you, she did not harm you but left to harm another man, and you should be happy she fled. I only say this because that is what Johann of Nürnberg appeared to think, and I do not know if it is true. If it is something else [that troubles you], then look after yourself. No pain is so great that it does not lessen with time. Be good to yourself, my Johann. Put away sadness, for he who is sad because of something lost tortures himself without regaining what was lost. As the Tuscans say: 100 pounds of regret do not pay for even one ounce of debt.

Farewell. From Vienna, 20 November 1445.

¹ In the early version of this text (M2, M3), the references to Vrung were coupled with references to

Piccolomini himself, expurgated from the later version for reasons

of clerical propriety. See Diemar, p. 73.
² "fabula"

192. Letter to Johann Tuschek (20 November 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 71r¹; M3, f. 180v²; V2, f. 361³; V3, f. 171r-171v^{4**}; V4, f. 152r.
Editions A: KOB, 85⁵.
Editions B: HE, 194, p. 496 (based on M2, V2); WO, 1: 1, 194, p. 581-582 (based on V2).
Translations: RE, 61, pp. 228-229.

{171r} Aeneas Silvius⁶, secretarius imperialis⁷, domino Johanni Tuschkoni, viro praestanti, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Procopius, eques Bohemus, cui de Rabenstein cognomen est, vir singularis modestiae, bibliam, quam ex te concupivi, ad me detulit. Ago tibi gratias ingentes. Volumen namque id est, quod circumferri commode possit. Pretium vero minus fuit, quam tanta scriptura mereretur. Fecisti, ut amicum decet: rem meam quasi tuam curasti. Pecuniam ego statim Procopio numeravi, qui eam tibi restituet. Nihil plus, quod in hac re dicere sit necessum, inter amicos namque prohibita est verbositas. tu scis, qui siem. Si quid est, quod me velis, jubere potes: numquam tuis optatibus me repugnantem invenies.

[2] Vidi, {171v} quam scripsisti cancellario schedulam⁸ in rebus publicis. Is nunc abest in Sueviam missus. Summam⁹ scriptorum tuorum, quatenus¹⁰ opus¹¹ fuit, regiae majestati exposui. Ego suadeo sibi, ut¹² quisque consulat. Neminem tamen persecutio, quamvis maxima est¹³, ex recto fidei tramite depellat. Wenceslaum nostrum, si quando vides, meis verbis salvum jubeto dicitoque nullum sacerdotium tanti esse, ut calamum sumere dedignetur.

Vale et me ut soles ama. Ex Vienna, 20. die Novembris 1445¹⁴.

¹ SC, 149

² SC, 367

³ DV, 186r

⁴ DV, 174r-174v

⁵ DV, 48v.

⁶ poeta *add.* M2, M3, WO

⁷ secretarius imperialis : imperialisque secretarius M2, M3

⁸ *em.*; cedula codd.

⁹ sum nam V4

¹⁰ quantum V3, V4

¹¹ est *add.* V4

¹² Ego suadeo ... ut : sed nihil ad rem, quod mihi placeat, responsum est sibi M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr.* ex sed nihil ad rem,

quod mihi placeat, responsum est sibi V2a

¹³ *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁴ Ex Vienna.. 1445 : etc. M2, M3

192. Letter to Jan Tuschek (20. November 1445, Vienna).¹

Context: Piccolomini had asked his Bohemian friend, Jan Tuschek, to buy a Bible for him in Prague, where bibles were comparatively cheap.

Editions: Piccolomini thanks Tuschek for the Bible.²

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to the distinguished Johann Tuschek.

[1] Prokop, a Bohemian knight with the family name Rabenstein,³ a man of singular modesty, has brought me the Bible I requested of you.⁴ I send you many thanks, for it is a volume that is easy to carry around. Moreover, the price was less than such a volume merits. You have acted as a friend and taken care of my business as if it were your own. I have immediately paid the money to Prokop, who will give it to you. It is unnecessary to say more on this matter, for verbosity is forbidden among friends. You know me. If there is anything you want of me, just ask: you shall never find me resisting your wishes.

[2] I have seen your memorandum to the chancellor concerning the public affairs.⁵ He is away now, having bent sent to Swabia. I have, as far as needful, informed His Royal Majesty about the main points in your message. My advice to him is that every man must look out for himself. However, not even the most severe persecution⁶ should drive people away from the right path of the Faith. If you happen to see our Wenzel⁷, then greet him from me and tell him that no priestly office is so important that he should scorn taking up the pen.⁸

Farewell, and love me as always. From Vienna, 20 November 1445.

¹ This letter never reached the addressee, see letter 205: 1.

² On this letter, see Izbicki: *Badgering*, p. 17.

³ Prokop von Rabenstein.

⁴ See letter 158.

⁵ Tuschko had apparently informed the chancellor of the difficult situation for Catholics in Hussite Prague.

⁶ Hussite persecution of the Catholics.

⁷ Vaclav von Bochow.

⁸ I.e., to write letters to his friend, Piccolomini.

193. Letter to Johann Schindel (20 November 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 70v-71r¹; M3, ff. 180r-180v²; V2, ff. 358-359³; V3, ff. 169v-170r⁴ **; V4, ff. 150r-152r.
Editions A: KOB, 84⁵.
Editions B: HE, 195, pp. 497-498; WO, 1: 1, 195, p. 582-584; (both based on V2).

{169v} Domino Johanni Schindel, singulari astronomo, viro probatissimo, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.⁶

[1] Reversus nunc ad Caesarem insignis miles Procopius de Procopius de Rabenstein, tui meique amantissimus, retulit, quod mihi summae {170r} voluptati fuit, me tibi dilectum esse measque litteras, quas saepe ad amicos scribo, tuo iudicio admodum commendari. Utrumque⁷ apud me mirum est. Quid enim in me est, quod a te, viro laudatissimo, diligi debeat? Quid rursus epistolae meae in se habent, quod laude dignum videatur? Nihil ego umquam erga te boni operatus sum⁸, mores mei communes sunt, vivo, ut vulgus hominum facit, nulla singularitas in me est, nulla praestantia, nulla virtus, quae non aliis communis sit⁹. Epistolae meae planae sunt, apertum stilum habent, currenti calamo pictae sunt, nihil his¹⁰ commissum est, quod in sermone vulgari non cadat¹¹. Non est in illis ornatus, non lepos, non gravitas. Nudae sunt et solum animi¹² mei indices.

[2] Cur ergo vel me colas vel illas magnificas¹³ non scio¹⁴, nisi quod homines sunt quidam tanta bonitate¹⁵ praediti, ut omnia commendent. E contra quoque malitia tanta quorundam est, ut omnia, quae vident quaeque audiunt, vituperent. Tu inter primos numerari vis et sapis certe, qui laudando potius quam vituperando vis¹⁶ excedere. Verum tua¹⁷ laus, quam mihi ascribis, etsi meritum excedit meum, mihi tamen jucunda est. Quis enim non potius indignam laudem quam indignum¹⁸ vituperium feret¹⁹? At quia laus ea²⁰ demum dulcis est, quae a *laudato viro* procedit, magno me munere donatum arbitror, dum tuis me verbis extolli audio. Sumus enim {170v} omnes cupidi laudis et – ut Cicero dicit: *Optimus quisque cupiditate gloriae tangitur. Leviculus²¹ ille Demosthenes etiam susurro mulierculae aquam ferentis oblectari se dicebat, dum audiret²² se transeunte²³: "Hic est ille Demosthenes, qui et senatum et theatrum suae orationis vi moderatur."* Oblector ergo et ego, dum me tuis verbis commendatum audio²⁴, quamvis non sum is, quem tu iudicas. Plerique hoc vituperarent vellenteque potius contemni quam laudari. Verum ego has laudes tuas non ad jactantiam, quia mihi sum conscius, sed ad incitamenta virtutum recipio, daturus operam, ut talis sim, qualem me praedicas, ne fama, quam de me vulgo praebes, omnino sit irrita. Plura in hanc sententiam dicere possem, sed absit hoc loco disputatio. Facessant argumenta, agamus invicem, ut amicorum est.

¹ SC, 148-149

² SC, 366-367.

³ DV, 184v-185v

⁴ DV, 172v-173r

⁵ DV, 48r

⁶ *Salutatio*: Eneas Silvius poeta domino Johanni Schindel singulari astronomo, viro probatissimo salutem plurimam dicit M2, M3

⁷ unumque V4

⁸ sim V4

⁹ omit. V4

¹⁰ iis M3

¹¹ cedat M2, M3

¹² omit. M2, M3

¹³ magnificas V4

¹⁴ scis V4

¹⁵ humanitate WO

¹⁶ ius V4

¹⁷ mea M3

¹⁸ dignum M3

¹⁹ ferat M2, M3

²⁰ omit. V4

²¹ em. HE, WO; leniculus codd.

²² audires M2

²³ transeuntem M3

²⁴ commendatum audio : commendari percipio M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO; corr. ex commendari percipio V2b

193. Letter to Johann Schindel (20 November 1445, Vienna).

Context: The astronomer Johann Schindel had told Prokop von Rabenstein that he was deeply impressed with Piccolomini and his letters which Rabenstein reported back to Piccolomini.
Subject: A flattered Piccolomini sends an extravagant - and humble - declaration of friendship to Schindel, with a remarkable characterisation of his own letters and letter style.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the esteemed Johann Schindel,¹ eminent astronomer and most honourable man.

[1] Prokop von Rabenstein, distinguished knight and most dear both to you and me, has now returned to the emperor.² To my great delight, he tells me that you have a particular regard for me and that, in your judgment, the letters I write to my friends are highly commendable. Both surprise me. For what do I have that may be loved by you, a most admirable man? And what do my letters have that is worthy of praise? I never did you any favour, my conduct is ordinary, I live as most men, I am nothing special, have no excellence and no qualities that others do not have, too. My letters are straightforward, and their style is simple. They are written with a running pen [so to say] and in ordinary language. There are no embellishments, no grace, no gravitas. They are straightforward³ and simply express my mind.

[2] So, I do not know why you should honour me or esteem my letters unless it is because some people are so good that they commend everything. Others, on the contrary, are so bad that they vilify everything they see and hear. You wish to be counted among the first, and it is certainly wise of you to want to praise to excess rather than to revile to excess. But though you praise me beyond merit, I am glad of it, for who would not be praised unworthily rather than vilified unworthily? But since the praise comes from *one that is praised*⁴ I consider myself to have received a great gift when I hear you extol me. For we all thirst for praise and - as Cicero says - *the nobler a man is, the more he is affected by thirst for glory.*⁵ Surely it was petty of Demosthenes to say he was delighted by with the whispered remark of a poor woman carrying water "Here is the Demosthenes,"⁶ who governed both the senate and the theatre with the force of his oratory." So, I, too, am happy when I hear myself being praised by you, though I am not the man you appear to believe I am. Many would criticise you for it and prefer me to be scorned rather than praised. I accept your praise but not as something to boast of - for I know myself - but as an incitement to virtue. I shall endeavour to be as you say I am lest my reputation, which you spread to the public, be completely false.⁷ I could say more about this, but let us not dispute here. Nay, let arguments cease, and let us just act towards each other as friends.

¹ Johann Andreae Schindel (1375 - 1455/1458): Imperial Court astronomer/astrologuer. At the time residing in Prague.

² After a visit to his country.

³ "nudae"

⁴ Cicero: *Ad familiares*, 112: 1.

⁵ Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10: 26: *optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur.*

⁶ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 5: 36, 103.

⁷ "irrita"

[3] Numquam ego te vidi neque tu me, uti¹ arbitror², vidisti, sed tua fama facit, ut te unice³ observem. Nam saeculi nostri praecipuum decus censeris, qui et siderum cursus et futuras tempestates et pestes et steriles et fertiles annos solus⁴ vere praedicere noris. Hinc ego te amo, colo, observo, sumque tuus, nam virtus hujusmodi est, *ut et, quos numquam vidimus*, amare nos faciat⁵. Hinc veteres illos Fabios, Scipiones, Fabricios⁶ Corumcanos⁷ ceterosque virtute praestantes, qui multis ante nos saeculis vitam exuerunt⁸, etiam mortuos diligimus, sicut et fundatores⁹ nostrae fidei vel¹⁰ apostolos vel martyres singulari devotione {171r} et affectu veneramur. Virtus namque sui natura amabilis est, vitium vero odibile. Tu ergo, vir praestantissime, jure a me amaris, qui tua singulari ac praestanti virtute nostrum ornas saeculum. Me cur tu diligas¹¹, non scio, ut tamen diligere non cesses, oro et obsecro. Magnifacio¹² namque tuum amorem et ornari me tua dilectione non ambigo. Persevera igitur, nam etsi non sum, quem reris, is tamen sum, qui diligentes me reciproce diligo totisque viribus amo.

Vale. Ex Vienna, die 20. Novembris 1445.¹³

¹ ut M2, M3

² uti arbitror *omit.* V4

³ inuicem V4

⁴ unicus M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO;
corr. ex unicus? V2b

⁵ facit V4

⁶ Affricanos M3

⁷ Coriolanos *em.* HE; *omit.* WO

⁸ exurunt V4

⁹ fundator M3

¹⁰ ut WO

¹¹ diligis M3

¹² magnifico V4

¹³ Ex ... 1445 *omit.* M2, M3

[3] I have never seen you, and I believe you have never seen me, but your fame impresses me greatly. For you are a splendid ornament of this age, who excels in foretelling the storms, the plagues and the fertile and barren years. Therefore, I love you, I honour you, I respect you, I am yours, for virtue makes us love even *men whom we have never seen*.¹ Thus we treasure men of old, the Fabii, the Scipios, the Fabricii, the Coriolani² and other men of outstanding virtue (who left this life many years before our times) even though they are dead. In the same way, we venerate the founders of our Faith, the apostles and martyrs, with singular devotion and affection. For by nature, virtue is lovable, whereas vice is odious. So, best of men, it is fitting that I love you, for your singular and eminent virtue is an ornament to the present age. But I do not know why you should love me. However, I do ask and pray you to not cease loving me. For I treasure your love and am sure your affection honours me. So, please persevere in it, for though I am not the man you think, I return the love of those who love me, and I do love without reservation.³

Farewell. From Vienna, 20 November 1445.

¹ Cicero: *Pro Marcello*, 3: 9: *ut eos saepe, quos numquam vidimus, diligamus*.

² Fabii etc.: eminent personalities from Roman families

³ "totis viribus"

194. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (23 November 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 71r-71v¹; M3, ff. 401r-401v²; V2, ff. 376-379³; V3, ff. 179v-181r⁴ **; V4, ff. 160r-161v.

Editions: KOB, 86⁵.

Editions B: HE, 196, pp. 498-500; WO, 1: 1, 196, p. 584-586; (both based on V2).

{179v} Magnifico et generoso viro Gaspari Slišk, imperiali cancellario, Aeneas Silvius, poeta, salutem plurimam dicit.⁶

[1] Leonardo Felsecker⁷, equiti nobili, qui in Saxoniam missus est, verbosas litteras commendavi, ex itinere ut tuae magnificentiae transmitteret tuncque singula scriptu digna recensui, sive rem publicam sive privatam tuam concernerent. Spero illas in manus tuas delatum iri nisi jam delatae⁸ fuerint. Non igitur, quae⁹ tunc scripsi, hoc loco repetam, ne sim verbosior, ne dicam taediosior. Post haec, dum essem in aula {180r} regia, casu comperi¹⁰ Franciscum Strasoldium¹¹, insignem equitem tuique observantissimum. Percontatus sum ex eo, quid cum Pancratio gestum esset. Is ait venturum se ad me relaturumque omnia ex ordine. Sic actum est. Convenit me homo in cancellaria legationemque suam et Pancratii responsonem exposuit. Nec contentus his, ut est vir diligens et amicus amici, suscepto calamo litteras omnium rerum indices ad te deferendas¹² dictavit mihi que tradidit, quas cum praesentibus transmittito. Nec plura in hoc dico, quia ex Francisco plenissimam instructionem recipies. Solum consulo, ut quae pacis sunt, amplectaris et consideres nequitiam temporis. Non enim ut volumus, sed ut possumus vivendum est, coaptanda est temporis vita nostra. Mihi ex integro non videtur Hungaria nostris temporibus pacem habitura. Quod si qua via est, ut privatim sit pax in bonis tuis, id probo, commendo, suadeo.

[2] Ex Hungaria allatae sunt apostolicae litterae, quae majestati regiae et Johanni Carvajal dirigebantur. Regales in hanc sententiam scriptae fuerunt: Hungaros in armis esse magnumque rursus¹³ adversus Turcorum¹⁴ rabiem exercitum instituisse, ut cladem priori anno receptam ulciscantur. Regis ergo officium esse curare, ne quod ex Germaniae partibus impedimentum praestetur Hungaris, quod ex coepto queat eos itinere revocare. Id si rex egerit loco subsidii recipiendum esse, quod in re tanta¹⁵, tam utili, tam sancta¹⁶, tam necessaria Romanus {180v} princeps praestare deberet. Nihil his responsum est.

¹ SC, 149-150

² SC, 802-803

³ DV, ff. 193v-194v

⁴ DV, 182v-184r

⁵ SC, 49r

⁶ *Salutatio*: Aeneas Silvius poeta magnifico et generoso viro Gaspa-

ri Slik imperiali cancellario salutem plurimam dicit M2, M3

⁷ *omit.* M2, M3

⁸ dilate M2

⁹ qui M2

¹⁰ reperi V3

¹¹ Strasoldum HE, WO

¹² deferendus M2

¹³ *omit.* WO

¹⁴ Teucrorum WO

¹⁵ re tanta : tanta re WO

¹⁶ tam sancta *omit.* V4

194. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (23. November 1445, Vienna).

Context: In the chancellor's absence, Piccolomini was managing the daily affairs at the imperial chancery.
Subject: Piccolomini reports to the chancellor on various current affairs.

Enea Silvio, poet, sends many greetings to His Noble Magnificence, Kaspar Schlick, Imperial Chancellor.

[1] I have entrusted a long letter¹ to Leonhard Velseck,² noble knight, who was sent to Saxony, asking him to deliver it to Your Magnificence on his way. In that letter, I wrote about various matters worthy of mention, some concerning public affairs and others your private ones. I hope you will receive it if it has not already been delivered to you. So, here I shall not repeat what I wrote lest I appear verbose or tedious. Later, when I was in the king's hall, I happened to meet the distinguished knight Franz Strasoldius,³ who is most devoted to you. I asked him what had happened with Pankraz.⁴ He said he would come to me and tell me all, and so he did. He met me in the chancery and told me about his mission and Pankraz's response. And not content with this, since he is a diligent man and his friend's friend, he took a pen and wrote⁵ a letter with a complete account that he gave me for you and which I include in the present letter. I say no more about this since you will have the full report from Franz. I only advise you to embrace a peaceful course and consider the evil times. We must live not as we wish but as we can, and adapt our lives to the times. I do not see at all how Hungary can have peace in our time. But if there is a way for you personally to have peace in your domains, I approve, recommend and urge it.

[2] Apostolic⁶ letters have arrived from Hungary, one for His Royal Majesty⁷ and another for Juan Carvajal. The letter for the king said the Hungarians were in arms and had prepared a large army against the savage Turks to avenge the defeat suffered the year before.⁸ It was now up to the king to ensure that there would be no German obstruction against the Hungarians, forcing them to turn back. If the king did that, it would be considered a form of assistance to the Hungarians, which the Roman prince ought to provide in such a great, useful, holy and necessary matter. Nothing was answered to this.

¹ The letter is not extant.

² Leonhard Völs von Velseck.

³ Not identified.

⁴ Pongrác za Sv. Mikulás [Pankraz von Holitsch] [Halitsch] (-1461):

Military commander from Moravia. Pongrác had been endeavouring to take over Hungarian territories belonging to Kaspar Schlick.

⁵ "dictavit": note that *dictavit* here means that he wrote the letter.

⁶ Papal letters, from Pope Eugenius IV.

⁷ Friedrich III.

⁸ At the Battle of Varna.

[3] Ad Johannem suae litterae per Guidonem diplomatarium transmissae sunt¹. Tabellarius, qui ex Hungaria venit, ait² in festo divi Nicolai conventum regni apud Albam Regalem esse habendum venturumque illuc Poloniae regem, ut est hominum³ audacia, confirmavit. Mira res, si tanto tempore vel mors vel vita unius hominis ignorari potest. Quibusdam mentiri utile est, dum se sic exaltant. Florentinorum proverbium est: dum bella vigent, utendum esse mendaciis, quod palatinus noster non negligit. Sed sunt omnes pusillanimes, vitiosi, perfidi, scelesti, qui se mendacio⁴ potius quam veritate defendunt. Socrates in iudicio reus mori potius voluit quam falsitatis plena Aeschinis oratione liberari. Abjectae conditionis est⁵ homo, qui, ne quid dignitatis vel fortunarum amittat, ad mendacia confugit. Vir fortis et bonus⁶ numquam timet dicere faterique verum sed mitto ista.

[4] Viviana nostra in iudicio est contra Bartholomaeum Veronensem, cujus causa plurimum vacillat, etsi refutato imperiali iudicio Austriae tribunal nacta sit, quod forsitan sibi in damnum verget. Confessa jam est bona se plurima, quae fuerunt⁷ Brunorii, obtinuisse, quamvis illa ex mariti successione ad se venisse contenderit. Ego sibi compatiar, quam video undique spoliari, sed magis Bartholomaeo faveo, quem suam amittere pecuniam iniquum esset, cuique nihil omnino est, {181r} et sororem habet annis nubilem et forma pulchram. Iudicium crastina die habendum est. Ego multum hortatus sum ad concordiam, ut⁸ femina inclinaretur, sed durior est adamante. Credo spem victoriae sibi datam esse. Sed faciet coacta, quod voluntaria⁹ recusavit.

[5] Procopius ex Bohemia reversus est omniaque illic esse turbida refert. Litteras tuas sibi restitui. Mainardus de Nova Domo huc venturus est, sed credo incassum. Illustris¹⁰ contoralis tua apud Greizenstein bene valet. Potuisti audivisse, quomodo apud Frisingam nuntius germani tui, Nicolaus, interceptus fuit et cum iuramentis obligatoriis relaxatus. Idem factum est hic Viennae nuntio adversarii, qui processus apud multas hujus urbis ecclesias publicavit. Nam omnium rerum vicissitudo est, et *qua mensura utimur in alios, eadem erga nos uti fas est*.

[6] Scripsi magnificentiae tuae, Wolfgango ut mandaretis, ne pecunias meas retineret. Habebit enim¹¹ modum, uti spero, et satisfaciendi mihi et reservandi tibi bonam partem. Ego tamen, quas recipiam pecunias, non denegabo in usum cancellariae, si opus fuerit¹². Alia nunc scribenda non occurrunt. Recommendo me tuae magnificentiae tuisque collegis. Ludovicum et Ulricum¹³ jubeo salvos esse cum omni familia tua, jussibus tuis obedire paratus.

Ex Vienna, ipso die sancti Clementis 1445¹⁴ 15.

¹ Ex Hungaria allatae ... sunt *omit.* M2, M3

² *omit.* WO

³ omnium V4

⁴ se mendacio : mendacio se M2, M3

⁵ *omit.* M2, M3

⁶ fortis et bonus : bonus et fortis V3

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

⁸ et M2, M3

⁹ voluntarie M2

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

¹¹ Habebit enim : nam bene habebit M2, M3, V2a, HE, WO; *corr.* ex nam bene habebit V2b

¹² Procopius ex Bohemia ... fuerit *omit.* M2, M3

¹³ Ludovicum et Ulricum *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁴ 1447 V3, V4

¹⁵ ipso die ... 1445 : etc. M2, M3

[3] The letter to Juan was delivered by the messenger Guido.¹ He came directly from Hungary and said that an assembly would be held on the Feast of Saint Nicolaus in Alba Regalis² and that the Polish king³ would be present. Oh, the audacity of men! It is astonishing that - at such a fateful⁴ time - it is not known whether the king is dead or alive. Some people lie to further their own cause. The Florentines have a proverb that during wars, one must use lies. Our palatine⁵ knows this well! But all who would rather defend themselves with lies than with truth are timid, vicious, faithless and criminal. Under accusation, Socrates⁶ would rather die than be freed by an oration of Aeschines,⁷ full of untruths. Only men of the lowest condition would rather have recourse to lies than lose any of their status or wealth. The strong and good man never fears to say and declare the truth, but enough of this.

[4] Our Viviana⁸ is litigating against Bartolomeo of Verona. Her case is shaky. She has refused a trial in the imperial court and obtained one in the Austrian, but this may not prove to her advantage. She has now admitted to having many of Brunoro's⁹ belongings in her possession but claims they have come to her as part of her inheritance from her husband. I have sympathy with her, for I see her being fleeced from all sides. But I favour Bartolomeo even more, for it would be evil if he lost his money since he has nothing else but a sister of nubile age and very pretty. Judgment will be rendered tomorrow. I have urged a peaceful settlement and that the woman should compromise, but she is harder than a diamond. I think she has been given hope of victory but may be forced to do what she refused to do voluntarily.

[5] Prokop¹⁰ has returned from Bohemia and reports that all is in turmoil there. I have given him your letter. Meinhard von Neuhaus¹¹ will be coming here, but in vain, I think. Your illustrious spouse is safe and sound in Greizenstein. You may have heard that Nikolaus, your brother's¹² messenger to Freising, was arrested and only freed after having made forced oaths. The same happened in Vienna with the adversary's¹³ messenger, who made public announcements of the process at many churches in this city.¹⁴ All acts will have their retribution, and *with what measure you mete others, it shall be measured to you again.*¹⁵

[6] I have written to Your Magnificence to require Wolfgang¹⁶ to not keep my money back. I hope he will find a way to both satisfy me and reserve a good part for you. If needed, I shall not decline to use the money I received for the chancery. There is nothing else to write. I recommend myself to Your Magnificence and your colleagues. I ask you to greet Ludwig¹⁷ and Ulrich from me and all your household, and I am, as always, ready to obey your commands.

From Vienna, on the day of Saint Clement 1445.

¹ Guido: papal messenger / courier.

² Székesfehérvár.

³ King Wladyslaw III, who had died in the Battle of Varna the year before.

⁴ "tantus"

⁵ Lörinc Hédérváry

⁶ Socrates (ca. 470-399 BCE): Athenian philosopher.

⁷ Aeschines (399-314 BCE): Greek statesman and orator.

⁸ Possibly, the lady mentioned in letter 160:2.

⁹ Brunoro della Scala [Scaligeri] (-1434): Scion of the della Scala family, once rulers of Verona. Viviana's husband had possibly been his associate or assistant.

¹⁰ Prokop von Rabenstein.

¹¹ Meinhard von Neuhaus [Meinhart z Hradce] (1398-1449): Bohemian noble. Leader of the Hussite party.

¹² Heinrich Schlick.

¹³ Johann Grünwalder.

¹⁴ Heinrich Schlick was still trying to get possession of the diocese of Freising to which he had been appointed by Pope Eugenius V. The other contender, Johann Grünwalder, had been confirmed by the Council of Basel and had already taken possession.

¹⁵ Matthew, 7: 1.

¹⁶ Wolfgang Forchtenauer. A member of the imperial chancery.

¹⁷ Possibly, Ludwig Scheitler, of the imperial chancery.

195. Letter to Simon Reuchlin (c. 20 December 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 187v¹ **.

Editions B: HE, 197, pp. 500-501; WO, 1: 1, 197, p. 586-589; (both based on M1).

{187v} Post recommendationem.

[1] Recepi litteras vestras, in quibus mihi mandatis, ut pensionem quandam solvere debeam, quam dicitis vestro deberi monasterio. Ego, pater reverende, scio me multifarie obligatum esse vestrae paternitati reverendae et praesertim, quia ad ecclesiam in Wiselburg me promovistis, quam recognosco me ex vestra gratia obtinuisse nec umquam committam, ut apud vestram paternitatem reverendam ingratus possim merito reputari.

[2] Quantum vero ad pensionem, de qua scribitis, cum non sit res magna, libenter vestrae paternitati reverendae morem gererem, si hoc non vergeret in dispendium ecclesiae meae, cujus bonum et profectum obligatus sum procurare. Sed sicut ego informatus sum, ecclesiae mea libera est nec censum alicui debet, et antecessor meus numquam² hujusmodi censum solvit. Ideo si ego nunc inciperem solvere, magnum praejudicium generarem successoribus meis, et omnes possent me increpare. Et si omnes tacerent, sanctus Udalricus, patronus meus, non taceret, sed me plurimum accusaret, qui suam ecclesiam ex libera fecerim tributariam. Ideo precor, ut mihi non velitis imputare, si censum non solverim.

[3] Ne tamen credatis, me velle rationi et aequitati contradicere aut jus vestri monasterii impedire, si quod habetis, contentus sum, quod vestra paternitas reverenda per se vel procuratorem privilegia et jura sua coram reverendissimis patribus dominis meis Pataviensis et Chiemensis episcopis³, et si alter istorum dixerit me censum debere, habeatis firmam certitudinem, quod statim illum solvam nec in uno verbo contrariabor, quia nullatenus intendo juribus monasterii vestri derogare, sed potius illa pro meo posse augere. Sed ecclesiam meam, nisi plene informatus sim, quare id fieri debeat, non possum nec debeo gravare. Ideo precor reverendam paternitatem vestram, ut hanc responsionem meam benigne suscipiatis, quia revera cum honestate non possum aliter facere. Recommendo me vestrae reverendae paternitati, ad cujus mandata continuo sum paratus, rogans paternitatem vestram, ut decimas, quas in ecclesia mea recipi facitis, remittere velitis vel saltem ostendere, quo jure id fiat, ut propterea inter nos caritas vigeat et omnes lites cessent.

¹ SV, 378

² unquam WO

³ Pataviensis et episcopis *em.*

WO; etc. cod. (see letter 195: 4).

195. Letter to Simon Reuchlin¹ (c. 20 December 1445,² Vienna).

Context: Piccolomini had received the benefice of Saint Ulrich's church in Wieselburg, and the abbot of Mondsee Abbey requested him to pay the church's rents to the monastery.

Subject: Piccolomini politely declines to pay the rent unless the abbot can prove the monastery's rights to it.

After recommendation.

[1] I have received your letter,³ in which you ask me to pay a rent due to your monastery. Reverend Father, I know that I am in many ways obliged towards Your Reverend Paternity, especially because you appointed me to the church in Wieselburg.⁴ I acknowledge that I received it by your favour, and I shall never do anything which would make me appear ungrateful towards Your Reverend Paternity.

[2] The rent you write about is not great, and I should gladly accommodate Your Reverend Paternity if this would not mean a loss to my church, whose prosperity and progress I am bound to ensure. But according to my information, my church is free [of such obligations] and owes no rent to anybody, and my predecessor never paid such rent. If I began to pay it now, it would burden my successors greatly, and all would criticise me. And even if all others remained silent, my patron Saint Ulrich⁵ would vehemently rebuke me for making his church pay rents when it has formerly been free of such. So I ask you to accept that I do not pay rent.

[3] But lest you think that I want to gainsay reason and equity and oppose your monastery's⁶ rights, if you have such, I shall be happy if Your Reverend Paternity or your procurator [would submit] your privileges and rights to my Most Reverend Lords, the bishops of Passau⁷ and Chiemsee⁸. If just one of them says I should pay rent, you may be assured that I shall pay it immediately and not say one word against it, for in no way do I intend to diminish your monastery's rights but would rather expand them as much as I can. But I cannot put a burden on my church without full information on why that should be done. I ask Your Reverend Paternity to benignly accept this response, for, in truth, I cannot decently act otherwise. I recommend myself to Your Reverend Paternity, whose wishes I am always willing to obey. I ask Your Paternity to please remit the tenths you collect from my church or at least show by what right you do it so that there may be charity between us and all controversy cease.

¹ Simon Reuchlin (1420-1463): Abbot of Mondsee, which he reformed after the Melk constitutions.

² Genzsch proposes the date Anf. Dezember 1444, but this does not agree with the date of the abbot's

reply, which is 31 December 1445.

³ The letter is not extant.

⁴ Church of Saint Ulrich in Wieselburg. Donated in 1107 to the Abbey of Mondsee.

⁵ Patron saint of the church.

⁶ Abbey of Mondsee: Founded in 748, dissolved in 1791.

⁷ Leonhard Laiming.

⁸ Silvester Pflieger.

196. Letter from Simon Reuchlin (30 December 1445, Mondsee).

Manuscripts: MI, ff. 187v-188v¹ **.

Editions B: WO, 1: 1, 197a, pp. 587-588.

{187v} Responsio desuper facta. Sinceram in domino caritatem. Honorabilis et dilecte.

[1] Novimus scripta vestra et antea nudiustertius amicus noster Andreas Loder, cancellarius domini ducis nostri etc. scriptotenus nobis insinuavit, qualiter Nurembergae una vobiscum in causis nostris determinate locutus fuisset et velitis beneplacitis nostris parere ac omnia de ecclesia danda amicabiliter exsolvere, quod libenter audivimus. {188r} Sed, quae nunc scribitis, opposita his videntur, quomodo informatus sitis, quod ecclesia vestra sit libera et nulli censualis et antecessor vester numquam dederit etc.

[2] Respondemus, quod ecclesia Wiselburg totis juribus cum forestis et decimis spectat ad monasterium nostrum, quemadmodum imperialia et episcopalia privilegia nobis eam commendant ast sub apostolicis confirmationibus praescriptis. Nos pariter et antecessores nostri per longaeva tempora in eadem vestra ecclesia perpetuos vicarios ponere consuevimus, qui ordinario in spiritualibus et monasterio in temporalibus responderent, in quibus determinata taxa pecuniae, videlicet quattuor librae, monasterio annue date sunt hucusque ex jure approbationis² et laudabili consuetudine et omnes rectores ejusdem ecclesiae dederunt.

[3] Scribitis, quod antecessor vester numquam exsolvit. Noveritis quod interim idem fuit scholasticus noster, annuatim difalcavit easdem libras in salario suo, sed cum personalem se dedit ad curam domus instanter nobis supplicavit, quatenus in his sibi ad tempus faceremus aliqualem praerogationem, ut in certis utensilibus melius providere posset, ex tune augente fortuna fideliter solvere vellet. Postea et aliquando unam partem solvit et ad hoc manu propria in praesentia fidedignorum spondit, superfluum nobis fideliter administrare. His in medio mors intervenit, tamen animo solvendi et obligandi semper extitit. In eo speramus, quod pietas vestra erga eum et alios juribus nostris non praejudicet.

[4] Contentari etiam velletis in patribus nostris dominis reverendissimis, Pataviensis et Chiemensis episcopis super dictamento eorundem aut unius certitudine conclusionis stare, quod omni modo nobis placeret et contentaremur, si eosdem dominos commode et secure accedere possemus. Scitis namque, quod distantia inter nos longa est, et res illa viam tantam non ostendit.

[5] Constat utique vobis, quod bono animo prae ceteris famulis et fautoribus vos ad eandem ecclesiam promovimus. Merito nos ad tanta deducere non deberetis teste sancto Udalrico, quoniam si novitas postulandi esset repetere minime vellemus et praesertim quantum ad vos, quia tanta parva pecunia vos in nullo sublevet, sed haereditatem talem nostri monasterii jure debitam et praescriptione approbatam dimergere et solvendo non expedire noster patronus Sanctus Michael nos accusaret.

¹ SC, 378-380

² WO; approbatis cod.

196. Letter from Simon Reuchlin (30 December 1445, Mondsee).

Context: See letter 195.

Subject: The abbot argues that the yearly rent charged by his abbey is legal, customary and confirmed by authority. He refuses Piccolomini's proposal concerning the bishops of Chiemsee and Passau.

{187v} Response to the letter above. Sincere charity in the Lord. Honourable and dear [sir].

[1] We know what you wrote earlier, and more than three days ago, Andreas Loder,¹ the chancellor of our lord duke, informed us by letter how he had spoken with you in Nürnberg concerning our affairs and that you would be willing to fulfil our wishes and amicably pay all the fees incumbent upon the church, which we heard with pleasure. But what you write now² is quite the opposite, viz. that you have been informed your church is free and owes taxes to nobody and that your predecessor never paid such etc.

[2] To this we answer that the church in Wieselburg, with all its rights, forests and tenths, belongs to our monastery as granted by imperial and episcopal privileges and confirmed by papal rescripts. Likewise, we and our predecessors have for many years appointed permanent vicars in this your church, who referred to the ordinaries³ in spiritual matters and the monastery in temporal matters, including a fixed sum, viz. four pounds, to be paid annually to our monastery, which have until now been paid according to the right of approval and praiseworthy custom by all the rectors of the said church.

[3] You write that your predecessor never paid rent. You should know that the last incumbent was also our schoolmaster from whose salary the payment of rent was subtracted. But having to tend to his personal affairs⁴, he begged for a postponement [of the payment] in order to acquire certain utensils and would pay when his conditions improved. Later, he paid part of the sum and, in the presence of reliable witnesses, promised to faithfully pay the rest. However, death prevented him from doing so, but he always intended to pay and fulfil his obligations. We hope your respect for him and others will not prejudice our rights.

[4] [You write] that you would be happy to accept the decision of Our Most Reverend Fathers, the lord bishops of Passau and Chiemsee, and obey the pronouncement of both or one of them. This would be acceptable and satisfactory if we had easy and secure access to these lords, but as you know, the distance between us is great and the matter itself should not necessitate such a journey.

[5] In any way, we benignly appointed you to this church, bypassing other servants and patrons. It is not fair that you should marshal Saint Ulrich against us, for if it were a new thing to demand rents [from your church], we would not do it. Moreover, this small sum will not burden you unduly, whereas our own patron, Saint Michael, would certainly accuse us if we gave up our monastery's lawful and formally approved inherited rights.⁵

¹ Andreas Loder (-1458): Chancellor of two Bavarian dukes, Heinrich XVI (duke of Bayern-Lands- hut 1393-1450) and/or Ludwig VIII (duke of Bayern-Ingolstadt 1438-1445).

² See letter 195.

³ The local bishops.

⁴ Instead of exercising his salaried functions as a schoolmaster?

⁵ By appealing to Saint Michael, the abbot cleverly - and wittily -

returns Piccolomini's preposterous argument about Saint Ulrich.

[6] Ob hoc {188v} sinceriter vobis supplicamus, quatenus bona zelo sequentia prioribus continuare velitis pacifice et quiete reddere nostro monasterio annalem et consuetam pensionem sine deductione expensarum et aliorum gravaminum, quae vobis¹ undique venire possent.

[7] Tandem rogatis certas decimas remitti ecclesiae vestrae etc. Respondemus quod omnes decimas, quas recepimus in Wiselburg aut in aliis locis Austriae, absque impulsione omnium antecessorum vestrorum et quorumcumque etiam episcoporum et baronum plus quam per trecentos annos quiete praescipsimus atque per ordinariorum nostrorum confirmationes hactenus monasterium nostrum collegit. Speramus, si quis temeraria manu et neglecto justitiae tenore nos in talismodi infringeret, daretis defensioni auxilium.

Valete igitur in ente, quod entia produxit in esse. Quidquid vestrae adhuc fuerit voluntatis scriptotenus nos doceatis. Datum Mensae, feria quinta infra octavam Nativitatis domini 1445 .

¹ nobis WO

[6] We therefore sincerely beg you to continue the good practice of your predecessors and peacefully and quietly pay the annual and customary rents to our monastery without deduction of expenses and other burdens whatever their origin.

[7] Finally, you ask that certain tenths be remitted your church etc. We answer that all the tenths we have collected from Wieselburg or other places in Austria have been peacefully charged for more than 300 years, without any opposition from your predecessors or bishops and barons, and collected by our monastery with the confirmation of the ordinaries.¹ We hope that if anyone should insolently and unjustly infringe upon our rights, you would come to our defence.

Farewell in the Being that brought beings into existence. Please inform us by letter about your intentions. Given in Mondsee, the fifth day of the Octave of Our Lord's Birth 1445.

¹ I.e., the local bishops.

197. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (end of December 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 69r-70r¹**>; M3, ff. 399v-401r².
Editions A: KOB, 82³.
Editions B: HE, 198, pp. 501-504 (based on M1); WO, 1: 1, 198, p. 589-593; (based on M1, M2).
Literature: Kircher: *Community*.

{69r} Aeneas Silvius, poeta, Johanni Campisio, praestanti philosopho, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Attulit mihi tandem litteras tuas tabellarius Guido⁴, sed illas prius secum Coloniam detulit totamque Belgicam regionem illis ostendit. Itaque, si viarum longitudinem penses, miraberis tam cito mihi restitutas fuisse. Si pericula itineris cogites, monstri simile est⁵ eas me potuisse convenire. In altero igitur Guidonis diligentia, in altero celeritas commendanda est, in utroque fides. Sed credo eloquentiam quoque hominis adjumento fuisse, qui mollire latronum feroces animos potuerit, multum quoque suae vestes juverint, inopiam prae se ferentes. *Cantat enim vacuus coram latrone viator*. Utcumque sit, gratias illi habeo, qui tua mihi scripta reddidit quique omnia, quae in Italia gerebantur, retulit. Idem faciet ad te reversus ex Germania, quidquid Renenses agant, quidquid Bavari, quidquid Australes, Bohemi, Saxones, Poloni ex eo scies, immo et Prutenorum et Lithuanorum actus tibi exponet. Quod si Daciam Norvegiamque et ipsam barbararum⁶ gentium matrem Scantium insulam, ex qua Gothi digressi universam terram invasere, volueris⁷ noscere, et quid illinc agatur scire, Guidonem percontare, non major {69v} illi respondendi quam tibi quaerendi labor erit. Quis enim facundus et sciens dicendo laborat? Magna hujus est eloquentia, scientia major. Nihil interrogabis in eo frustra, sic est imbutus peritusque omnium. Sunt praeterea multae in eo rimae, itaque fluunt ex eo novitates passim et non quaerentibus quoque ultro se ingerunt. Haec de Guidone satis, quem cum audies, nihil amplius ex meis litteris desiderabis.

[2] Video ex litteris tuis meas epistolas, in quibus de summo paenitentiariatus officio reverendissimo communi hero nostro collato congaudebam, ad te minime pervenisse, nam plura in illis tetigi, ad quae non respondes. Similiter et tuas aliquas mihi scriptas arbitror, quae manus meas⁸ non attigerunt, quia non sunt omnes tabellarii Guidoni similes. Agnovi te Senas iturum visurumque philosophandi domum. Utinam potuissem illic esse tecum dulcemque patriam visere et amicos veteres. O quales amplexus et quae verba inter nos fuissent, dum veteris amicitiae mentio incidisset. Sed non sunt haec fata nostra, ut simul possimus vivere.

¹ SC, 145-147

² SC, 799-802

³ DV, 46v-47v

⁴ tabellarius Guido : Guido

tabellarius HE, WO

⁵ *omit.* M3

⁶ barbarorum M3

⁷ voluere M3

⁸ mee M3

197. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (end of December 1445, Vienna).

Context: Piccolomini had received a letter from Campisio with news from Rome.

Subject: After praising the skills of the papal messenger Guido, Piccolomini once again takes up his discussion with Campisio on Fortune that he defends against unjust accusations.

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

[1] The messenger Guido¹ has finally brought me your letter. He had first taken it with him to Cologne and then carried it through all the Belgian region.² Considering the length of the travel, you will be surprised that it has reached me so quickly. Considering the dangers on the road, it is astonishing that it could reach me at all. With regard to the length of the travel, Guido should be commended for his quickness, and with regard to the dangers, for his diligence, and with regard to both, for his faithfulness. But I believe he was helped by his eloquence that enabled him to soften the fierce robbers, and also - much - by his clothes showing him to be a poor man. *For a traveller who is empty-handed can sing in the mugger's face.*³ Whatever the cause, I am grateful to him for delivering your letter to me and for telling me all that is happening in Italy. He will do the same for you when he returns from Germany, and from him, you will hear all that the people in Rhineland, the Bavarians, the Austrians, the Bohemians, the Saxons and the Poles are doing, and he will even tell you about the Prussians and the Lithuanians. And if you want to know about Denmark and Norway and the island of Scantia, mother of barbarous peoples, that the Goths left to invade the whole earth, and what happens there, you may just ask Guido, and it will be as easy for him to answer as for you to ask.⁴ Indeed, speaking is easy for the eloquent and knowledgeable man. Guido's eloquence is great, but his knowledge is even greater. You will not question him in vain - such is his knowledge of everything. There are many cracks in it, and news continuously flows from his mouth and is thrust even upon those not asking. This is enough about Guido: hearing him, you will no longer need my letters!

[2] I see from your letter that my own letter to you, in which I expressed my joy that the office of Grand Penitentiary had been granted to our most reverend common lord,⁵ has not reached you, for in it I mentioned various things to which you did not reply. Similarly, I believe you have sent me other letters that have not reached me, for not all messengers are as reliable as Guido. I know you would go to Siena to visit the home of philosophising.⁶ I wish I could have been with you and seen my fatherland and my old friends. Oh, what embraces and greetings we would have exchanged when we recalled our old friendship. But we are not fated to live together.

¹ Guido: Papal messenger and courier.

² Delivering papal letters to various recipients in the region.

³ Juvenalis, 10: 22.

⁴ Cotta-Schönberg: *De Daniae*, pp. 91-92.

⁵ Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Taglicozzo.

⁶ Campisio had acquired a benefice, probably a parish, close to Siena (See letter 183: 4).

[3] Tu Ramnisiā arguis, quod tibi non multa largitur tibi que non arridet uti plerisque indoctis ignavisque¹ viris, sed vide an bene facias. Mihi saepe hujus deae, quam *Fortunam* dicimus, acta consideranti altior quaedam cogitatio nata est, ut illam non *caecam*, sicut poetae finxerunt, esse censeam, sed admodum oculatam², nam quod ajunt esse eam iniquam rerum hujus saeculi dispensatricem, non video verum esse. Dicunt enim, industrios homines paupertate gravari, ignaros autem Fortunae beneficio maximas opes possidere. Sed mihi non sic videtur ponamque in te exemplum. Ego te ditio rem puto, non dicam Cosmo Medico, sed pluribus regibus. Divitiae namque maximae sunt, lege naturae composita paupertas. Ego scio, mi Johannes, multo tibi plus videri 30 aureos quam aliis quibusdam 30 milia. Fortuna igitur, non ignara conditionis humanae, quos videt³ aptos modico vivere, non curat in eos multa congerere, quia non indigent. At ignavi, nisi pecuniis abundant, despectui⁴ sunt, abjecti, miseri, quibus cur vituperetur Fortuna subsidia praebens⁵?

[4] Sed cui haec ipse dico? Nempe qui ea melius multo me norit, qui non permutaret cum opibus Croesi scientiam suam. Unum hoc addam tuumque iudicium expetam. Communis philosophorum, nisi fallor, opinio est, animi bona extra Fortunae potestatem existere. Quaero ego, an hoc elidi quapiam ratione queat? Si tuum acumen admoveris, scio, dices non esse absque Fortunae benignitate quosdam magna intellectus luce fulgere⁶. Nam si talia sibi organa Fortuna ministrasset, et nisi bene alitus⁷ fuisset ille, quamvis postea sese juverit, numquam talis evasisset. Sint ergo contenti homines docti, si absque magnis opibus magnam scientiam sunt adepti, namque si ex duobus alterum dumtaxat habendum sit⁸, nemo sapiens doctrinae divitias anteponet. Locus est hic altior quam epistolaris brevitatis queat amplecti atque idcirco taceo, quamvis tecum vel paucissimis opus sit.

[5] Nemo contentus est⁹, mi Johannes, nisi qui Deo se dedit et *in illo jactavit cogitatus suos*. Qui mundo serviunt, quanti suis divitis, honoribus potentiisque fruuntur, semper tamen pauperes sunt, anxii, timidi miseriisque¹⁰ infinitis expositi. Delatorem illum, si fugitas¹¹, probo laudoque, nam *quid detur tibi aut quid opponatur*¹² tibi ad linguam dolosam? *Venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum*, quo possunt omnium beneficiorum merita uno momento extinguere. Inveniet ille tamen¹³ aliquando eum¹⁴, qui vicem reddat, nec scio, an *Mithridatis antidoto* poterit uti, qui non solum privata negotia, sed etiam publica labefactat.

¹ ignarisque M3

² em. HE, WO; occultatam M2; occultam M3

³ vidit M2

⁴ despecti M3

⁵ haud scio add. WO

⁶ vigere M2

⁷ em. WO; altus M2, M3, HE

⁸ est M3

⁹ omit. M3

¹⁰ fruuntur ... miseriisque omit.

M2

¹¹ fugitis M2

¹² opponatur HE, WO; apponatur M2, M3

¹³ omit. M3

¹⁴ omit. M2

[3] You revile Ramnisia¹ for not giving you much and not smiling upon you as she does upon many unlearned and foolish men, but consider whether you are justified in this claim. Often a somewhat more sublime conception of this goddess, whom we call *Fortune*, presents itself to my mind, and when I consider her deeds, I think that she is not *blind*,² as the poets have imagined her, but, on the contrary, truly keen-sighted. For when people say she is the evil dispenser of the goods of this world, I see it is not true. They say that industrious men are burdened with poverty, whereas ignorant men are enriched through Fortune's favour. I do not agree, and I will take you as an example. I hold you a wealthier man than – I won't say Cosimo de' Medici³ – but many kings, for the greatest wealth is, by natural law, a well-ordained poverty. I know, my dear Giovanni, that 30 ducats mean more to you than 30,000 do to others. This is because Fortune, knowing human nature, does not wish to heap riches upon those capable of living modestly, for they do not need them. But if fools have little money, they become despised, dejected and miserable, so why should Fortune be reviled for helping them?

[4] But to whom am I saying these words? To someone who knows this much better than me and would not exchange his own knowledge with the riches of Croesus.⁴ I shall only add this – and ask for your judgment. The common view of philosophers, unless I am mistaken, is that the goods of the mind are beyond Fortune's sway. I ask whether this view is invalidated in any way? If you put your mind to it, I am sure you will say that some intellects would not shine so brightly without Fortune's blessing. For if Fortune had [not] given a person in question such faculties,⁵ and he had not been raised well after she helped him, he would never have turned out this way.⁶ So, let learned men be content with having acquired great learning without great riches, for if they had to choose between the two, no wise man would prefer wealth to knowledge. This matter is so profound that it cannot be dealt with adequately in a short letter, and therefore I shall say no more – and anyway, with you, only a few words are necessary.

[5] Dear Giovanni, only he is content who has given himself to God *and has cast his care upon him*.⁷ Those who serve the world are always poor, anxious, timid and exposed to infinite miseries, whatever riches, honours and powers they enjoy. If you flee the accuser, I approve and praise it, for *What shall be given to thee, or what shall be added to thee, to a deceitful tongue?*⁸ *The poison of asps is under their lips*,⁹ which can destroy all the merits of good deeds in just one moment. But he will eventually find someone who does the same to him, and I do not know if he, who subverts not only private affairs but also public, will be able to use Mithridates' counter poison.¹⁰

¹ Ramnisia = Fortune.

² Cicero: *De Amicitia*, 15: 54.

³ Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1469): Florentine banker and statesman. Piccolomini would dedicate a chapter to him in his DVI (ch. 16).

⁴ Kroisos (- 547/546 BCE): King of Lydia. Known for his proverbial wealth.

⁵ "organ"

⁶ I.e., having a great intellect.

⁷ Psalms, 54: 23.

⁸ Psalms, 119: 3.

⁹ Psalms, 13: 3

¹⁰ 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 sub-lethal doses

[6] De Politicis Aristotelis jamdiu¹ tibi scripserann, sed quia non habuisti litteras, sic res se habebat. Volumen est usque ad octavum librum completum, itaque magnum mihi munus erit, si finem mihi transmiseris. Petrum Noxetanum laudo, qui Romanos calores et uxorios ignes fugiens Florentiam perrexit², quamvis et uxor secuta fuerit. Res enim letifera est in Augusto, si Romae sis, uxori operam dare. Ac propterea bene fecerunt veteres, qui sacerdotum curiam illic locarunt, uxoribus enim carent. Curiam Caesaris, quam uxorati sequuntur, in septentrionem {70r} transferri par fuit. Calvum tam commendo quam Juvenalis Ursidium, *si moechorum notissimus olim stulta maritali jam porrigit ora capistro*. Sapientius reverendus³ pater Contes⁴ noster, qui se religioni dedit, ut et sibi et Deo serviat, nam cetera vana sunt, fluxa, caduca. Huic me commendes volo simulque Richardo nostro, cujus, ni fallor, manu tua epistola scripta fuit.

[7] De novitatibus harum partium nil est quod scribam, nisi dux Ludovicus Bavariae senior, quem filius in carcerem coniecit, mortuo crudeli nato, speravit se liberum esse, sed incidit manus marchionis Alberti, qui eum durius tenet. Nunc de sua liberatione tractatur. Docent nos haec et armant ad patientiam, quando tam insignes principes ruere videmus et nunc exilium nunc carceres exilio⁵ majores pati. Nullus homini status firmus est, nemo sibi crastinum promittere potest. Quid nos mortem accusamus, quae nos mille pericula subituros liberat? Longa dies longas miserias parit.

[8] Ago ingentes gratias reverendissimo domino meo Adriensi, qui, ut ais, ob mei memoriam te convivio exceptit. Nam quamvis sibi ex te ipso carissimus sis, facile tamen tibi do fidem meam ob causam quoque⁶ plusculum te amari. Sic enim de sua erga me humanitate percepi, dum Romae forem. Ex eo, precor, scisciteris, an suas litteras perceperit et an gratae fuerint. Nam si aliquid mutandum est, id prope fiet neque difficultas erit nec mora in me, sed in Caesare minor, qui libenter tanto patri morem gerit. Commenda me sibi et dede, quantulus sum, reverendissimis dominis meis Tarentino et Cumano. Credo, etiam si taceam, me⁷ commendabis, et quae nova scribo communicabis, quamvis parvi momenti sint⁸ apud vos, qui more hominum solum, quae prope sunt et quae vel prodesse vel obesse possunt, magnificatis.

¹ nam diu M2

² porrexit WO

³ reverendissimus WO

⁴ comes M2

⁵ ex illo M3

⁶ quocumque M3

⁷ omit. M3

⁸ sunt M2

[6] I have already written to you about Aristotle's *Politica*, but since you did not receive my letter, this is the situation: Only the eight first volumes have been completed, so you will do me a great favour if you send me the rest. I commend Pietro da Noceto for fleeing the Roman heat and uxorial passions and going to Florence though his wife followed him. For in Rome, it is deadly to exert yourself with your wife in August.¹ Therefore, the old ones did well when they placed the priests' court there, for they do not have wives. And it was quite sensible to move the emperor's court, where the men are married, to the North. I commend Calvi² as much as Juvenal's Ursidius *if the man who was once the most notorious of Casanovas is now inserting his head into marital halter*.³ Our Reverend Father Conte⁴ acted more wisely when he joined a religious order to serve himself and God, for everything else is vain, unstable and futile. Please recommend me to him and also to our Ricardo,⁵ by whose hand, unless I am mistaken, your letter was written.

[7] Concerning the news from this region, I have nothing to write except this: the elder Duke Ludwig of Bavaria,⁶ who was thrown into prison by his son,⁷ hoped to be free when his cruel offspring died. Now, however, he has fallen into the hands of Margrave Albrecht⁸ who holds him in strict imprisonment.⁹ They are presently negotiating about his release. It is a lesson that prepares us to be patient when we see such eminent princes fall and suffer exile or imprisonment worse than exile. No man's status is permanent, and no one can promise himself a tomorrow. So, why do we accuse death when it frees us from undergoing a thousand dangers? A long day means long miseries.

[8] I send immense thanks to my Most Reverend Lordship of Adria,¹⁰ who - you say - invited you to dinner out of regard for me. For though you yourself are most dear to him, I easily trust you [when you say] that he loves you even more for my sake. Thus I perceived his kindness towards me when I was in Rome. Please ask him if he has received my letter and if it was welcome. For if something should be changed, it can be done speedily,¹¹ and there will be no difficulty or delay in me but even less in the emperor, who will gladly accommodate such a great Father. So commend me to him and also give [my regards] to my Most Reverend Lords of Taranto¹² and Como.¹³ I believe that you would commend me even if I said nothing and that you will communicate the news I write to them though they may be of little moment to you who - like men usually do - care most about the things that are close to them and can benefit or harm them.

¹ Sex in strong heat is perilous. This whole passage is a joke, obviously.

² Jacopo Calvi.

³ Juvenalis, 6: 42-43.

⁴ Conte dei Cacciaconti.

⁵ Ricardo de Valencia? See letters 50 and 64.

⁶ Ludwig VII (ca. 1368-1447): Duke of Bayern-Ingolstadt from 1413 to his death. Imprisoned in 1443.

⁷ Ludwig VIII (1403-1445): Duke of Bayern-Ingolstadt from 1438 to his death.

⁸ Albrecht III Achilles (Hohenzollern) (1414-1486): Margrave of Brandenburg. Prince-electoral 1471.

⁹ After the death of his son in 1445, Ludwig VII first became the prisoner of Margrave Albrecht but was later handed over to his cousin enemy, Duke Heinrich XVI of

Bayern-Landshut, as whose prisoner he died in 1447.

¹⁰ Bartolomeo Roverella.

¹¹ The letter probably contained some poems, though not the collection of epigrammata contained in the ms. BAV / Chis. I VIII 287, ff. 246 ff., for they are addressed to Roverella as Archbishop of Ravenna (which he became later).

¹² Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo.

¹³ Cardinal Gerardo Landriani.

[9] Vegio salutes dicito, quas nosti oportere, nam vetus amicitia extincta non est nec potest extinguī, dum vivimus. Novariensem antistitem puto repatriasse et eam ob rem non do sibi litteras. Orestem, quem misit, non accepi nec latorem monachum usquam vidi, quamvis in curia semper fuerim. Medicum illum nostrum credo dietim fieri mediciozem, donec vena incidatur. Mira est haec vinea, quae tot flores facit et numquam uvas. Julianum ne praetereas, quem in calce epistolae pono, ut magis memoriae incidat.

Vale et scribe, ut soles¹.

¹ etc. *add.* M2

[9] Greet Vegio¹ as you sit fit, for our old friendship is not extinct, nor can it be extinguished as long as we live. I believe the [bishop of] Novara² has gone home, so I do not send a letter for him. I have not received the Orestes he sent and never seen the monk who brought it, though I have been at court the whole time. I believe our physician³ will become more physician-like all the time until his veins burst. It is a strange vineyard that produces so many flowers but never any grapes. Do not pass over Giuliano,⁴ whom I mention last, so that you will better remember him.

Farewell, and write as always.

¹ Maffeo Vegio.

² Bartolomeo Visconti.

³ Unidentified.

⁴ Giuliano da Roma.

198. Letter to an unknown (July or October 1443, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 55r^l **.

Editions B: HE, 199, pp. 504; WO, 1: 1, 199, p. 593; (both based on M1).

{55r} Venerabilis etc.

[1] Sicut in omnibus, quae tibi utilia aut placita forent et mihi possibile essent, libentissime voluntati tue parerem. Ita et desideria mea exauditionem apud te habere confido. Ea de causa cum venerabili viro N. quaedam negotia apud reverendissimum patrem et illustrem principem episcopum N., dominum meum gratiosissimum, expedienda commiserim, illud quoque ipsum monui, ut tuo consilio in omnibus uteretur² tuosque favores imploraret, sperans, quia pro me libenter sis laboraturus. Commendo igitur tuae curae rem hanc teque rogo et obsecro, ut eundem H. tuo auxilio faveas et in causa mea non solum adjutor sed patronus existas et ita agas, ut omnes intelligant, te tam esse meum, quam ego sum tuus.

Vale feliciter. Reverendissimo domino episcopo, quoad potes³, me commendo et dedo. Ex Vienna.

¹ SC, 110

² *em.* WO; utentur cod.

³ *Textus corruptus?*

198. Letter to an unknown (July or October 1443,¹ Vienna).

Context: A formulaic letter only known from one early manuscript containing the letters of Piccolomini.

Subject: The writer entrusts and commends a certain matter to a friend.

Venerable² etc.

[1] As in all other matters useful or dear to you and possible for me, I should like to accommodate your wishes also in this, and I trust that you will likewise heed mine. Therefore, I have entrusted certain affairs involving the Most Reverend Father and Illustrious Prince Bishop N., my most kind lord, to the venerable N., and I have asked him to use your counsel in everything and to beg for your services, hoping that you will gladly undertake this labour for my sake. I recommend the matter to your care and beg you to favour H. with your assistance and be not only a helper but a patron in my affair and to act in such a way that all see you are mine as much as I am yours.

Farewell. I commend and devote myself entirely to the Most Reverend Lord Bishop. From Vienna.

¹ After Genzsch.

² This title indicates a clerical addressee.

199. Letter to an unknown (July - December 1443, no place).

Manuscripts: *M1*, f. 55r¹ **.

Editions B: *HE*, 202, pp. 505-506; *WO*, 1: 1, 202, pp. 594-595; (both based on *M1*).

{55r} Honorabilis vir, amice optime.

[1] Alias cum serenissimus dominus noster rex primarias suas preces ad ecclesiam etc. mihi contulisset, ego confidens de virtute et honestate vestra litteras ipsarum precum vobis dedi, ut eas capitulo dictae ecclesiae praesentaretis, quando tempus occurreret. Verum quia nunc, sicut accepi, vos impedimentis quibusdam detineamini, propter quae rebus meis vacare non potestis, de quo doleo, amicitiam vestram rogo et precor, quatenus litteras praefatas primariarum precum et omnia monumenta mea, quae habetis, velitis venerabilibus viris etc. aut alteri eorum tradere et assignare, ut ipsi possint rem meam promovere, ex quo vos non potestis. Et in hoc facietis mihi gratiam singularem, quoniam, ut semper fui, sic ero semper ad vestra beneplacita paratissimus.

Datum.

¹ SC, 110

199. Letter to an unknown (July - December 1443,¹ no place).

Context: Possibly a formulaic letter for the use of chancery officials in matters of *primariae preces* (see also letters 132, 133, 137).

Subject: The writer asks the recipient to expedite a royal grant of *primariae preces*.

Honourable and dear friend.

[1] When our Most Serene Lord King had conferred on me his *primariae preces* to a church etc. I sent the letter of *preces* to you, trusting in your virtue and honour so that you would present it to the chapter of the said church when appropriate. But now I hear that you are prevented from doing so due to circumstances that prevent you from attending to my business. I much regret this and ask and beg you as a friend to forward and entrust the aforesaid letter of *primariae preces* and other documents you have from me to the venerable men etc. or one of them so they can expedite my business since you cannot. Thus you will do me a singular favour, and I shall, as always, be more than ready to heed your wishes.

¹ After Genzsch.

200. Letter to an unknown (10 - 24 October 1443, no place).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 118v¹ **.

Editions B: HE, 203, p. 506; WO, 1: 1, 203, pp. 595; (both based on M1).

[1] Venit Tridentum honorabilis etc. pro certis suis agendis negotiis, qui meus et notus et amicus est. Ideo eum vobis, quoad possum, efficio commendatum, cupiens, ut sibi meo respectu et suarum virtutum favores, quos potestis, impendatis, ostendendo litteras meas ejus causa scriptas apud vos efficaces fuisse, in qua re mihi plurimum complacebitis, parato in quibus possim pro vestris amicis vicem rependere.

¹ SC, 237

200. Letter to an unknown (10 - 24 October 1443,¹ no place).

Context: Possibly a formulaic letter for the use of chancery officials.
Subject: A letter of recommendation.

[1] The honourable etc. is going to Trient to take care of some affairs of his. He is well-known to me and a friend. Therefore, I commend him to you as much as I can and wish you to favour him as much as possible out of regard both for me and his own qualities, and to show that you will heed my letter, written in his favour. Thus you will please me immensely. I am, of course, ready to return the favour in all ways [useful] to you and your friends.

¹ After Genzsch.

201. Letter to an unknown (No date, no place).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 118v¹ **.
Editions B: None.

[1] {118v} Compariturus est coram vobis honorabilis H., cives Wiennensis, mihi grata benevolentia junctus, qui quendam habet causam per² vestram paternitatem cognoscendam et jussu regio decidendam contra quendam Bononiensem. Rogo ergo et precor, quatenus cum honore suscipiens H. pridem in sua justitia commendatum, suscipiatis, celerem sibi expeditionem praebeundo, in qua re mihi, qui vobis desidero in omnibus complacere, rem gratam acceptamque plurimum facietis.

¹ SC, 237

² *em.*; quam cod.

201. Letter to an unknown (No date, no place).

Context: Possibly a formulaic letter for the use of chancery officials.

Subject: A letter of recommendation.

[1] The honourable H., a Viennese citizen, united with me in mutual affection, will come to visit you. He has a dispute with a citizen of Bologna which the king requests Your Paternity to investigate and settle. So I ask and beg you to receive H. honourably, consider him as recommended in his rights, and to expedite the matter quickly. Thus you will do a great and much-appreciated favour to me, who much desire to please you in all things.

201a. Letter to an unknown (No date, no place).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 56^r
Editions A: None
Editions B: None

{56r} Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine generose.

[1] Perrexit alias majestas domini mei regis primarias preces suas ad capitulum ecclesiae vestrae N. pro venerabili viro Jacobo, regalis majestatis suae notario. Postmodum vero executores earundem precum litteras vestrae reverendissimae paternitati commisit. Locutus etiam pro parte ipsius domini regis cum vestra paternitate reverendissima fuit reverendus pater in Christo episcopus Chiemensis, regis consiliarius. Quibus ex rebus satis arbitror hoc negotium vobis cordi esse cum exinde complacentiam fieri non modicam regiae serenitati. Quia tamen et ego ipsius Jacobi servitiis utor complurimis cumque ... suorum exigentiam meritorum diligo, non ab re censeo, si et ego pro eo scribam ipsumque vestrae paternitati commendem. Oro igitur atque obsecro, ut meo quoque intuitu eidem Jacobo vestros velit impartiri favores omninoque facere, ut ipse regiarum precum consequatur effectum, nam et regiae majestati plurimum complacebitis, et me quamquam vestrum servum obligatiorem vobis reddetis.

¹ SC, 112

201a. Letter to an unknown (No date, no place).

Context: See the preceding letters.

Subject: Piccolomini recommends a colleague from the imperial chancery to a prelate.

Most Reverend Father in Christ and My Noble Lord.

[1] My Lord, His Majesty,¹ has previously sent a letter of *primariae preces* to the chapter of your church N. in favour of the Venerable Jakob,² notary of His Royal Majesty. Afterwards, he sent a letter of execution to Your Most Reverend Paternity. The Reverend Father in Christ, the Bishop of Chiemsee,³ royal counsellor, has spoken on behalf of the Lord King with Your Most Reverend Paternity. So, I believe you will have this affair at heart and be intent on accommodating His Royal Serenity. But since I, too, often use Jakob's services and have great affection for him, as his merits demand, I think it appropriate that I, too, write and commend him to Your Paternity. So, I ask and beg that you would, out of regard for me, show Jakob favour and ensure the success of the *primariae preces* on his behalf, which would much please His Royal Majesty and make me your devoted servant.

¹ Friedrich III.

² Jakob Widerl?

³ Silvester Pflieger.

202. Letter to Johann Tuschek (end of 1445 / beg. of 1446).

Manuscripts: SLUB / F.172c, ff. 71r-71v **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: Märkl: Neue, pp. 183-184.

Literature: Märkl: Neue.

{71r} Dominus Aeneas ad Tuschkonem protonotarium Pragensem. Domino Johanni Tuschkoni, amico probato, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Dedi ad te nuper litteras gratiasque de biblia retuli, quam mihi misisti. Argentum nobili equiti Procopio nostro numeravi. Sed ajunt aliqui nec quam tibi scripsi nec quam magistro Johanni Schindel, philosopho et astronomo nostri temporis praestantissimo, epistolam obsignaram in Bohemiam pervenisse. *Incidit enim latrones* tabellarius ac non solum auro, sed etiam litteris excussus¹ est. Perdant superi hoc genus latronum, qui non tantum sibi lucrum quaerunt, sed aliis quoque incommoditatem absque suo emolumento. Hi sunt, qui merces vehi de loco in locum prohibent, hi caristiam faciunt, hi *bella* suscitant, hi *foedus humanae societatis obrumpunt* nec ullum sinunt inter provincias ac provincias esse commercium.

[2] Quod si tuta essent itinera nec mare piratis nec silvae² campique *latronibus infestarentur* frequenter in Almaniam Itali et in Italiam Almani proficiscerentur, nec in orienti res ulla esset humanae vitae necessaria, quae non transiret in occidentem, nec rursus mercimonia sua negarent eo ipso occidentales fieretque unum totius orbis corpus dulceque ac delectabile foret nunc illam regionem nunc istam visere.

¹ em. Märkl; excessus cod.

² em. Märkl; silvi cod.

202. Letter to Jan Tuschek (end of 1445 / beg. of 1446).

Context: See letters 192 and 193.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Tuschek that a messenger with money and letters for him and Johann Schindel had been robbed on the way. He denounces the effects of robberies and describes international commerce in a world free of such.

Enea to Tuschek, protonotary in Prague. Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Jan Tuschek, a proven friend.

[1] Recently, I sent you a letter thanking you for the Bible you sent me. I gave the money to our noble knight, Prokop.¹ But some say that the letter I wrote to you and another that I sent to Johann Schindel,² philosopher and foremost astronomer of our time, never arrived in Bohemia, for the messenger *fell among robbers*³ who took not only the money but also the letters. May the heavenly beings destroy such robbers, who not only seek gain⁴ for themselves but harm others with no profit for themselves. Those are the men who hinder the transportation of goods from one place to another, cause shortages, start wars, *break the bonds of human society*⁵ and do not allow commerce between the provinces.

[2] If travelling were safe and the seas not infested by pirates and forests and fields not *beset by brigands*,⁶ the Italians would often go to Germany and the Germans to Italy. All necessities of human life [produced] in the East would be brought to the West, and likewise, the Westerners would not refuse to send their wares to the East. The whole world would become one community, and it would be pleasant and delightful to visit now one region, now another.

¹ Prokop von Rabenstein.

² See letters 192 and 193.

³ Luke, 10: 30.

⁴ The money.

⁵ Isidoro de Sevilla: *Etymologiae*, 18: 1.

⁶ Macrobius, 1: 7, 27.

[3] Nempe si tutior ad vos fuisset accessus, jamdudum ego Bohemiam petivissem famosamque illam totiusque Germaniae principem urbem Pragam, templa, domos, arces, pontes, universitatem et homines ritusque gentis contemplatus fuisset. Sed horrenda latronum iniquitas nedum mihi, sed meis etiam litteris praecludit aditum nec vel Tuschkonem {71v} vel Schindel vel alium quemvis amicum me scriptis alloqui sinit. Utinam meas inciderent manus! Non vererem irregularitatem, nam quae major est pietas quam impium plectere, quae major justitia quam injustum punire, quae major innocentia quam nocentem obviare conatibus? Nempe nulla victima Deo acceptior, nulla hostia gratior, nullum sacrificium jucundius est, quam cum sotes supplicio dantur aut vel in rota vel in cruce latrones¹ affliguntur²? Sed mitto haec, ne feras tu, oro, iniquo animo, si prius tibi non egi grates. Non enim mea negligentia fuit, sed latronum culpa. Tu jam *nosti qui sim*. Scis me tuum esse paratum in quovis loco tuis obsequi jussibus, tuam utilitatem quaerere, tuum honorem augere, tuis voluptatibus inservire, tuis desideriis morem gerere. Si me non uteris, tibi, non mihi ascribas. Johanni Schindel, eleganti patri, me commendatum facito. Et quando superest tempus, ad me nonnihil scribito.

Vale optime etc.

¹ *omit.* Märkl

² *affiguntur?* Märkl

[3] Indeed, had it been safer to travel to you, I would already have visited Bohemia and seen Prague, famous and principal city in all of Germany, with its temples, houses, castles, bridges, university, and men, and I would have studied the customs of this people. But robbers' horrid wickedness has prevented me and even my letters from reaching [Prague] and forbidden me to speak with Tuschek, Schindel and any other friend there by letter. Oh, how I wish that these bandits would fall into my hands! I should not be afraid of extreme measures, for what can be more pious than to chastise the impious, and what can be more just than to punish the unjust, and what can be more innocent than to oppose the endeavours of wicked men? Indeed, no sacrificial offering is more pleasing to God than when criminals are punished and robbers crucified or tortured on the wheel.¹ But I say no more of this lest you be offended that I did not thank you previously. However, that was not my fault but the robbers! You already *know who I am*.² You know that I am – wherever I am - ready to fulfil your requests, to seek your advantages, to further your honourable status, to please you and accommodate your wishes. If you do not use me, do not blame me but yourself. Please recommend me to the distinguished father, Johannes Schindel. And when you have time, write something to me.

Farewell.

¹ This bloodthirstiness, quite uncharacteristic of Piccolomini, shows the extent of his frustration.

² Terentius: *Adelphoe*, 177: *nostin qui sim?*

203. Letter to Peter von Mladonowitz (first half of 1446).

Manuscripts: SLUB / F.172c, ff. 71v-72r **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: Märkl: Neue, pp. 184-185.

Literature: Märkl: Neue.

{71v} Magistro Petro collegiato Pragensi. Vir frugi et ornatissime.

[1] Accepi litteras tuas, quas Georgius noster attulit simulque homeliarum codicem. Ago tibi ingentes gratias, qui antequam me vel videris vel noveris donare singularibus muneribus voluisti. Fuit mihi voluptati vetustissima libri elementa insuetosque nostro saeculo characteres intueri. Dura ab initio lectio erat, sed *pertinax* usus *omnia vincit*. Lego iam nedum sine labore, sed cum jucunditate. Quidquid est, quod ex me optabas¹, iam est obtentum fiuntque litterae, {72r} quas tibi Gregorius destinabit. Si quid plus est, quod ex me velis, paratum promptumque habes animum. Quas mihi attribuis laudes, agnosco non esse meas, nam etsi aliquid dicendo scribendoque sim assecutus, plures tamen viros habet haec aetas, quibus me imparem scio, quorumque vellem non ineptus reputari discipulus.

Vale, et quem sic coepisti amare persevera.

¹ *em.*; optabis cod.

203. Letter to Peter von Mladonowitz (first half of 1446).

Context: The context of this letter is not known.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks Peter for a gift and informs him that he has fulfilled his wish.

To Magister Peter, decent and distinguished college member.

[1] I have received your letter that our Georg brought together with a volume of homilies. I thank you greatly for wanting to give me excellent gifts even before you have seen me or come to know me. I was most happy to examine this ancient book and the script unusual in our age. First, it was hard to read, but *the steadfast conquers all*.¹ So, I now not only read it but enjoy it. What you wanted from me has already been obtained, and a letter is being written, which Gregor will send to you. If you want more from me, I am ready and willing. I confess that I do not really possess the qualities you ascribe to me, for though I have gained some merit by speaking and writing, this age has several men who I know surpass me and whose talented disciple I should like to be considered.

Farewell, and continue to love me as you have begun to.

¹ Livius, 25: 14, 1: *vincit tamen omnia pertinax virtus.*

204. Letter to Prokop von Rabstein, Leonhard Velseck and Gregor (first half of 1446, Vienna).

Manuscripts: SLUB / F.172c, ff. 72r-72v **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: Märtl: Neue, pp. 185-186.

Literature: Märtl: Neue.

{72r} Procopio ac Leonhardo, praeclaris equitibus, Gregorio quoque, juveni morato et solerti, amicis suis carissimis, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Credo vos in paradiso deliciarum esse, qui nihil ad me vel scribitis vel significatis. Sic mos hominum est: nemo qui fortunatus est, infelicis amici recordatur. Sed habeatis vobis¹ Novam Civitatem, habeatis scaturientes et salientes aquas, habeatis purum et recentem aerem, habeatis vobis arma, vobis equos, vobis quascumque optatis delicias; nobis Vienna sat est. Si non meminertis nostri, nec nos vestri memoriam habebimus, quamvis equi leonardites dietim aliquos in pedibus cedant et in capite dolorem faciant. Vos micibus Hungaricis fruimini, nos golinis utimur. Utinam vos huc potius vocari quam nos istic contingat! Sed puto aerem vestrum obtenturum. Parcite mihi, quia violavi silentium vestrum. Parcite, quia scribere coepi. Scio, si annis mille hic essem et vos illic, numquam mihi scriberetis. *Tanta est vestri erga me magnitudo* amoris. Nec enim {72v} quietem meam violare velletis et me tacentem ad scribendum compellere. Scio quantum criminis committam, qui prior incipiam scribere. Sed ignoscite obsecro, si nunc peccatum est. Deinceps tacebo.

¹ *em.* Märtl; vos cod.

204. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein, Leonhard Velseck and Gregor (First half of 1446, Vienna).

Context: While Piccolomini was staying in Vienna, his friends and colleagues had, he imagined, a high time in Wiener Neustadt.

Subject: Piccolomini humorously rebukes his friends for not writing to him.

{72r} Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the eminent knights Prokop¹ and Leonhard, and to Gregor², civilised and clever youth.

[1] I believe you must be in the garden of delights since you do not write to me. But that is the way of men: no fortunate man remembers an unfortunate friend! But you can have your Neustadt, you can have your gushing and leaping waters, you can have your pure and fresh air, you can have your arms, your horses and all the delights you want: we have enough in our Vienna! If you do not remember us, we do not remember you, though Leonhard's³ horses daily step on someone's toes⁴ and give them a headache.⁵ You enjoy Hungarian delicacies⁶ while we drink *golinum*.⁷ I hope you will be sent⁸ here rather than me there! But I think that, in fact, I shall be breathing your air, too. Forgive me for breaking your silence. Forgive me for writing to you first, but I know that you would never write to me even if I were here for thousand years and you were there. *So great is your love for me!*⁹ For you would not disturb my peace nor force me, being silent, to write to you. I know I am committing a crime by writing first, but I beg you to forgive me if I have sinned now. Afterwards, I shall remain silent.

¹ Prokopo von Rabenstein.

² Not identified.

³ Leonhard Völs von Velseck.

⁴ "aliquos in pedibus cedant": ?

⁵ (?)

⁶ "micibus": Not identified by Märzl.

⁷ Not identified by Märzl. A wine, possibly from Germany and Austria. Van Heck defined *golinum* as a *potio* (HE, p. 280). Piccolomini also used the term *golinum* in a letter Jan Tuschek of 1 May 1444 (letter 138: 5).

⁸ "vocari"

⁹ Cicero: *Epistolae ad familiares*, 12, 1 (1: 1, 1): *tanta enim magnitudo est tuorum erga me meritum (Your services to me have been so great).*

205. Letter to Johann von Eich (1 January 1446, Vienna).

Manuscripts: MUB / 2to, 667, f. 122v **.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 1, pp. 3-4.

{667} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et illustri principi, domino Johanni de Aich, episcopo Eystetensi, domino suo primori, Aeneas Silvius, imperialis secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Sublimationem tuam cum accepissem, dedi ad te statim litteras, quibus et animi mei laetitiam significavi et aliqua monumenta tradidi ad vitam tuam, ut opinabar, necessaria, non quod per te illa nescires, sed ut meum exinde testatum erga te amorem haberes. Nihil postea ex te intellexi de te, sed ex aliis quam votive tibi succederet et audivi et fui gavisus. Ajunt enim, qui illuc ad nos veniunt, te confirmatum esse et possessionem habere pacificatam, quod mihi tuisque omnibus amicis voluptati est.

[2] Verum te nihil scribere molestum est timemusque, ne mores cum dignitate mutaveris atque, ut magnus es, non digneris nisi magnos¹. Quod si faceres, nec statui nec honori tuo consuleres. Decet enim hominem, quanto potentior est majorique fruitur dignitate, tanto se submissius gerere, et praesertim episcopum, qui communis est pater omnium, in quo relucere debet modestia singularis, humanitas praecipua, benignitas admirabilis, quibus dotibus cum te natura egregie vestierit, vide, ne nunc exuat fortuna, quod sane numquam suspicarer, nisi quod te nihil scribere magis superbiae quam occupationi tradimus. Loquor tecum aperta fronte, nihil subiticeo, sic enim inter amicos decet. Si me haec vis omittere, scribe aliquando: "Enea vale," aut si mihi non vis scribere, quia non sum dignus tuis apicibus, jube me salutari per alios. Neque enim satis est, quod vir praestantissimus ac doctor subtilis, dominus Johannes de Francfordia, semel tamen ex tuo jussu valere me jusserit tuamque mihi fortunam retulerit. Nam cum ego semper te amem, semper vellem aliquid de te audire. Plura essent scribenda, sed cum tu nihil rescribas, parcus ero comprimamque calamum. Unum tamque prius dixero, nam si amico dicendum est, quod utile sit, hortor te, ut antiquorum amicorum sis memor nec veteres cum novis mutes.

¹ *Textus corruptus? A verb may be missing.*

205. Letter to Johann von Eich (1 January 1446, Vienna).

Context: Johann von Eich, former colleague and friend of Piccolomini, had not answered Piccolomini's letter of congratulation on his episcopal appointment.

Subject: Piccolomini exhorts von Eich to remember his former friends, especially himself and Johann from Frankfurt, hurt by the new bishop's silence.

Enea Silvio, imperial secretary, sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Illustrious Prince, Lord Johann von Eich, Bishop of Eichstätt, his eminent lord.

[1] When I heard of your elevation, I immediately sent you a letter,¹ in which I told you how happy it made me, including some advice concerning your life which - I believe - were necessary not because you needed them, but to show my affection for you. Since then, I have had nothing from you, but from others I have heard, with joy, how well everything has turned out for you, for those who come here say that you have been confirmed and gained peaceful possession,² which delights your friends happy.

[2] But we are hurt that you do not write to us. We fear that your character has changed with your exalted position and that now you have become great, you only deign to [converse] with [other] great people. If this is so, you benefit neither your position nor your honour. For the greater power a man has and the more exalted his position, the more humbly he should behave, especially a bishop, who is the common father of all and who should be distinguished by singular modesty, outstanding humanity, and admirable benignity. Since Nature has generously endowed you with these qualities, you should ensure that Fortune does not abandon you, which I would never have feared if we did not ascribe your lack of writing to your being proud rather than to your being occupied. I say this openly and keep nothing back, for thus it should be among friends. If you do not want me to do so, then just write to me, "Farewell, Enea", and if you do not want to write to me because I am not worthy of your exalted status, then ask others to greet me. It is not enough that you asked the excellent man and eminent doctor, Johann from Frankfurt, to greet me and tell me of your happy circumstances, for since I would always love you, I would also always wish to hear directly from you. I have more to write, but since you do not write back, I shall spare my words and restrain my pen. But first of all I shall say this - since one should tell a friend what is good for him: please remember your old friends and do not replace them with new ones.

¹ Letter 188.

² Possession of the episcopal see.

[3] Habes, domine, Johannem, de quo supra dixi. Is, quantuscumque est, tuus est tuaque gaudia solide gaudet. Testis sum ejus in te amoris, nam semper de te loquitur, ut facile sit amantem cognoscere, qui diu conjunxit. Amicus, qui probatus est, nullo auro permutandus est. Nullae majores divitiae sunt, quam verae amicitiae. Habeat sibi quisvis opes, dominia, honores, nisi amicis fultus est, is pauper est. At cui sunt amici, quamvis absint aliae facultates, is pauper esse non potest. Sed amicitiae non possunt omni die comparari, multum tempus terit, antequam verus noscatur amicus, et *comedendus est modius salis*, priusquam fiat experientia. Qui sunt in statu magno fortunamque habent ridentem, plures inveniunt, qui se dicunt amicos esse, qui tamen non hominem sed fortunam sequuntur, qua mutata et ipsi quoque faciem avertunt. Sunt enim adultores, non amici. Tu ergo, pater optime, cum aliquando in tenui vita fueris, amicos tamen complures inveneris, inter quos Johannem tuum numerasti. Veriores hos reddito, firmiores fidelioresque tibi omnibus aliis, quos postea conciliare potueris. Nam in magna fortuna vix magna fides invenitur. Habes jam, quod me hanc brevem epistolam scribere compulerit, nam querelae sunt, quas paucis verbis evadere potes. Utinam huc aliquando volites tuamque illam, quam jam induisti cum dignitate, gravitatem nobiscum inter socios exuas, Johannem te exhibeas. Plura sunt, quae tibi communicare habeo, quae non episcopum, sed doctorem exposcunt.

Vale et cum jam cancellarium habeas, si non vis scribere, jube, tuus ut cancellarius scribat. Ex Vienna, kalendis Januarii anno 1446.

[3] Take Johann, My Lord, whom I mentioned above. He is completely yours and shares your joys. I bear witness to his affection for you, for he always speaks about you, making it easy to recognise someone who loves you, and he has been close to you for a long time. A proven friend should not be traded for gold. No riches are greater than true friendships. You may have wealth, dominions and honours, but if you do not have friends, you are poor. But friendships cannot be gained every day: it takes a long time before you know someone to be a true friend, and *a peck of salt must be eaten*¹ before true friendship may be recognised. Those with a high position and Fortune smiling at them find many who claim to be their friends, but they do not follow the man but Fortune, and when Fortune changes, they, too, avert their faces. For they are flatterers, not friends. Best of Fathers, when you were in lesser circumstances, you had many friends, and among them Johann. Make them more true, firm and trustworthy than all the new friends you will get from now on. For in great fortune, you hardly find great loyalty. This is what compelled me to write this short letter. They are complaints that you can dispose of with just a few words. I hope you will sometime fly back here and, while being among your old companions, put off the gravitas you have now put on together with your high office. And I hope you will communicate with Johann. There are many things that I would share with you, but they are for the ears of a scholar, not a bishop.

Farewell, and since you now have a chancellor, ask him to write a message. From Vienna, 1. January 1446.

¹ Cf. Aristotle: *Eth. Eudem.*, 7. 2; *Eth. Nic.*: 8.3.8. Quoted by Cicero:

De amicitia, 19: 67: *Modios multos salis simul edendos esse* (men

must eat many a peck of salt together).

206. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (4 January 1446, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 76v¹ **; Paris / Bibl. Nationale / 10344, f. 72r *; BAV / Vat. Palat. 1880, f. 94r *; Hohenfurt / 47, f. 221r *.
Editions A: KOB, 95².
Editions B: WO, 1: 1, 2, pp. 4-6 (on the basis of the mss. listed above).

{76v} Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit praestanti philosopho, domino Johanni Campisio, amicoque optimo.

[1] Accepi ex tuis litteris cardinalem Cumanum, virum excellentissimum, qui et tibi et, ni fallor, mihi erat affectus, gravibus febribus exhaustum pluribusque³ timorem mortis injecisse, sed convaluisse tandem singulosque amicos esse solatum. Mihi postea ex Basilea scriptum est jam eum obiisse mortem simulque cardinales alios tres, quod mihi summae esset molestiae, nam Cumanum quasi patrem dominumque dilexi. Ideo precor te, ut quantocius veritatem rescribas, quamvis puto magnam valetudinem rumorem mortis⁴ fecisse, sicut de me quondam Basileae factum est, quando communicatus atque inunctus praeter spem omnium convalui jamque in annos octo vitam duco. Utinam saluti meae conducat, ut spatium vitae ad meliorem degendam vitam susceperim. De tuo beneficio et heri nostri communis ampliori dignitate satis congratulatus sum aliis litteris.

[2] De *Politicis* scripsi tibi defectum notavique locum. Si non habuisti litteras, iterum scribam. In *Rhetorica* Aristotelis per Trapesondam translata invenio in exemplis Ciceronem nominari. Nescio cur id egerit Trapesondas, nam cum ad verbum fieri translationes soleant, aut⁵ si sententiae transferantur, danda est opera, ut ad verbum factae videantur. Nescio, cur Cicero nominetur in Aristotelis operibus, qui nondum natus est, quando volumen edita est, nisi Cicerones etiam ante Aristotelem fuerunt. Quid rei hic sit⁶, ex te scire cupio.

[3] Nova apud nos pauca sunt. Hungari, sicut non concordarunt cum Caesare nostro, ita inter se concordantes non sunt nec aliquid possunt concludere, quod Ladislao praejudicet. Sic enim infantulus ab hominibus desertus a Deo juvamen habet. Polonus adhuc spem sui reditus facit, quamvis est mortuus. Forsitan aliquis Polonorum in modum Orphei inmites poterit flectere cantibus umbrarum dominos et prece supplicii, ut Vladislaum reddant, sed videat, ne, reducere dum eum⁷ properat, in perpetuum perdat. Nuntius ad inferos missus est, qui Herculem revocet. Audiemus, an noctis aeternae chaos apperiat receptasque semel umbras remittat.

¹ SC, 160
² DV, f. 56r

³ pluribus WO
⁴ mortem M2
⁵ ut M2

⁶ est WO
⁷ reducere cum eum : reducendum cernere M2

206. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (4 January 1446, Vienna).

Context: The illness and possible death of Cardinal Landriano occasioned this letter.

Editions: Piccolomini inquires about the cardinal, touches upon various items, and sends news from the imperial court.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the eminent philosopher, Giovanni Campisio, his excellent friend.

[1] I saw from your letter¹ that the cardinal of Como,² that most excellent man who was fond of you and me – if I am not mistaken – was so exhausted by grave fevers that many feared he was dying, but then he recovered and comforted his friends. But later, I heard from Basel that he had died – and three other cardinals about the same time – which made me desolate, for I loved him as a father and lord. So I ask you to write back to me as soon as possible what is the truth, for though he may be in good health, there is a rumour of his death, just as once happened to me while in Basel. After I had received the last communion and been anointed,³ I recovered against all expectations⁴ and have now survived for eight years. I hope it will bring me closer to salvation that I was given a lease on life to improve and lead a better one. Concerning your benefice⁵ and the advancement of our common lord⁶ I have sufficiently congratulated you in other letters.⁷

[2] Concerning the *Politica*,⁸ I have written to you about a defect and indicated the place. If you did not receive the letter, I shall write again. In Trebizond's⁹ translation of Aristotle's¹⁰ *Rhetorica*, I have found some examples where Cicero¹¹ is mentioned. I know not why Trebizond did that, for whether a translation is made word by word or sentence by sentence, one must ensure that the meaning is correct. I do not know why Cicero should be mentioned in a work by Aristotle since Cicero was not born when Aristotle's book was published unless there were Ciceros before Aristotle! Please let me know what this is about.

[3] There is little news from here. The Hungarians disagree among themselves just as they disagree with our emperor, and they cannot reach a decision that is prejudicial to Ladislaus.¹² Thus the child who is deserted by men gets help from God. The Pole¹³ seemingly inspires hope of his return though he is dead. Maybe some Pole may be able, like another Orpheus,¹⁴ to mollify the harsh lords of the shadows by songs and humble prayers and make them return Wladyslaw, but then he should take care not to lose him forever while he hastens to bring him back! A messenger has been sent to bring back Hercules.¹⁵ We shall hear whether the chaos of eternal night will admit him and send back shadows once received.

¹ The letter is not extant.

² Gerardo Landriani. He died on 9 October 1445.

³ The last rites.

⁴ See the account in Pius II's *Commentarii*, 1: 9 (COM (Meserve), 1: pp. 40-43). The rumour caused Piccolomini to lose his Milanese benefice.

⁵ Campisio had received a parish not far from Siena.

⁶ Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo had been appointed papal Grand Penitentiary.

⁷ See letter 197.

⁸ Aristotle: *Politika*.

⁹ George of Trebizond (1395-1486): Byzantine philosopher, scholar and humanist. His hurried and inaccurate translations of Plato and Aristotle threatened to ruin his scholarly reputation.

¹⁰ Aristoteles (384-322 BCE)

¹¹ Cicero (106-43 BCE)

¹² The boy king Ladislaus the Post-humous (Habsburg)

¹³ The Polish-Hungarian King Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon) who had died in the Battle of Varna, 1444.

¹⁴ Orpheus: Mythical bard. Orpheus went to the underworld to recover his lost wife Eurydice. Enchanted by his music, the lords of the Underworld released Eurydice, but Orpheus lost her again when he gazed on her before she crossed the threshold out of Hades.

¹⁵ Hercules: Mythical hero. Here, presumably Wladyslaw.

[4] Cum Suicensibus Albertus, dux Austriae¹, bella gerit magnisque eos viribus premit, non tamen eorum pertinacia vinci potest, ut justitiae viam amplectantur. Cum Athesinis magna spes est concordiae. Dux Sabaudie in aperto bello est contra domum Austriae iuvatque Suicenses, quod patri non proderit. Accepi, renovatas esse inter Anglicos Gallicosque belli materias, veri periculum ad me non recipio. Dalphini² conjunx mortua est. Rex noster optime valet. Cancellarius, qui te amat, in Suevia est. Qui³ has litteras defert, alia nova tibi, quae sub ticeo, referet. Ipsum velis domino nostro communi et me commendare.

[5] Richardum valere jubeo, Conti me dede⁴, Julianum salvum cupio, Petro de Noxeto et Jacobo Calvo salutes ex me dicito. Et si *Cinthiam* habere potes, ut mittas. Vegium ut olim diligo. Dicerem, ut reverendo patri, Adriensi episcopo, me commendares, nisi timerem mulctare illum cena, cujus non possum particeps esse. Sed vale cum eo ac domino⁵ Francisco suo et Francia, librariorum principe.

Ex Vienna, 4. Januarii 1446⁶.

¹ dux Austriae : Austriae dux WO

² *em.*; dalphino WO

³ Accepi renovatas qui *omit.*

M2

⁴ dedo WO

⁵ *omit.* WO

⁶ 4. Januarii 1446 : etc. M2

[4] Duke Albrecht of Austria¹ is fighting the Swiss² and presses them with all his might, but he cannot overcome their obstinacy and make them accept the course of justice.³ [On the other hand], there is great hope for an agreement with the Tyroleans.⁴ The duke of Savoy⁵ is in open war against the House of Austria⁶ and supports the Swiss, which does not help his father.⁷ I have heard the war between the English and the French has resumed,⁸ but I do not presume to know the truth. The dauphin's⁹ spouse¹⁰ has died. Our king¹¹ is in excellent health. The chancellor,¹² who is fond of you, is in Schwaben. The bearer of the present letter will tell you other news, which I shall not mention here. Please recommend him – and me – to our common lord.¹³

[5] I ask you to greet Ricardo,¹⁴ Conte¹⁵, Giuliano,¹⁶ Pietro da Noceto and Jacopo Calvi from me. And if you can lay hands on my *Cinthia*,¹⁷ please send it to me. Vegio¹⁸ I love as ever. I would ask you to recommend me to the Reverend Father, the Bishop of Adria¹⁹ if I did not fear it would make him give a dinner in which I could not take part.²⁰ But live well, with him and his Francesco and Francia, prince of secretaries.²¹

From Vienna, 4 January 1446.

¹ Albrecht VI (Habsburg)

² Old Zürich War: 1440 to 12 June 1446.

³ The last battle in the war between the Austrians and the Swiss, at Ragaz on 6 March 1446, ended with an Austrian defeat (Chmel: *Geschichte*, 3, p. 368).

⁴ The Tyrolean rebellion would eventually force the emperor to release Siegmund (Habsburg), Duke of Tyrol, from his wardship. A provisory agreement between Friedrich III and the Tyroleans was reached in Konstanz on 31 December 1445, and on 2 April 1446 the emperor formally forgave the Tyroleans and assured

them of his favour (Chmel: *Geschichte*, 3, pp. 355-360).

⁵ Duke Louis I de Savoie.

⁶ The Habsburgs.

⁷ The duke's father was the previous duke, Amédée VIII, who had been elected antipope, Felix V, by the schismatic council in Basel. By siding with the Swiss against the Habsburgs, Louis weakened imperial (Habsburg) and German support for his father, the antipope, and the rump council.

⁸ The Hundred Years War. The strengthened French monarchy (Charles VI) had resumed the war and retaken large areas from the English.

⁹ Louis XI.

¹⁰ Margaret Stewart (1424-1445): Princess of Scotland and dauphine of France. Died 16 August 1445.

¹¹ Friedrich III (Habsburg).

¹² Kaspar Schlick.

¹³ Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo.

¹⁴ Ricardo de Valencia (?).

¹⁵ Conte dei Cacciaconti.

¹⁶ Giuliano da Roma.

¹⁷ *Cinthia*: Piccolomini's early collection of poems. See letter 168: 9.

¹⁸ Maffeo Vegio.

¹⁹ Bartolomeo Roverella..

²⁰ See letter 197: 8.

²¹ "librarii"

207. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (6 March 1446, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 75r-76r¹; V2, ff. 401-407²; V3, ff. 192v-196r³ **; V4, ff. 182v-185v.

Editions A: KOB, 93⁴.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 4, pp. 24-28 (based on V2).

Translations: RE, 62, pp. 231-233 extract).

{192r} Aeneas Silvius domino Johanni Campisio, perspicaci philosopho, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Urgent me res Hungaricae, tibi ut saepius scribam, nam et tu illas nosse desideras, qui Ladislao regi bene cupis, et ego libenter illa conscribo, quae scio esse, ut sciantur, utilia. In meis autem scriptis plurimum interest, cum vel affirmo aliquid factum vel refero, quod audiui. In altero namque veri periculum ad me recipio, in altero fidem requiri apud {193r} auctores volo. Hoc autem ideo dixi, quia rumore hic fuisse tibi significavi regem Bosniae per quosdam vocatum esse, ut Hungariae regno potiretur⁵, quae res minime secuta est nec famam veritas adaequavit.

[2] Sed nunc⁶, quo pacto inter Hungaros conventum sit, ex me audi, nam certum est, quod nunc scribo. Tu haec⁷ domino nostro communi, cardinali Tarentino, communicata facito, ut per eum non solum sacri⁸ collegii aures, sed ipsius quoque sanctissimi summique sacerdotis adire praesentiam queant. Nam et sacerrimi illius senatus interest, quid in regno geratur Hungariae pernoscere, cum murus sit illa regio Christianae religionis et nostrae fidei solidus paries. Credo igitur te accepisse proceres illos Hungariae, qui aestate decursa cum cardinali Strigoniensi hic fuerunt, rebus infectis recessisse, nam neque regi eorum oblationes satisfecerunt, nec eis rursus regis responsum placuit. Significavi tunc omnia tibi.

¹ SC, 157-159

² DV, ff. 206r-209r

³ DV, ff. 195v-199r

⁴ DV, f. 54r

⁵ regno potiretur : potiretur regno
M2, V2a; *corr. ex* potiretur regno
V2b

⁶ sed nunc : nunc autem M2

⁷ reverendissimo *add.* M2, V2a,
HE, WO; *del.* V2b

⁸ *omit.* M2

207. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (6 March 1446, Vienna).

Context: This letter has a triple context:

The first is the continued trouble with Hungary in relation to the boy king Ladislaus' accession to the throne after the death of the Polish-Hungarian king, Wladyslaw III, to which came the depredations of the robber baron Pankraz against cities and domains belonging to Chancellor Schlick and Jiskra, loyal supporters of the Habsburgs.

The other is the development of the church schism. After Piccolomini's imperial mission to Pope Eugenius IV at the beginning of 1445, the imperial court had negotiated with the pope's envoy the terms of the emperor's recognition of the Roman papacy. Legates from the pope with letters confirming the arrangement were eagerly expected at the imperial court. Meanwhile, the German prince-electors were maintaining and solidifying their opposition to the emperor's ecclesiastical policy.

The third is Piccolomini's personal spiritual development and his change from a lay career to an ecclesiastical.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Campisio about the latest developments concerning Ladislaus' accession to the Hungarian throne and about the doings of Pankraz. He complains about the absence of legates from the pope and reports on an embassy from the council in Basel to the emperor. And finally, he tells Campisio that he has joined the ecclesiastical order and already been ordained a deacon.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio, wise philosopher.

[1] The Hungarian affairs prompt me to write often to you since you, wishing the best for King Ladislaus,¹ desire to know about them, and I gladly write such news as are useful to know. However, in my letters it is important to distinguish between the things I confirm as having happened and the things I have just heard others speak of. In the first case, I myself guarantee the correctness of my report; in the second, I leave that responsibility to the sources of the rumours. I say this because I had told you about a rumour that the king of Bosnia² had been invited by some to take over the kingdom of Hungary, but that did not happen, and the rumour turned out to be false.

[2] But hear now from me what the Hungarians have decided – what I write now is certain. Please share it with our common lord, the cardinal of Taranto,³ so that, through him, it may reach the ears of both the Sacred College⁴ and the Most Holy and Supreme Priest.⁵ For it quite important to the Holy Senate⁶ to know what happens in the kingdom of Hungary since this region is the bulwark of the Christian religion and the solid wall of our Faith. I believe you have heard that the Hungarian nobles who – together with the cardinal of Esztergom⁷ – were here last summer went home having achieved nothing, for neither did the king accept their offers nor did they accept the king's response. I have already told you all of this.

¹ The boy king Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

² Stephan Thomas (ca. 1411-1461): King of Bosnia from 1443 to his death.

³ Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo.

⁴ The college of cardinals.

⁵ The pope, Eugenius IV.

⁶ The college of cardinals.

⁷ Dénes Szecsi.

[3] Post haec in Hungariam cum redisset Nicolaus, vaivoda Transsilvanus, plurima pertemptavit, sed regnicolis nulla via persuaderi potuit, quae Ladislaum excluderet. Convenit igitur alterum vaivodam Johannem Ladislaique jus tueri insimul¹ pepigerunt missisque clanculum ad Caesarem² nostrum nuntiis confirmationem³ suorum officiorum obtinuerunt ac rursus facultatem quandam, cujus vigore ceteros regnicolas ad obedientiam {193v} Ladislai reducentes officia dignitatesque possent illis confirmare conventumque regni apud Albam regalem in hoc tempus induxerunt, jamque plures illic sunt reliquos expectantes.

[4] Sed Laurentius palatinus non immemor⁴ suarum artium, ubi jam sibi figmenta^{5 6} minime amplius prodesse perpendit - nam mors Wladislai, Poloniae regis, omnibus persuasa est, quia non potest mendacium diu latere - novum deceptionis genus excogitavit. Rumorem namque in populos divulgat, se jam cum duce Burgundiae convenisse, ut ejus filium in Hungariam navigio transmittat, ejusque rei mediatorem quendam Hispanum fuisse asserit, qui classi Ponticae⁷ nomine Philippi ducis praeerat et nuper hac transivit Romam petiturus. Sed nemo est, qui palatino fidem habeat, nec⁸ enim post tot mendacia dignus, cui credatur, est. Sciunt insuper omnes ducem Burgundorum unicum dumtaxat habere filium, quem minime ire perditum vellet, cum sit dives ac potentissimus et regi Ladislao sanguine junctus, cui non est putandum nobilem principem injuriari velle⁹ et maxime cum ejus dominia ab Hungaria remotissima sint nulloque possint usui esse Hungaris. Quae res palatinum nedum mendacem, sed delirum¹⁰ reddunt.

[5] Hinc ipse, cum suos conatus incassum ire perperderet conventumque apud Albam teneri jamque vaivodam Johannem illuc pergere et ad vigesimum {194r} lapidem esse in vicinia, missis litteris ac nuntiis Johanni indicat insidias sibi apud Albam structas esse Nicolaumque velle in eum manus injicere, quod si velit captivitatem evadere aut mortem, Albam ne petat, instruit. Johannes territus hoc nuntio minime ulterius pergit. Accipit hoc Nicolaus vocatisque proceribus, “Nimis multis¹¹”, inquit, “fraudibus¹² utitur palatinus. Sua est haec tegna, quod ad nos Johannes venire timet. Sed adibo ego eum nec timebo eum, qui me timet. Expurgabo, quod mihi ingeritur, crimen nec de aliis cogitabo, quod ipse in alios non cogito, neque salvum conductum nec fidem peto ullam. Satis tuta innocentia est. Si quid tamen praeter spem evenerit, viros vos esse commoneo, meam ut vindicetis injuriam.” Atque sic Nicolaus cum paucis Johannem accessit.

¹ minime M2

² regem M2

³ confirmationemque V2

⁴ meor M2

⁵ figmentum M2, WO

⁶ Polonicum *add.* M2, V2a, HE;
del. V2b

⁷ potentiae V4

⁸ nisi M2

⁹ *omit.* M2, V2a, WO; *add.* V2b

¹⁰ derisum V4

¹¹ *omit.* V4

¹² faucibus V4

[3] When, afterwards, Voivode Nikolaus¹ of Transylvania, returned to Hungary, he tried many things but was unable to persuade his compatriots to follow a course that excluded Ladislaus. So he met with the other voivode, János,² and together they decided to support the rights of Ladislaus. Having sent secret messengers to our emperor, they obtained the confirmation of their own offices with authority to confirm the offices and ranks of those of their compatriots they brought over to Ladislaus' obedience.³ Then they summoned an assembly of the kingdom's estates to be held in Alba Regalis⁴ at the present time, and many are now there waiting for the others.

[4] Palatine Lorenz⁵ realised that his fabrications⁶ were not useful anymore, for all were convinced that Wladyslaw, King of Poland, had died, and a lie cannot remain undiscovered for long. Still, he had not forgotten his intrigues and devised a new deceptio, spreading a rumour among the people that he had come to an agreement with the duke of Burgundy⁷ that the duke would send his son⁸ to Hungary by ship. He also claimed that some Spaniard had brokered the agreement, a man who had commanded a Pontic⁹ fleet in Philippe's name¹⁰ and had recently passed through on his way to Rome. But nobody now has faith in the palatine, and after so many lies, he is no longer trusted. Moreover, all know that the duke has only one son and would not risk losing him. Also, he is a very wealthy and powerful noble prince and related by blood to King Ladislaus,¹¹ whom he would not want to harm. And finally – and most of all – his lands are so far from Hungary that they could be of no use to the Hungarians. All this made the palatine appear not just mendacious but delirious.

[5] When the palatine saw that these efforts were in vain, that an assembly would be held at Alba [Regalis], and that Voivode János was on his way there and had already reached the 20th milestone from the town, he sent letters and messengers to János,¹² claiming that a trap was being prepared for him in Alba and that Nikolaus¹³ wanted to lay hands on him. He told him that if he wanted to avoid captivity or death, he should not go to Alba.¹⁴ This message frightened János, and he would not go ahead. When Nikolaus heard it, he summoned the nobles and said, "The palatine goes too far with his deceits. He uses this ploy to scare János from coming. But now, I shall go to him and not fear him who fears me. I will clear myself of the crime imputed to me and not believe that others would do to me what I would not do to them. And I shall not ask for a safeconduct or a guarantee. A clear conscience is enough safety. If things should happen against my expectations, I urge you men to avenge my injury." And thus Nikolaus went to János with only a few companions.

¹ Miklos Újlaky.

² János Hunyadi.

³ Chmel: *Geschichte*, 3: p. 324.

⁴ Székesfehérvár.

⁵ Lörinc Héderváry.

⁶ That the Polish-Hungarian King Wladyslaw III was still alive.

⁷ Philippe III le Bon (Valois)

⁸ Charles le Téméraire (1396-1467): At the time Count of Cha-

rolais. Last duke of Bourgogne (from 1467).

⁹ The Black Sea.

¹⁰ In 1445-1448, a fleet sent by the duke of Burgundy harassed Turkish positions and reached as far as the Pontic (Black) Sea. It was commanded by Geoffroy de Thoisy and the lord of Wawrin (Bourassin, p. 271). See also Paviot, pp. 114-115. The son of the duke

of Burgundy, Charles, was 12 years at the time.

¹¹ Ladislaus the Posthumous Habsburg).

¹² János Hunyadi.

¹³ Miklós Újlaky.

¹⁴ Hunyadi and Újlaky were actually bitter rivals for power in Hungary, see Chmel: *Geschichte*, 3: p.338.

[6] Interea Giskra, vir magnificus nostrique saeculi non parvum decus, qui partes Ladislai apud Hungaros aut solus aut certe cum paucis usque in hanc diem tutatus est, cum Pancratius stantibus indutiis quoddam sibi castellum per insidias eripuisset, ulturus injurias exercitum coegit atque cum octo milibus pugnatorum ingressus Pancratii territorium, quoddam munitissimum ejus oppidum obsidione cinxit, accersito comite Georgio de Sancto¹ Georgio, ut sibi auxilio foret. Nam is quoque Pancratii vicinus atque inimicus² est³. Georgius vero Viennam mox venit auxiliumque regis {194v} Romanorum petiit multisque verbis⁴ rogavit, ut ante Calexium, quod est oppidum magnifici Gasparis cancellarii, ad Novum Castrum pertinens, sed a Pancratio occupatur, obsidionem ponerent Austriales.

[7] Quae dum sic aguntur, Pancratius, qui antea dudum cum litteris securitatis accersitus conventum Hungarorum accedere recusaverat nec centum sigillis credere voluerat, timore postposito Hungarorum, nam major Giskrae instabat metus, cum septem comitibus Albam perrexit in manusque se procerum tradens queritur se Giskrae conatibus opprimi petique auxilium, nam⁵ se regi⁶ Ladislao fidem dare promittit nec se alium velle regem⁷ habere testatur nisi⁸ Ladislaum, postquam mortuus est rex Poloniae, cui sese astrinxerat. Similiter et oratores ad regem Romanorum destinant, se pacem cum Austria perpetuam habiturum nullique alteri quam Ladislao in Hungaria tamquam regi⁹ pariturum asserit rogatque scribi Giskrae, ne se infestet. Barones Hungariae audito¹⁰ Pancratio sub tutela sua eum recipiunt, praesertim Nicolaus vaivoda et Dionysius, cardinalis Strigoniensis, scribuntque Caesari, ne deinceps Giskram insultare permittat Pancratiumque vexare, quem vigore mandati sui cum omnibus ejus bonis ad gratiam et oboedientiam Ladislai suscepissent.

[8] His¹¹ apud Caesarem responsum est: comiti Georgio Austriales non posse ante diem Sancti Georgii castrametari cum¹² propter impedimenta pluviarum, tum quod in campis nullae sunt herbae, sed {195r} adveniente vere, nisi interim, quod debitum est, Pancratius fecerit, paratos esse Austriae proceres in campum exire temeritatemque Pancratii compescere. Interim vero trecentos equites sibi ex Austria in solatium venturos. Exinde rogati sunt oratores Pancratii, num quid in mandatis haberent cum cancellario Giskrae rem componere, quorum bona Pancratius invasisset, cumque negassent, dictum est eis, ad herum suum ut redirent, cui, si opus esset, majestas regia per suos nuntios responderet. Proceribus autem Hungariae responsum est, placere Caesari, quod ad Ladislai obedientiam Pancratius venisset, quodque venia sibi sit data¹³, non tamen sic ei ignosci debet¹⁴, ut aliena cum injuria teneat oppida bonaque plurima, nec eam esse umquam¹⁵ facultatem concessam, missurum¹⁶ tamen Caesarem oratores suos ad eorum conventum ac tam super hoc quam super aliis regni¹⁷ negotiis responsurum. Sic res Hungaricae usque in hanc diem actae sunt, quas precor ut singulari domino meo, episcopo Adriensi, quem jam in Ravennatem assumptum esse audio et gaudeo, communicatas facias sibi me commendes¹⁸, qui¹⁹ perpetuo²⁰ suus sum²¹.

¹ de Sancto *omit.* M2

² atque inimicus *omit.* M2

³ fuit M2

⁴ rebus V4

⁵ se Giskrae ... nam *omit.* M2

⁶ *omit.* M2

⁷ *omit.* M2

⁸ quam M2, V2a; ~~quam~~ *seq.*

V2b

⁹ tamquam regi *omit.* WO

¹⁰ audicio V4

¹¹ hic M2

¹² tum M2

¹³ sit data : data sit M2

¹⁴ debere WO

¹⁵ *omit.* M2

¹⁶ *omit.* V4

¹⁷ *omit.* V4

¹⁸ commendans M2

¹⁹ sum *add.* M2, V2a; *del.* V2b

²⁰ *omit.* V4

²¹ *omit.* M2, V2a; *add.* V2b

[6] In the meantime, Pankraz,¹ despite a standing truce, had treacherously seized a castle from Jiskra,² a splendid man and a great ornament of our age, who has always supported Ladislaus against the Hungarians, either alone or with only a few others. Wanting revenge, he gathered an army and, with 8,000 soldiers, invaded Pankraz's territory. There he laid siege to a heavily fortified town and summoned help from Count Georg of Saint Georg,³ who is also a neighbour and enemy of Pankraz. Georg soon came to Vienna and requested help from the king of the Romans, asking that the Austrians lay siege to Káloz, a town belonging to Chancellor Kaspar,⁴ at Neuburg.^{5 6}

[7] Meanwhile, Pankraz was summoned, with safe conducts, to the Hungarian assembly but refused to come because he did not trust even 100 seals. Later he put aside his fear of the Hungarians because he feared Jiskra even more and arrived in Alba [Regalis]⁷ with seven companions. Giving himself into the hands of the nobles, he complained that he was being persecuted by Jiskra and asked for their help. He promised to swear an oath to Ladislaus, for - after the death of the Polish king to whom he had bound himself - he only wanted Ladislaus as king. He also sent envoys to the King of the Romans to declare that he would obey only Ladislaus as king in Hungary and asked that Jiskra be told by letter to cease the attacks against him. When the Hungarian barons had heard Pankraz, they took him under their protection, especially Voivode Nikolaus and Cardinal Dénes⁸ of Esztergom. Then they wrote to the emperor that he should no longer allow Jiskra to attack and harass Pankraz since they had decided to admit him - with all his properties - to Ladislaus' favour and obedience.

[8] The emperor answered them as follows: Count Georg was told that the Austrians could not campaign before the day of Saint George⁹ because they were impeded by rain and there was no grass in the fields. But when spring arrived, the Austrian nobles were ready to take to the field and tame Pankraz's insolence unless, before then, Pankraz did what he should. In the meantime, 300 mounted soldiers would come to his relief. Then Pankraz's envoys were asked if they had instructions to make peace with the chancellor¹⁰ and Jiskra, whose domains he had invaded. When the envoys denied it, they were told to return to their master, whom His Royal Majesty would answer through his own envoys if necessary. The Hungarian nobles were given the answer that the emperor was pleased Pankraz had joined Ladislaus' obedience and been pardoned, but that he ought not to be forgiven for having seized many cities and properties belonging to others without permission to do so. But the emperor would send his ambassadors to their assembly to convey his response concerning both this matter and other affairs of the kingdom. This is what has happened until now in the Hungarian affairs. I ask you to relate it to my eminent lord, the bishop of Adria,¹¹ who - I hear with pleasure - has now been appointed to the see of Ravenna. Please recommend me to him [and assure him on my behalf that] I am his [servant] as always.

¹ Pongrác za Sv. Mikulás.

² Jan Jiskra.

³ Count Georg Rozgon?

⁴ Kaspar Schlick.

⁵ Novum Castrum.

⁶ In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote about this affair: [272] *Returning to Hungary, Jiskra had many conflicts with Pongrác from St.*

Nicholas. In the end, they became reconciled and confirmed their friendship, but later Pongrác broke faith with Jiskra – Hungarians care little about loyalty – and stole a castle from Jiskra by deceit. This Pongrác became a great man through theft and robbery. ... Pongrác bought the town of Káloz cheaply from Kaspar

Schlick's governor there and later went plundering in that area ...

⁷ Székesfehérvár.

⁸ Dénes Szécsi.

⁹ 24 April 1446.

¹⁰ Kaspar Schlick.

¹¹ Bartolomeo Roverella. Appointed archbishop of Ravenna on 26 September 1445.

[9] In rebus ecclesie haec sunt: Chiemensis episcopus¹ in Rhenum ivit electoresque convenit jamque hac die cum eis habiturus est in Frankfordia conventum bonamque spem facit ad unionem et pacem ecclesiae. Nescio, quid sequatur. Hic magna est admiratio de tarditate legati vestri, nam secundum conventa jam pluribus diebus in hac curia se debebat ostendere, de quo nihil hic sentiri² monstrum est ingeriturque {195v} magna suspicio, quae posset³ aliquid mali⁴ parare, ut scire possunt, qui conventiones norunt hic habitas.

[10] Ex Basilea fuerunt apud nos⁵ oratores, quorum petitio fuit⁶, quod Caesar auctoritatem ecclesiae juxta declarationem Constantiae factam et Basileae renovatam tueretur et manuteneret utque dietam Nurembergensem mandaret teneri, ad quam suos oratores Basiliense concilium cum plena potestate mitteret super omnibus, quae ad pacem ecclesiae pertinerent. Petiverunt et salvum conductum, cujus vigore ad dietam illam mittere⁷ oratores tute possent⁸. Ad primam petitionem data responsio est Caesari semper curam fuisse et adhuc esse, ut auctoritas ecclesiae cum pace populi Christiani⁹, sicut declarata reperitur in sacris litteris ac per sanctos doctores et concilia generalia una cum potestate sanctae¹⁰ sedis apostolicae in suo vigore permaneat. Ad secundum dictum est urgentibus causis dietam Nurembergensem esse postpositam, sicut principibus electoribus Chiemensis episcopus intimaturus erat ac sic de salvo conductu illuc eundi non esset opus verba facere, sed eis cum quo recederent nullatenus esse negandum. Sic in effectum responsum est, quamvis et ornatius et verbosius.

[11] Tantum est, quod ex his partibus tibi possum scribere. Unum addo, quod mirabere: jam ego subdiaconus sum, quod olim valde abhorrebam¹¹, sed recessit a me illa animi levitas, qua¹² inter laicos crescere cupiebam, jamque nil magis amo quam sacerdotium {196r} fiamque deo dante infra octiduum diaconus et suo tempore sacerdotalem recipiam dignitatem. Hoc si Noxetano nostro ac Jacobo Calvo dixeris, scio, tecum mirabuntur, sed eligendum est aliquando vivendi genus, quod inter Christicolae duplex est, laicorum et clericorum, et illa rursus, ut nosti, distinguuntur. Mihi in ordine beati Petri manere decretum est, in quo gratiam mihi Deus elargiatur, ut, quae sibi placent, solum cupiam faciamque.

Vale et domino Conti, reverendo abbati, me commenda. Richardum et Julianum nostrum jubeo salvos esse. Ex Vienna, 6. Martii 1446¹³.

¹ Chiemensis episcopus :
episcopus Chiemensis V4

² sentire M2

³ possit M2

⁴ male M2

⁵ omit. V4

⁶ ut add. M2; omit. V4

⁷ mittendi M2, V2a, WO; corr. ex
mittendi V2b

⁸ accedere sibi etiam redeundi securitatem postularunt add. M2, V2a, WO; ~~accedere sibi etiam redeundi securitatem postularunt~~ seq. V2b

⁹ populi Christiani : Christiani populi M2

¹⁰ omit. M2, V2a, WO; add. interlin. V2b

¹¹ horrebam M2

¹² quam V4

¹³ et domino ... 1446 : etc. M2

[9] In the ecclesiastical affairs, I have this [news]: the bishop of Chiemsee¹ has gone to the Rhineland to meet with the [prince-]electors. The meeting begins today in Frankfurt,² and there are good hopes for union and peace in the Church. I do not know what follows. Here, we are much concerned about the lateness of your legate,³ for - as previously agreed - he should have arrived at court several days ago. It is most inconvenient not to have heard anything about it, which gives rise to a suspicion that might have most unfortunate consequences, as those people know who are aware of the trouble brewing and the meetings held here.⁴

[10] Envoys from Basel⁵ have been here to petition the emperor to protect and maintain the authority of the Church according to the declaration made in Konstanz⁶ and renewed in Basel and to order a diet to be held in Nürnberg, to which the council in Basel would send envoys with full powers concerning all matters related to the peace of the Church. They also asked for a safe conduct making it possible for them to safely send envoys there. To the first petition, they were given the answer that the emperor always had and still considered it a primary responsibility to maintain the authority of the Church, the peace of the Christian people, and the power of the Holy Apostolic See, as stated in Holy Scripture and by the holy doctors and the general councils. To the second petition, they received the answer that, for urgent reasons, the diet in Nürnberg had been postponed, as the bishop of Chiemsee would inform the prince-electors. Therefore, there was no need to talk about a safe conduct to go there. But they themselves would, of course, be granted a safe conduct to return to Basel.⁷ This is the essence of the answer though it was stated more ornately and verbosely.⁸

[11] This is all I can write to you from these regions. I add one thing: I am now a subdeacon, something which I formerly abhorred. But I have lost my superficial desire for a lay career, and now I want nothing more than the priesthood. God willing, I shall be ordained a deacon before eight days, and at a later date, I shall receive the priestly dignity.⁹ When you tell this to our da Noceto¹⁰ and Jacopo Calvi, they will be amazed like you. But there comes a time when one must choose one's way of life. Among Christians, there are two different states: the lay state and the clerical state, as you know. I have now decided to become a member of Saint Peter's order.¹¹ May God grant me the grace to only desire and do what he wishes.¹²

Farewell, and recommend me to the reverend abbot Conte.¹³ I ask you to greet Ricardo¹⁴ and our Giuliano.¹⁵ From Vienna, 6 March 1446.

¹ Silvester Pflieger.

² On 17 March, the German prince-electors renewed their alliance (*Kurverein*) in the ecclesiastical matter, in opposition to the emperor's dealings with Rome and his approaching recognition of the Roman papacy (VO, 2: 6, pp. 355, 359).

³ The papal auditor Juan Carvajal, with Tommaso Parentucelli, Bishop of Bologna. They arrived at the imperial court later in March (VO, 2: 6, p. 355).

⁴ Here, Piccolomini probably refers to the secret dealings of the prince-electors.

⁵ The schismatic council in Basel.

⁶ The Council of Konstanz (1414-1418). Its decrees, the *Haec sancta*, of 6 April 1415, and the *Frequens* of 9 October 1417, gave primacy to the authority of the council and established the council as a frequently recurring event, seriously reducing papal authority. The decree *Haec sancta* was renewed at the Council of Basel.

⁷ For comments on this passage, see VO, 2: 6, pp. 354-355.

⁸ Presumably written by Piccolomini himself in the flowery and verbose style of the chancery.

⁹ For comments on this passage, see Diener, pp. 525-526. Piccolomini was ordained a deacon in March 1446 and priest on 4 March 1447 (in Rome).

¹⁰ Pietro da Noceto.

¹¹ The priesthood

¹² For comments on this passage, see VO, 2: 6, p. 351.

¹³ Conte dei Cacciaconti.

¹⁴ Presumably Ricardo de Valencia.

¹⁵ Giuliano da Roma.

208. Letter to Juan Carvajal (4 January 1446, Vienna)

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 76r-76v¹ **; M3, ff. 405v-406r² (and Hohenfurt, 47, f. 220r; BAV / Palat. Lat., 1880, f. 93r; BNB / 10344, f. 71r³).

Editions A KOB, 54⁴.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 5, pp. 28-30 (based on the manuscripts listed above).

Translations: RE, 63, pp. 233-235.

{76r} Aeneas Silvius, poeta, domino Johanni de Carvajal, juris interpreti et oratori apostolico, viro praestanti, salutem plurimam dicit.⁵

[1] Scripsisti mihi bis ex via, sed quod scripsisti, id tacuisse fuit, nam nihil mihi significasti, nisi te vento similem Germaniam fugere. Ultimae litterae tuae ex Trevisio missae fuerunt, de te postea nihil accepi. Utinam⁶, quae tibi incumbebant, plene absolveris; jam enim tempus est viam retromittere, nam te omnes expectamus. Verum, quia hirundo recessisti, reverteris⁷ bove⁸ tardior.

[2] Scribo tibi aliqua, quae post tuum recessum contigere⁹, nec tam parcus verborum ero tecum quam tu ipse¹⁰ mecum. Audi¹¹ ergo, quae secuta sunt. Chiemensis¹² antistes iter suum absque mora continuavit jamque nuntios habemus, qui eum ex Maguntia recedentem ire Coloniam viderunt. Itaque puto eum jam esse in reditu. Cancellarius scribit mihi ex Constantia nullam spem esse concordiae cum Suicensibus, nam superbi natura homines non se justitiae coarctant, sed ipsam sibi¹³ justitiam famulari volunt justumque solum id putant, quod eorum fantasticis est conforme capitibus, beneque inquit comicus, *homine imperito nihil quidquam injustius est, qui*¹⁴ *nihil rectum putat, nisi quod ipse facit*. Putat tamen cancellarius et Rinfeldenses et Basilienses, qui gravibus premuntur damnis, pertinaciam Suicensium deserturos.

[3] Oratores quoque Athesis ducem Albertum conventuri sunt, nec dubitat cancellarius non fieri concordiam. Id, si sequatur, Chiemensis oportebit meminisse in re tibi nota¹⁵.

[4] Hungari dietam inter se habuerunt, nihil tamen contra Ladislaum concludere potuerunt. Discordant inter se admodum atque, ut magis divisi¹⁶ sunt, sic et pauperiores et miseriores in diem redduntur, quamvis ex Judaeorum more Messiam expectent.

¹ SC, 159-160

² SC, 811-812

³ *Not collated.*

⁴ DV, 55v.

⁵ *Salutatio:* Domino Johanni Carvajal, juris interpreti et oratori apostolico, viro praestanti, Eneas

Silvius salutem plurimam dicit
WO

⁶ ut M3

⁷ reverterisque M2, M3

⁸ bene M2, M3

⁹ contingere WO

¹⁰ *omit.* M2

¹¹ audio M2

¹² episcopus aliter/vel *add.* M2, M3

¹³ *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

¹⁵ Putat tamen ... nota *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁶ matris M2

208. Letter to Juan Carvajal (4 January 1446,¹ Vienna)

Context: As letter 209.

Subject: Piccolomini reports the latest developments to Carvajal and urges him to return speedily to Germany.

Enea Silvio, poet, sends many greetings to the distinguished Juan de Carvajal, jurist and apostolic envoy.

[1] You have written to me twice² on your road, but what you wrote was no better than silence, for you only told me that you are fleeing Germany like the wind.³ Your last letter was sent from Treviso. Since then, I have had nothing from you. I hope you will accomplish your tasks, for it is time to return here. We are all waiting for you.⁴ You left like a swallow but return slower than an ox.

[2] I now write about some things that happened after your departure, and I shall not be as sparing with words towards you as you were towards me. So, hear what followed. The bishop of Chiemsee⁵ speedily continued his voyage, and messengers have now arrived who saw him leave Mainz for Cologne. Therefore, I think he must now on his way back. The chancellor⁶ writes to me from Konstanz that there is no hope for a settlement with the Swiss: proud people do not bend to justice but want justice to serve them and only consider that as just which agrees with their own fancies.⁷ The Comic writer⁸ has said it well: “*There is nothing more unreasonable than a man with no experience of the world who doesn’t think anything right except what he’s done himself.*”⁹ As for the people from Rheinfelden and Basel, they are being so heavily fined that the chancellor believes they will desert the bullheaded Swiss.

[3] The Tyrolean envoys will meet with Duke Albrecht,¹⁰ and the chancellor is convinced there will be an agreement.¹¹ If that happens, the Bishop of Chiemsee should remember the matter known to you.¹²

[4] The Hungarians have held an assembly but were unable to reach any decisions against Ladislaus.¹³ They disagree violently between themselves, and the more they disagree, the more miserable and poor they become, though – like the Jews – they are waiting for a Messiah.

¹ After Genzsch. WO has 6 March.

² Letters not extant.

³ For comments on this passage, see VO, 2: 6, p. 349.

⁴ See letter 209: 9.

⁵ Silvester Pflieger.

⁶ Kaspar Schlick.

⁷ See letter 206: 4.

⁸ Terence.

⁹ Terentius: *Adelphoe*, 1: 2, 18: *hominini imperito nihil quidquam injustiust, qui nisi quod ipse fecit nil rectum putat.*

¹⁰ Albrecht VI (Habsburg).

¹¹ See letter 208: 4.

¹² Possibly a matter of an ecclesiastical benefice.

¹³ The boy king Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).

[5] {76v} De Basilea litteras vidi, quarum hic effectus est: sperant patres illi¹ tribus in rebus, nam et spiritum sanctum, qui praesidet in ecclesia, non relinquet² eam, cum *se futurum dominus dixit cum ea usque ad consummationem saeculi*. Tum rex Romanorum, qui protector et advocatus est ecclesiae³, recordatus tandem officii sui, accipiet arma et scutum et⁴ veniet in auxilium matris⁵ suae, quae est ecclesia. Post hoc⁶ in conventionem Nurenbergensi erunt viri et sancti et litterati, qui justitiam et auctoritatem ecclesiae *tamquam meridiem elucidabunt* nec amplius sinent caliginibus esse locum. Tu vide, si⁷ quid habes⁸ adversum haec⁹, nam te vocat iste labor.

[6] Haec habui, que tibi nunc scriberem, quae ut¹⁰ reverendissimis dominis meis camerario et Morinensi communicas, peto, si eos oblectat, quod meum fuit, legere, quamvis nihil¹¹ est, quod Gallicis atque Italicis ex me Teutonico posset¹² placere. Si possem ita sirenes ut epistolas ad vos mittere, forsitan res Alamanicas non dedignarentur. Sed quod mitti non potest, jucunde tamen retinetur.

Vale. Me reverendo patri, episcopo Adriensi, Baptistae de Roma protonotario, et Simoni de Valle, tuis fratribus meisque dominis, si facultas est, commenda¹³ atque¹⁴ hunc virum, egregium doctorem, qui has refert litteras, recipe inter tuos juvaque. Quod¹⁵ scis, me cupere, non neglexeris. Quid actum sit in eo, scribe¹⁶. Ex Vienna, die 6. Martii 1446¹⁷.

¹ illius M3

² relinquare WO

³ est ecclesiae : ecclesiae est M3

⁴ omit. M3

⁵ matri WO

⁶ hec M2

⁷ et M3

⁸ habeas M3

⁹ omit. M3

¹⁰ et M3

¹¹ quid M2; id M3

¹² possit M2, M3

¹³ me reverendo ... commenda

omit. M2, M3

¹⁴ et M2

¹⁵ ut M3

¹⁶ scribere M2, M3

¹⁷ Ex Vienna ... 1446 : etc. M2, M3

[5] I have seen a letter from Basel¹ to the effect that the Fathers put their hope in three things: [1] The Holy Spirit, who presides over the Church, will not abandon it, for the Lord said that *He would be with it even to the consummation of the world.*² [2] The king of the Romans,³ who is the protector and champion of the Church, will finally remember his obligations, take arms and shield and come to assist his mother, the Church. And [3], in Nürnberg there will be holy and learned men⁴ who will make the Church's justice and authority shine forth as if they were the noon sun itself and not leave any room for darkness and shadows. Now, see if you have anything [to say] against that, for this task is assigned to you.

[6] This is what I have to write to you for now. Please share my news with the Most Reverend Lords, the *camerlengo*⁵ and the cardinal of Théroutanne⁶ if it pleases them to read my letter, though I, as a "German", can in no way please the French or the Italians.⁷ If I could, I would send sirens⁸ as my letters to you, and then you might not disdain the German affairs. But since I cannot send them, I shall gladly keep them here.

Farewell. If you have the opportunity, please recommend me to the reverend father the bishop of Adria,⁹ the protonotary Battista Romano and Simone della Valle, my brothers and masters. And please receive the bearer of this letter, a distinguished doctor, as one of your own and favour him. Please do not forget about that which you know I desire.¹⁰ Write to me what has been done in the matter. From Vienna, 6 March 1446.

¹ The schismatic council in Basel. See letter 209: 10.

² Matthew, 28: 20: *et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem saeculi.*

³ Friedrich III.

⁴ I.e., envoys from the council.

⁵ Ludovico Trevisan (Scarampo) (1401-1465): Camerlengo of the Roman Church. Patriarch of Aquileia. Militant cardinal.

⁶ Cardinal Jean Le Jeune.

⁷ Le Jeune was French and Scarampo Italian.

⁸ Sirens: (Myth.) humanlike beings with enchanting voices.

⁹ Bartolomeo Roverella.

¹⁰ Probably the matter of an ecclesiastical benefice.

209. Letter to Johann Vront (8 March 1446, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M2, ff.74r-75r¹; M3, ff. 404v-405²; V2, ff. 407-412³. V3, ff. 196r-199v⁴; V4, ff. 185v-188v.

Editions A: KOB, 92⁵.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 6, pp. 30-33 (based on V2).

Translations: RE, 65, pp. 235-238.

{196r} Viro praestanti ac singulari domino Johanni Vront, insignis civitatis Agrippinae secretario et amico suo percaro, Aeneas Silvius salutem plurimam dicit.⁶

[1] Pauci dies sunt, quibus tuas recepi litteras, ornatas quidem et multa continentes, quibus responsurus nescio, quid primum attingam, sed tuum servabo morem.

[2] De puella tua primum⁷ dicam, quam viro tradidisti. Laudo in ea re factum tuum. Quid enim melius est quam nuptias conjungere, ex quibus soboles fiunt, replenturque liberis civitates? Quod autem post factum doleas, contra naturam est. Nec enim solet alicujus operatio virtutis poenitentiam {196v} habere. Qui⁸ virtuose operatur, laetus est; dolet, qui crimen admisit⁹. Quomodo ergo fit, ut tu doleas, qui actum fecisti virtutis? Nempe arbitrator, quia bonum fecisti, sed non bene fecisti. Adverbia sunt, mi Johannes, quae nos beant, non verba, nomina vel participia. Non quid homo faciat, sed quomodo faciat, quaerendum est, et in omnibus rebus finis¹⁰ expectatur. Si¹¹ ideo puellam maritasti, ut probro levaveris, bene fecisti, si etiam ad rem illam timor accessit Dei. At, si solum, quid homines loquerentur, considerasti, non satis est. Non enim hominibus tantum, sed Deo placere debemus.

[3] Quaeris remedia nec poeticum vis antidotum, recipe evangelicum. Quid est fornicatio aliud quam mors? Tu beatus es, si te cognoscis, qui materiam delinquendi a te abjecisti. Quiesce¹², obsecro, neque ultra memineris tuae juventutis delicta. Scio, dices, “Ecce quam severus est Aeneas. Nunc mihi castitatem praedicat, in Vienna et in Nova Civitate conjugium laudabat¹³!” Non nego, Johannes, mi amantissime, sed labitur tempus. In dies¹⁴ seniores¹⁵ sumus, appropinquat mortis dies, cogitandum est jam, non quomodo vivamus, sed quomodo moriamur. Miser homo est et gratiae Dei expers, qui non aliquando ad cor revertitur, qui se non¹⁶ recognoscit, qui vitam non emendat suam, qui non cogitat, post hoc saeculum quid in alio sit. Ego, mi Johannes, satis erravi et nimium satis. Jam me cognosco, et utinam non sit tarde. Nunc {197r} quadragesimale adest tempus, nunc dies salutis, nunc tempus misericordiae. Pone extra mentem tuam puellam. Finge mortuam esse. Numquid velles vivere? Quid est, quod cum ea possis habere solatii?

¹ SC, 155-157

² SC, 809-811

³ DV, ff. 209r-211v

⁴ DV, 199r-202v

⁵ DV, 53r

⁶ *Salutatio*: Eneas Silvius, poeta imperialisque secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit (domino) Johanni

Vront/Freunt, insignisque civitatis Agrippinae protonotario et amico suo percaro M2, M3

⁷ primo M2, M3

⁸ quod V4

⁹ omit. V4

¹⁰ rebus finis : finis rebus V2, V3,

WO

¹¹ sed M3

¹² quis te V4

¹³ conjugium laudabat : aliter mecum loquebatur M2, M3, V2a, WO; *corr.* ex aliter mecum loquebatur V2b

¹⁴ dietim M2, M3, V2, WO; *corr.* ex dietim V3

¹⁵ sermones M2

¹⁶ se non : non se M2, M3

209. Letter to Johann Vront (8 March 1446, Vienna).

Context: See letter 191.

Subject: Piccolomini tries to console his friend for the loss of his lover. In contrast to Ovid's advice in the *Remedia Amoris* (get more lovers!), he counsels his friend to give up women and to renounce sexuality. He adds some news from the imperial court.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the eminent and distinguished Johann Vront, secretary to the illustrious city of Cologne and his dear friend.

[1] A few days ago, I received your letter,¹ ornate and comprehensive. I do not know what items to answer first, so I shall take them up in your own order.

[2] First, the girl you let go to another man. I praise what you did, for what is better than to join [people] in marriage that produces offspring and fills the cities with children? But to afterwards be grieved by it goes against nature, for, usually, one does not deplore virtuous acts. The man who acts virtuously is happy. It is the man who has committed a sin who regrets it. So, why do you deplore having acted virtuously? I believe it is not because you did something good, but because you did not do it well. For it is adverbs, my Johann, not verbs or nouns or participles that make us happy. We should not ask what a man does, but how he does it, and in all things we must look to the end. If you let the girl marry because you wished to avoid reproach, you did well if you also acted out of fear of God. But if you only did it fearing what people would otherwise say, it is not enough, for we should not please men only, but God.

[3] You ask for remedies but do not want the poet's antidote, so here you have the Gospel's. What is fornication² but death? You are blessed if you know yourself and have cast away the cause for sin. Be at peace, I say, and do not remember the sins of your youth. I know that you will now say, "Oh, how severe Enea is. Now he preaches chastity to me, but in Vienna and Neustadt³ he praised marriage!"⁴ I do not deny it, my dearest Johann, but time passes. Soon we grow old, the day of death approaches, and we must consider not how to live but how to die. Miserable is the man who lacks God's grace, who does not find back to his own soul, who does not recollect himself, who does not emend his life, and who does not think of the other world that will follow this one. I, my Johann, have erred enough and more than enough. Now I have recollected myself, and, hopefully, it is not too late. Now it is the lenten time, now *the day of salvation*,⁵ now the time of mercy. Cast this girl from your mind. Pretend she is dead: would you then not like to live on? What comfort could you possibly get from her?

¹ Not extant.

² Fornication: sexual intercourse between people not married to each other.

³ Wiener Neustadt.

⁴ Instead of "*conjugium laudabat*" (*praised marriage*) the original version of this letter had "*aliter mecum loquebatur*" (*said quite different things to me*). The original version would not be sui-

table to Piccolomini's later status as a high-ranking prelate, which is why it was changed in the later version, like other passages in the letter (see below).

⁵ 2 Corinthians, 6: 2.

[4] Quam brevis est voluptas, quae cum mulieribus hauritur? Quam momentaneum gaudium? An non¹ satis stultus est, qui propter temporalia et momentanea perdit aeterna? Hoc² dico secundum theologos, quia non vis, quae poetae dicunt, audire. Hoc est remedium, quod hic in apothecis invenitur Viennae. Tu, obsecro, vendica te tibi nec una³ te puella vincat, quem vix imperator superaret. Turpe est in parvis succumbere, qui in magnis victor fuit. Nec tu mihi de *successore*⁴ *novo* verbum facias, quod fuit Ovidii remedium, nam quid est una muliere relicta amare aliam, nisi ex igne in ignem saltare? Fuge, obsecro, omne femininum genus, relinque huiusmodi pestem. Cum feminam vides, diabolum esse credito.

[5] Sed quid ego tecum haec sero? Scio frustra me fari, verbis meis abesse fidem, nam tu me pleno stomacho⁵ reris jejunium commendare. Fateor, amantissime frater, plenus sum, stomachatus sum, nauseam mihi femina⁶ facit. Tum quoque et illud verum est languescere vires⁷ meas, canis aspersione⁸ sum, aridi nervi sunt, ossa cariosa, rugis corpus aratum est, nec ulli ego feminae possum esse voluptati, nec voluptatem mihi afferre⁹ femina potest. Baccho magis quam Veneri parentat senex¹⁰. Vinum¹¹ alit senem¹², juvat¹³, {197v} oblectat¹⁴, beat. Hic liquor suavis¹⁵ usque ad mortem durat¹⁶. Sed hic quoque peccatum est, si ad jucunditatem magis quam ad necessitatem biberimus¹⁷. Tu, mi Johannes, si fortis es¹⁸, si sanguine succoque plenus, si nervis vales, non miror te amare, quamvis plurimum te verborum esse credam quam operum, si vel¹⁹ aetas²⁰ vel occupationes vires demunt. Sed esto, ut ais, robustus, calidus, promptus, intrepidus, tunc bonum est, crimen abjicere. Cum tu illud relinquis, non²¹ te ipsum fugit.²²

[6] Mihi, Hercule, parum meriti est in castitate, namque, ut verum fatear, non sum aptus veneri²³. Sed ago Deo gratias, quia non major est²⁴ appetitus quam potestas. Dicis tamen de te non esse ante proelium deserendum, quam hosti victoria cedat. Quod verum non est in eis bellis, in quibus²⁵ vincitur victor. Veneris proelia qui plura confecit, is sese pluribus affecit cladibus. Sed quid ego tam severus²⁶ sum? Omnes quidem²⁷, cum valemus, recta consilia aegrotis damus. Sic mihi replicare potes et illud Terentianum objicere: *tu, si hic sis, aliter sentias*. Sensi aliquando, quod nunc sentis²⁸. Sed et tu aliquando senties, quod ego sentio, quando huc aevi venies. Quod si nunc faceres, tanto laudabilior esses, quanto difficilius nitereris, Ciceronisque tibi²⁹ verbum illud conveniret: *quo difficilius, eo praeclarius*.

¹ autem M2

² hec M2, M3, V2, WO

³ unica V3

⁴ qui in ... successore *omit.* M2

⁵ *omit.* V3

⁶ venus M2, M3, V2a, WO; *corr.*

ex venus V2b

⁷ in res V4

⁸ respersus M3

⁹ afferri M3

¹⁰ parentat senex : parento M2, M3, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* parento V2b

¹¹ me *add.* M2, M3, V2a, WO; *me* *seq.* V2b

¹² me *add.* M2, M3, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* me V2b

¹³ me *add.* M2, M3, V2a, WO; *me* *seq.* V2b

¹⁴ me *add.* M2, M3, V2a, WO; *me* *seq.* V2b

¹⁵ mihi erit *add.* M2, M3, V2a, WO; ~~mihi erit~~ *seq.* V2b

¹⁶ *omit.* M2, M3, V2, WO; *add.* V2b

¹⁷ biberim M2, M3, WO

¹⁸ si fortis es *omit.* V4

¹⁹ si vel : vel si M3

²⁰ etates WO

²¹ modo WO

²² Error for fugis?

²³ non sum aptus veneri : magis me venus fugitat, quam ego illam horreo M2, M3, V2a, WO; *corr. ex* magis me venus fugitat, quam ego illam horreo V2b

²⁴ major est : est major WO

²⁵ quo V2-V4

²⁶ seruus sum V4

²⁷ enim V4

²⁸ nunc sentis : sentis nunc M3

²⁹ in *add.* M2, M3

[4] How brief is the pleasure you get from women! How short the joy! Isn't he a fool who loses the eternal [joys] because of the passing and brief ones? In saying this, I follow the theologians since you do not want to hear what the poets say. This is the remedy that is found in the shops of Vienna.¹ I beg you to recover yourself. You who could barely be defeated by the emperor² should not be defeated by a woman. It is disgraceful for someone who was a victor in great things to succumb in small. Do not quote Ovid's *Remedia* and speak to me of your *next love*,³ for to leave one woman to love another is the same as jumping from one fire to another. So, I beg you, flee all women, avoid this plague. When you see a woman, think of her as the devil.

[5] But why I am telling you this? I know that I am speaking in vain and that you do not believe me, for you see me as a man with a full stomach who urges others to fast. I admit, beloved brother, that I am full, I am disgusted, and I am nauseated by women⁴. It is also true that my strength is waning, I have grey hairs everywhere, my virility shrivels, my bones are decaying, my body is furrowed by wrinkles, I can no longer please a woman, and a woman can no longer please me. An old man is closer to Bacchus than to Venus. Wine nourishes, cheers and delights the old man⁵. This sweet drink lasts until death. But here, too, there is sin if we drink for pleasure rather than need. But, my Johann, if you are strong and healthy and full of blood and juice, I am not surprised that you want to make love (though I believe you to be more a man of words than acts since both your age and occupations deplete your strength). On the other hand, if - as you say - you are strong, lusty, energetic and bold, then it would be good to reject the sin [of sexual pleasure]. When you abandon that, you do not flee from yourself.

[6] As for me, by Hercules, there is little merit in chastity, for, in truth, I am no longer fit for Venus⁶. But I thank God that my sexual desire is even smaller than my sexual prowess. You say that one should not leave the battle before the enemy has won. This does not apply to battles in which the victor is actually the vanquished one. The man who has won many erotic battles has really suffered as many defeats. But why I am so severe? It is the healthy who give right advice to the sick. But you could answer me with Terence's objection, "*If you were here, you would feel otherwise.*"⁷ I once felt as you do now. And when you are as old as I am now, you will feel as I do. If you acted now and did the difficult thing, you would most praiseworthy, and Cicero's sentence would apply to you, "*The more difficult, the more glorious.*"⁸

¹ A reference to the theological faculty in Vienna?

² As the representative of the City of Cologne in a case before the emperor, Vront had argued the city's case vigorously against the imperial position.

³ Ovidius: *Remedia Amoris*, 462: *successore novo vincitur omnis amor* (all love is vanquished by a new love). Ovid's advice to a man who had been ditched by his lover was to take a new one (*At tibi, qui fueris dominae male creditus uni, nunc saltem novus est inveniendus*

amor (458-459)), preferably two or more (*Hortor et, ut pariter binas habeatis amicas. Fortior est, plures siquis habere potest* (441-442)) and to consider the former lover's blemishes.

⁴ The early version had "venus" (sex) instead of "femina" (woman).

⁵ The early version had "me" (me) instead of "senex" (an old man). It would not do for Bishop/Cardinal Piccolomini to be suspected of bibulousness.

⁶ "venus". The early version had: "*magis me venus fugitat, quam ego illam horreo*" (*It is more a matter of Venus fleeing me than me being disgusted by her*) instead of "*non aptus sum veneri*" (*I am not fit for Venus*). See Martels: *Fruit*, p. 231.

⁷ Terentius: *Andria*, 1: 9-10.

⁸ Cicero: *De Officiis*, 1: 19, 64. Also the motto of Piccolomini's former master and mentor Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara.

[7] Possem plura in hanc sententiam dicere, sed neque tu ista vis audire, nec Johannes noster Nurembergensis permittit scribere seria, qui {198r} vulturis in modum cadaveribus nutritus in Capitolino campo venari vellet, nec jam piper emere formidaret, dum feras haberet, quas posset condire. Is te amat unice tuique saepe non sine laude mentionem habet cupitque, ut huc venias, quod Michael et ego maxime desideramus, ut loquamur aliquando simul, rideamus, bibamus, cenemus et, quod litterae non praestant, solamen invicem recipiamus. Nimis remote a nobis vitam ducis. Raro exinde nuntii veniunt, quibus litteras demus, neque omnia committi litteris possunt.

[8] De conventibus, qui super rebus ecclesiae sunt, tuam sententiam probo, nec enim dieta fit, quae dietam non pariat. Credo, quia femininum est nomen libenter impregnari dietas ac parturire. Sed ne haec consuetudo periret, concilium Norembergense, quod erat indictum neutri generis, quod non poterat concipere, quia fortasse finem dedisset in rebus ecclesie¹, sublatum est² et ad dietas reventum prolificantes, ut in aeternum fiant conventiones maneatque neutralitas, dulce ac suave nonnullorum aucupium. Mirum est tam parvae curae teneri ecclesiam. Forsitan sic Deo placitum est, cujus consilia humano nequeunt ingenio deprehendi. Ille hinc aliquam venatur utilitatem nobis incognitam. Res grandes et totius reipublicae statum concernentes desursum ordinantur, nec quisquam est, qui futura sciat. *Cogitant homines, Deus autem disponit*. Unum *scimus beati Petri naviculam*, quam ecclesiam nuncupamus, {198v} etsi *fluctibus* agitetur, *quatiatur* ventis innumeris, vexetur *procellis*, *submergi* tamen non posse³, quia futurum se cum ea⁴ salvator noster Jesus⁵ usque ad consummationem saeculi repromisit.

¹ in rebus ecclesiae : ecclesiae in rebus M2, M3
² *omit.* M3

³ potest M2, M3, V2; *corr. ex* potest V3
⁴ illa M3

⁵ Christus *add.* WO

[7] I could write more in this vein, but you do not want to hear it, and our Johann from Nürnberg¹ does not allow me to write serious things. Living, as he does, like a vulture and feeding on corpses, he prefers to hunt in the Capitoline field², and he would not fear to buy pepper to season such wild animals as he may catch. He loves you above all and does not mention you without praise. He wishes for you to come here, which also Michael³ and I greatly desire, so that we may talk together, laugh, drink, eat and give each other the comfort that letters cannot. You live too far from us. Only rarely do messengers come from there to whom we can give our letters – and all cannot be entrusted to letters, anyway.

[8] Concerning the meetings held on church matters, I agree with you, for each diet engenders another. I believe it is because “dieta” (diet) is a noun in the feminine that they readily become pregnant and bear offspring. The Nürnberg meeting was indicted as a “concilium” (council), a noun in the neuter, so that it would not conceive another one. But then it was annulled and they went back to the fertile diets to ensure that the meetings would continue forever like the state of neutrality,⁴ a sweet and delightful hunting ground for many.⁵ It is amazing how little they care for the Church. But maybe this is God’s design: his plans are incomprehensible to the human mind. Maybe, he is seeing some advantage [to the Church] that we do not know of. Great matters concerning the whole state are ruled from above, and nobody may know the future. *Man proposes, but God disposes.*⁶ We only know this that the Bark of Saint Peter – as we call the Church – may be tossed around by the waves, struck by countless winds and hit by storms but can never sink,⁷ for Our Saviour, Jesus, has promised to be with us *even to the consummation of the world.*⁸

¹ See letter 191: 1.

² Code for brothels in the city center?

³ Michael von Pfullendorf.

⁴ The state of neutrality between Pope Eugenius IV in Rome and the Council of Basel, decided by the German princes in 1438.

⁵ By ignoring the two authorities in the Church, the local bishops and princes could dispose as they wished in the matter of eccle-

siastical benefices, and would not pay church fees and taxes, either. Therefore, many, understandably, wanted this advantageous situation to continue indefinitely.

⁶ Common proverb. Cf. Proverbs, 16: 9, and Thomas a Kempis: *De Imitatione Christi*, 1: 19: *Homo proponit, sed Deus disponit.*

⁷ Innocentius III: *Regestorum libri*, 16: 80 (Letter to the Church of England, 7 July 1213): *Vere*

quidem nunc scimus quod etsi quatiatur interdum Petri navicula numquam tamen submergitur; quoniam invalescentibus fluctibus procellarum et jam pene naufragio imminente ... (MPL, 216: col. 832). Cf. Johannes Chrysostomos: *De Conversione Matthaei*, hom. 14.

⁸ Matthew, 28: 20: *et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem saeculi.*

[9] Quod de¹ regis coronatione apud te praedicari² dicitis, minime verum est neque enim adhuc verbum fieri audivi in loco authentico de tali coronatione, quod tamen me non fugeret, quamvis et hic etiam multi³ multa loquantur ex opinione magis quam ex sententia. Nova hic alia non sunt, nisi quod Ulricus, Ciliae comes, post diutinam obsidionem castris Attilae⁴, quod est in Hungaria ac per Franconem, germanum Mathiconis bani, tenebatur, tandem victoria potitus est unoque illius occiso filio alium cum uxore et omni gaza secum in captivitatem abduxit. Giskra in campo est cum magno exercitu contra Pancratium. Itaque tota Hungaria trepidat conventumque habet⁵ apud Albam Regalem spesque optima⁶ est Hungaros omnes ad oboedientiam Ladislai reversuros, nam Johannes et Nicolaus, vaivode Transsilvani, et despotus Rasciae jam sese reconciliarunt ac eorum officia confirmari sibi obtinuerunt. Quod si Pancratius et Orsacius Michael in pertinacia perseveraverint ac Laurentii palatini dementiam sequi⁷ voluerint, decretum est in Festo Sancti Georgii adversus eos regalem ducere exercitum⁸. Cum Michaele conveni de modo, quo res, de qua scribis, expediri potest. Is ad te latius scribit. Meam { 199r } curam et diligentiam nulla in re umquam tua denegabo. Tu me utere ut tuo.

Vale optime, et si quando facultas datur⁹ domino Coloniensi ejusque germano¹⁰ Trajectensi commendatum me facito mihi que scribere saepius, nam tuis litteris jucundissime fruor. Iterum vale. Ex Vienna, 8. Martii 1446¹¹.

¹ *omit.* V4

² *predicare* M2

³ *omit.* WO

⁴ Atile V2, V3; Attilie M3; Athile V4

⁵ *fieri* M2; *est* M3

⁶ *omit.* WO

⁷ *non add.* V4

⁸ *nam Johannes ... exercitum : etc.* M2, M3

⁹ *reverendissimo et illustri principi domino meo add.* M2, M3, WO

¹⁰ *domino add.* M2, M3, WO

¹¹ *Ex Vienna ... 1446 : etc.* M2, M3

[9] What you say is being rumoured in Cologne about the king's coronation¹ is not true, and I have not yet heard any people in the know speak about it, which I would definitely have if there were anything to it. But here, too, many people say much that is based on opinion not knowledge. There is no other news from here, except that Count Ulrich of Cilly² has for a long time laid siege to Castrum Attilae, a fortress in Hungary held by Frank,³ brother of Ban Matko⁴. When he finally won and a son of Frank been killed, he carried another son and Frank's wife⁵ into captivity with all his treasure. Jiskra has marched against Pankraz with a large army. All of Hungary is trembling and holds an assembly in Alba Regalis⁶. There is much hope that all Hungarians will now return to the obedience of Ladislaus, for János⁷ and Nikolaus,⁸ Voivode of Transylvania, and the despot of Rascia⁹ have now become reconciled and obtained confirmation of their offices. But if Pankraz and Michael Orszhág¹⁰ remain obstinate and prefer to follow the madness of Palatine Laurentius,¹¹ it has been decided to send the royal army against them on the Feast of Saint George. Concerning the affair you write about, I have agreed with Michael on the best way to proceed. He will write more to you. I shall never and in any matter deny you my care and diligence. Do use me as your own.

Farewell, and if the opportunity arises, then recommend me to His Lordship of Cologne¹² and his brother¹³ of Utrecht. And write to me often since I much enjoy your letters. Farewell again. From Vienna, 8 March 1446.

¹ King Ladislaus' coronation as king of Hungary.

² Ulrich III of Cilly.

³ Frank Tallóci (-1448)

⁴ Matkó Tallóci (-1444/1445): Ban (viceroys) of Croatia, 1436 to his death.

⁵ Jelena Jakšić.

⁶ Székesfehérvár.

⁷ Janos Hunyadi.

⁸ Miklós Újlaky.

⁹ Durad I Brankovic.

¹⁰ Mihály von Gut Orszhág (ca. 1410-1484): Hungarian noble. In-

fluent court official under Emperor Sigismund.

¹¹ Lőrinc Héderváry.

¹² Dietrich von Mörs.

¹³ Walram von Mörs.

210. Letter to Ippolito of Milan (31 December 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, ff. 189r-191r; M2, ff. 89r-90v¹; M3, ff. 68r-69v²; V2, ff. 413-420³; V3, ff. 199r-203r⁴ **; V4, ff. 188v-192v; (MUB, 2o, f. 273v⁵).

Editions A: KOB, 106⁶.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 7, pp. 33-39 (based on M1 and V2).

Literature: VO, 2: 12, pp. 440-442; Pinotti.

{199r} Aeneas Silvius⁷, Hyppolito Mediolanensi⁸ salutem plurimam dicit⁹.

[1] Querebaris mecum nocte praeterita, quod amori operam dares nec delibutum ac vincitum¹⁰ animum solvere posses. Dixisti te nec virginem nec nuptam nec viduam amare, sed mulierem quamvis pulchram meretricem tamen, quibuslibet viris pretii causa sese substernentem. Id tibi molestum esse ajebas libenterque amorem hunc velle te postergare, sed viam modumque nescire, quo fieri liber et amore vacuus posses. Nam etsi¹¹ plures sacerdotes consulueris, neminem tamen remedia, quae tibi viderentur efficacia, protulisse dicebas. Rogasti igitur me magnisque precibus efflagitasti aegritudini tuae ut aliquam afferrem¹² medelam ac¹³ iter ostenderem tibi, quo posses ardentis¹⁴ amoris flammam effugere¹⁵.

[2] Parebo desiderio tuo salubriaque praebebo tibi remedia, si ea amplecti volueris. Nec verebor medici¹⁶ culpam mihi ascribi, si tu oboedientis aegroti personam susceperis, quamvis arbitrator, quos consuluisti sacerdotes satis tibi fecisse, si praecepta {199v} tenuisses, quae illi dederunt. Sed tibi visa fuerunt fortasse¹⁷ gravia, nam cum dicerent: “Fuge illam, nihil sibi loquaris, nihil de illa audias,” durum verbum visum est. Ac febricitans quoque invitatus audit frigida pocula sibi negari. Si tamen sanari vult, quod medicus mandat, diligenter observat¹⁸. Tu ergo, mi Hyppolite¹⁹, si vis amorem evadere liberque fieri, praepara te²⁰, ut, quae praecipiam, facias. Noscito aegrotum te fore maximaque infirmitate detentum et propter sanitatem dura et aspera esse plurima subeunda. Nempe aegrotus est, mi Hyppolite²¹, omnis²², qui amat, ac²³ nedum aegrotus, sed mente etiam captus atque insanus et amens.

¹ SC, 187-190

² SC, 144-147

³ DV, ff. 212r-215v

⁴ DV, 202r-206r

⁵ Not collated.

⁶ DV, f. 72v

⁷ poeta *add.* M2

⁸ Hippolyto Mediolanensi : Nicolao Warten/mbergensi M2, M3

⁹ *Titulus/salutatio:* De remedio amoris. Eneas Ypolito Mediolanensi salutem plurimam dicit M1

¹⁰ vincitum V3; iunctum V4

¹¹ et M3

¹² efferrem M2; afferram M3

¹³ at V4

¹⁴ ardentis M2

¹⁵ effundere alias effugere M3

¹⁶ me dicere V4

¹⁷ fortassis M3

¹⁸ observet M3

¹⁹ Hyppolite : Nicolae M2, M3

²⁰ *omit.* V3, V4

²¹ Nicolae M2, M3

²² enim *add. interlin.* M1; enim *add.* M2

²³ at M3

210. Letter to Ippolito from Milan (31 December 1445¹, Vienna).

- Context:* In the preceding letter (209), Piccolomini had advised his friend, Johann Vrut, how to free himself of lovesickness. That letter inspired him to write a more general, fictive, letter on the ills of illicit love, i.e. sexual love outside marriage. In the first and later versions (M1, V2-V4, the addressee is some - fictive - Ippolito from Milan. In the intermediate version (M2, M3), it is a Nikolaus from Wartenberg.
- Subject:* In this letter, Piccolomini – again – offers a Christian remedy against illicit love, as opposed to the pagan remedy exemplified by Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*. He develops the theme of the problems of illicit sexuality, the faithlessness of women, and the fickle and passing charms of the female gender.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to Ippolito from Milan.

[1] During our conversation, last night, you lamented that you are much too occupied with love and cannot free your infected and vanquished mind from it. You told me that you do not love a maiden, a married woman or a widow but a woman who, though beautiful, is a prostitute and lies with any man for money. This disturbs you, you said, and you would gladly put this infatuation behind but did not know the way nor the means to become rid and free of this love. You had consulted several priests, but none of them had proposed remedies you considered useful. So you asked and even begged me to give you some medicine against this illness and show you how to flee the burning flames of this love.

[2] I shall fulfil your wish and give you remedies if you will accept them. And I shall not hesitate to take on responsibility as your physician if only you behave as an obedient patient - though I think you would have been satisfied with the priests you consulted if only you had followed their precepts. But maybe these seemed insufferable, for when the priests said "Flee her, do not talk to her, do not hear her," you could not accept their advice. Indeed, a person with a fever cannot bear being denied a cold drink. But if he wants to be healed, he must diligently follow the doctor's orders. So, my Ippolito, if you want to be released from this passion and become a free man again, then be prepared to do what I prescribe. Know that you are sick and in the throes of a serious illness and will have to suffer many hardships and afflictions to regain your health. For you are sick, my Ippolito. Indeed, anyone who loves is not just ill but has lost his mind and is insane and deranged.

¹ After Genzsch. The mss. have the date 31. December 1445 (2. Kal. 1446). Wolkan apparently believed (WO, 2: 1, p. 39) that on this day Piccolomini was in Rome,

which, however, is not the case. On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to consider the letter as a follow-up to the preceding letter to Johann Vrut of 8 March 1446

and consequently to date the letter to that same month (as Wolkan did).

[3] De amore inquam illicito, nam Deum colere et¹ amare parentes, uxorem² et liberos³ virtutis est non vitii, sanitatisque non aegritudinis, at⁴ tu amorem illicitum sequeris. Quid tu esse amorem⁵, de quo jam loquimur, credis? Veteres putarunt⁶ illum ex *Venere Vulcanoque*⁷ natum puerum caecum⁸ alatum⁹, sagittas¹⁰ in manibus habentem, quibus viros ac¹¹ mulieres feriens, ardorem dilectionis infunderet¹². Apud Virgilium legimus: *nunc scio quid sit amor duris in cotibus*¹³ illum, *Ismarus*¹⁴ aut *Rhodope* aut¹⁵ *extremi Garamantes nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt*. Sed error hic mortalis populi fuit, qui veritatem attingere non potuit. *Amor*, ut in tragediis inquit Seneca, *nihil est aliud*¹⁶ nisi *vis quaedam magna mentis blandusque animi calor, qui iuventa*¹⁷ *gignitur luxu, otio et inter* {200r} *laeta fortunae bona nutritur*. Hic mentem hominis eripit, iudicium omne pervertit, sensum hebetat, animum extinguit, namque cum mulierem diligis, non in te sed in illa¹⁸ vivis. Quid igitur pejus est quam viventem¹⁹ non vivere? Quam²⁰ sensum habentem non sentire? Quam oculis praeditum non videre? Equidem, qui amat, in alium mutatur virum nec loquitur nec facit, quae ante solebat. Hinc Parmeno apud Terentium: *Dii boni, quid hoc morbi est? Adeon homines mutarier ex amore, ut non cognoscas eundem esse?* Putat comicus, morbum esse amorem nec male putat, nam et apud Macrobius *luxuriam, quae vel mater amoris est vel filia, taeterrimi morbi partem Hippocras esse*²¹ dicit.

[4] Hic morbus plerumque juvenes aggreditur, sed viros quoque senesque vexat, tantoque periculosior et risu dignior est, quanto persona, quae capta est, aetate aut scientia censetur praestantior. Cum ergo, Hyppolite²², captus sis amorique servias, scias te morbosum esse. Si morbosus es, liberari stude, nam quis morbum patitur, qui curari non velit? Sane, ut morbus gravior est, acerbior, periculosior, eo morbosus²³ major est de sanitate cura. Tua infirmitas magna est, sit et curae diligentia magna. Cogita, mi Hyppolite, quo in statu es. Tu nihil²⁴ te extimas, quidquid tibi eveniat leve est. Solum super amica anxius es. Non parentes, non necessarios, non benefactores magnificis. Solus tuus animus in amica est²⁵. Illam amas, illam promotes, illam somnias, de illa cogitas, de illa {200v} loqueris, de illa suspiras, nihil agis, quin memoriam ejus²⁶ habeas. En²⁷ stultitiam, amentiam morbumque taeterrimum. An non est petenda cura? Quis²⁸ non sanari hoc morbo velit? Ceterum ad salutem tuam haec sunt necessaria, Hyppolite²⁹, quae si feceris, sanus eris. Si neglexeris, sepelieris in morbo tuo nec te quisquam juvare poterit.

¹ omit. M1

² uxores M2

³ uxorem et liberos omit. M1

⁴ ac M2

⁵ illicitum add. M2

⁶ putaverunt M2

⁷ Fulcanoque alias Vulcanoque

M2; Fulcanoque M3

⁸ tecum V4

⁹ caecum alatum : alatum caecum M1

¹⁰ sagittam WO

¹¹ et M1

¹² infunderat V4

¹³ contibus M2, M3

¹⁴ Ismaros WO. Virgil: Tmaros.

¹⁵ omit. V4

¹⁶ omit. M3

¹⁷ iuventa M2, V4; iumenta V2;

iuvente V4

¹⁸ illam V4

¹⁹ iuvenem V4

²⁰ viventem non ... quam omit. M3

²¹ omit. V4

²² Nicolae M2, M3

²³ morbosus corr. ex morbosus M1

²⁴ mihi V4

²⁵ omit. V3

²⁶ mei V4

²⁷ en V4

²⁸ qui V4

²⁹ Nicolae M2, M3

[3] I am talking about illicit love, for worshipping God and loving one's parents, wife and children is virtuous, not sinful, and healthy, not ill. But you are pursuing the [course of] illicit love. What is that love, do you think? The old ones¹ believed that it was a boy born of *Venus and Vulcan*,² blind, winged, with arrows in his hands³ that he shot at men and women, striking them with burning love. In Virgil we read that, "*now I know what love is: on hard⁴ rock Tmarus bore him, or Rhodope or the farthest Garamantes - a child not of our race or blood.*"⁵ But this was *human wrongheadedness*⁶ that could not grasp the truth. In his tragedies, Seneca said that, "*love is simply a powerful impulse in the mind, a seductive warmth in the mind. It is generated by youth and fostered by leisure and high living amid Fortune's genial bounty.*"⁷ It robs men of their senses, perverts all judgment, dulls perception and extinguishes the spirit, for when you fall in love with a woman, you live in her, not in yourself. What is worse than not living while alive? Than not sensing while you have senses? Than not seeing while you have eyes? Indeed, the man who loves changes into someone else and neither speaks nor acts as he used to. Thus, Parmeno says in Terence, "*Good gods, what kind of disease is this? To think that people can be so changed by love that you wouldn't recognise them as the same person!*"⁸ Thus, the Comic writer⁹ believes that love is a sickness, and he is right. And Macrobius quoted *Hippocrates* as saying that "*lust is the mother or daughter of love and part of an utterly repulsive illness.*"¹⁰

[4] This sickness attacks many young men, but it also plagues grown men and old men, and the older and more learned the captivated person is reputed to be, the more perilous and laughable it is. So, Ippolito, since you have been caught and are love's slave, you will know you are sick. And if you are sick, you want to be free of the sickness, for when does a sick man not want to be healed? Indeed, the more serious, painful and dangerous the illness, the greater the need for healing. Your illness is grave, so care intensely about your cure. My Ippolito, think of the state you are in. You neglect yourself, you do not care what happens to you. You are only concerned about your lover. You do not treasure your parents, relatives and friends or benefactors. You only think of your lover. It is her that you love, favour, dream of, think of, speak about and sigh after. Everything you do aims at keeping her focused on you. Is that not foolishness, madness, and a most terrible illness? Should you not search for a cure? Who does not want to be cured of such an illness? What follows is necessary for your health, Ippolito: if you do it, you will be healed. If you ignore it, your illness will be fatal, and no one can help you.

¹ The classical, pagan authors.

² Seneca the Younger: *Octavia*, 560.

³ Seneca the Younger: *Octavia*, 567-568.

⁴ Virgil: *nudis* = naked.

⁵ Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 8: 43-45.

⁶ Seneca the Younger: *Octavia*, 558.

⁷ Seneca the Younger: *Octavia*, 561-563.

⁸ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 225.

⁹ Terence.

¹⁰ Macrobius, 2: 8, 16: *Hippocrates autem, divina vir scientia, de coitu Venerio ita existimabat partem esse quandam morbi taeterimi, quem nostri comtialem dixerunt* (*Hippocrates, a man of god-like understanding, thought that sexual intercourse has something in common with the utterly repulsive illness we call "the comital disease"*).

[5] Cogita primum, quam remote a praeceptis Dei recessisti, qui, cum deberes *Deum ex toto corde diligere*, creaturam amasti et in ea omnem tuam delectationem¹ et oblectationem² posuisti. Sic enim factus es idolorum cultor, nam, qui creaturam Deo³ praeponit, idolatra est. Negabis te idolatram esse, quasi non praeponas creatori creatum⁴? At⁵, si verum fateri vis, plus tuam amicam diligis quam Deum, nam, quae Deus mandat, negligis, postergas, contemnis; quae vult amica, summa cum diligentia curas adimplere, et hoc nempe est praeferre mulierem⁶ Deo. Heu quam magnum est malum, quam periculosum, quam detestabile creaturam sic amare, ut Deum parvifacias. Deus, cum esses nihil, te aliquid esse fecit, nec te lapidem nec te feram, nec te gentilem nec Judaeum sed hominem Christianum fecit⁷, ut posses scire divina sacramenta et viam, qua itur in caelum. Ipse quoque Deus, cum ob culpam primi parentis tu et ceteri homines paradysum amisissetis, nasci pro te voluit, fieri homo, capi, caedi, vituperari, crucifigi, mori ac suo te pretioso redimere sanguine. En⁸, quam magna ingratitude est, iniquitas, inhumanitas, feritas, hunc, qui tanta {201r} pro te fecerit, propter vilem relinquere mulierculam. Hoc satis te ceterosque Christianos monere⁹ deberet, ut omissis¹⁰ amoribus illicitis Deo soli servirent.

[6] Sed cogita ulterius, quid agis, Hyppolite¹¹. Pulchra tibi videtur amica tua: credisne sic semper pulchra erit? *Res est*¹² *forma fugax*, ut inquit Tragoedus¹³. Mulier, quae hodie formosa est, cras deformis erit. Quid tu bona perpetua et immutabilia pro caducis mutabilibusque permutas? Sit, ut putas, spectabili forma mulier, leve hoc bonum est. Nihil enim forma mulieris est, nisi moribus¹⁴ sit¹⁵ adjuncta. Castitas est, quae feminam laudat, non forma. Tu non castitatem sequeris, formam solum¹⁶ amas. Forma haec uti flos agri decidit. Rosa mane rubet, sero languescit. Nihil formosius est virtute atque honestate. Si hanc intuereris, multo tibi formosior videretur quam tua sit amica. Etenim nec Lucifer nec Hesperus tam decorus est quam ipsa facies honestatis, quam qui relinquit propter mulierem, extima, oro¹⁷, quam¹⁸ sit delirus et amens.

[7] Ceterum, Hyppolite¹⁹, ut tecum non multis utar, haec, quam amas, mulier non tua sola est, sed complures eam habent. Nec ipsa te solum amat, sed alios quoque amat²⁰. Quid tu in turba vis facere? Cogita, te esse jam in vespero, jam senem, jam morti proximum. Visne cum juvenibus contendere, vis cum robustis pugnare? Quid tibi in illo²¹ proelio quaeris, in quo victor succumbes? Magna res est virum senem a juvenibus extorquere mulierem.

¹ dilectionem M2; dilectationem WO

² et oblectationem *omit.* M1, V4; *add. in marg.* V3

³ creaturam Deo : Deo creaturam M3

⁴ creatura alias creatum M3

⁵ ac M1

⁶ praeferre mulierem : mulierem praeferre M3

⁷ nec te lapidem ... fecit *omit.* M2, M3

⁸ heu V3

⁹ mouere M1, M2, M3, V4

¹⁰ amissis M3

¹¹ Nicolae M2, M3

¹² et M2

¹³ Tragoedus M2

¹⁴ morsus V4

¹⁵ *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁶ solam M1

¹⁷ *omit.* M3

¹⁸ quod V4

¹⁹ Nicolae M2, M3

²⁰ diligit M2, M3

²¹ eo M2, M3, V2

Loving a woman more than God is idolatry

[5] First, think how far you have moved from God's commands: you ought to *love God with your whole heart*,¹ but instead you love a creature and have placed all your delight and enjoyment in it. Thus, you have become a worshipper of idols, for one who puts a creature above God is idolatrous. Will you deny that you who put a creature above the creator are idolatrous? Be honest and admit that you love your lover more than God, and neglect, reject and despise God's commands while eagerly doing all that she wants. That is, indeed, to prefer a woman to God. Oh, what great, perilous and detestable evil it is to love a creature and disdain God. God made you out of nothing, and he did not make you a stone or a wild animal or a gentile or a Jew, but a Christian who could know the divine sacraments and the way leading to Heaven. When, due to your first parent's² fault,³ you and the rest of mankind had lost paradise, God wanted to be born for you, become a man, be captured, beaten, reviled, crucified, die and save you with his precious blood.⁴ It is, indeed, ungrateful, evil, inhuman and barbaric to abandon him, who has done so much for you, for a vile little woman. This should be enough to admonish you and other Christians to give up illicit loves and serve God alone.

Beauty is fleeting

[6] But think further of your actions, Ippolito. You think your lover is beautiful: do you think that she will always remain so? *Beauty is fugitive*,⁵ as the Tragedian says. The woman who is beautiful today will be ugly tomorrow. Why will you exchange eternal and unchanging benefits for perishable and changing ones? You may think the woman is beautiful, but, in reality, it does not mean much. A woman's beauty is nothing unless supported by her character and behaviour. You do not care about chastity but only love beauty. But beauty withers like the flowers in the field. The rose blooms in the morning and wilts in the evening. Nothing is more beautiful than virtue and decency. If you look closer, it will seem more beautiful than your lover. Even Lucifer and Hesperus are not as beautiful as the face of decency. If you abandon it for a woman, then consider, I ask you, how delirious and insane you are.

The woman has other lovers

[7] Besides, Ippolito - and I shall not use many words on this - the woman you love is not yours alone; she belongs to other men, too. She does not love you alone but others, too. What do you want to do in such a crowd? Consider that you are now in your [life's] evening, you are old, and death is approaching. Do you want to compete with young men? Do you want to fight strong men? What do you seek in a battle where you will be defeated even if you win? It is most difficult for an old man to wrest a woman from young men.

¹ Matthew, 22: 37.

² Adam.

³ The original sin.

⁴ By his crucifixion and death to redeem humanity.

⁵ Seneca the Younger: *Phaedra*, 773.

[8] Sis tamen potens, ut extorqueas: quid vicisti, cum proelium hujusmodi sit¹, ut vincens {201v} succumbat? Quid est, oro, mulier nisi juventutis expilatrix, virorum rapina, senum mors, patrimonii devoratrix, honoris pernicies, pabulum diaboli, janua mortis, inferni supplementum? Cogita, Hyppolite², quot mala per mulierem obvenerint, cum Salomon, cum Holofernes, cum Samson per mulierem³ decepti fuerint. Non te credas sic fortem esse, ut non illudaris. Sed quanto viris illis debilior es, incautior, imprudentior, tanto te ab eo loco semove, in quo potes decipi. Nihil est mulieris amor, qui cum peccato est. Non est in muliere stabilitas: quae nunc te amat, cras alium amabit et una tecum amabit⁴ alios. Quid tu hunc amorem extimes⁵, qui in plures divisus est? Nulla mulier tam fixe aliquem amavit, quae veniente novo proco, novisque vel⁶ precibus vel muneribus non mutarit amorem. Mulier est animal imperfectum, varium, fallax, multis morbis passionibusque subjectum, sine fide, sine timore, sine constantia, sine pietate. De his loquor mulieribus, quae turpes admittunt amores. Numquam hae stabiles sunt, namque, ut semel a recto tramite recesserunt, jam se liberas arbitrantur, ut, quocumque velint, vagentur⁷, nec amplius vel mariti vel amici timorem habent.

[9] Credo equidem illam coeundi foetidam voluptatem tibi, qui jam senio exhaustus es, parum placere, nam quid nedum tibi antiquo et arido, sed juveni humecto illa inepta et spurcida voluptas conferre potest, quam mox poenitudo consequitur? {202r} An non magna res est⁸ admonitio illa ac citatio sive comminatio quaedam, quae post peccatum e vestigio mentem hominis cruciat? Quam iniquus est homo, qui totiens admonitus non quiescit, qui punitus non emendatur, qui correctus non efficitur melior? Quid ille actus carnalis operatur nisi carnis interitum? Utinam solam carnem interimeret et non occideret animam. At duo cum invicem coeunt, vir atque femina, quasi duo vasa testea mihi videntur, que inter se confricentur, donec rumpantur et ad nihilum redigantur.

[10] Tu tamen non in coitu sed in visu sermoneque forsitan oblectaris. Quid, obsecro, in visu⁹ est tam pulchri, ut non invenias aliquid pulchrius? Pulchritudo, quam debemus quaerere, in caelo est, cui nulla potest res mundana comparari. In illis¹⁰ omnis perfectio est, mundana semper diminuta sunt. Illa perpetua, haec caduca; illa fixa, haec fluxa. Hanc, quam tu miraris formam, paulum¹¹ quid febris eripiet aut, si morbus abfuerit, senectus non deerit, quae illam teretem succi plenamque faciem rugosam crispamque reddat¹². Fient¹³ illa, quae nunc miraris, membra decursu temporis arida, nigra, squalida, fetore ac spurcitia plena. Non oculi splendorem servabunt. Fetebit os, collum incurvabitur, corpus undique sicco et arido trunco fiet simile. Cogita haec et averte spem priusque¹⁴ fuge quam priveris. Multo enim melius est rem contemnere quam perdere.

¹ proelium hujusmodi sit : hujusmodi sit proelium M3

² Nicolae M2, M2

³ mulieres M2

⁴ et una ... amabit *omit.* M2, M3

⁵ extimas M2, M3

⁶ *omit.* WO

⁷ arbitrantur (*sic!*) M1

⁸ *omit.* M3

⁹ sermoneque forsitan ... visu

omit. M2

¹⁰ illa *em.* WO

¹¹ paululum M1

¹² reddit M2

¹³ sicut M2, M3

¹⁴ priusquam M3

Evils caused by women

[8] But, let us say that you are strong enough to wrest [your woman] from them: why want such a victory when it is a battle where the victor is defeated? For, I ask you, what is a woman but the despoiler of young men, the robber of grown men, the death of old men, the devourer of patrimony, the destroyer of honour, sustenance for the devil, the gate of death, the appendage of hell? Consider, Ippolito, how many evils were caused by women when Solomon, Holophernes and Samson were deceived by a woman.¹ Do not delude yourself into thinking you are as strong as them. The weaker you are than these men and the more careless and imprudent, the more you should remove yourself from the place where you may be deceived. A woman's love is nothing if it is sinful. There is no faithfulness in women: she who loves you now will love another tomorrow and others with you. Why do you treasure love shared with many? No woman loved a man so firmly that she would not change her love for another when a new suitor turned up, with new pleas and gifts. Woman is an imperfect, changing and deceitful animal, subject to many weaknesses and passions, without loyalty, without fear, without constancy, without piety. I am talking, of course, about those women who entertain shameful affairs. They are never faithful, but once they have left the right path, they consider themselves free to roam wherever they will and no longer fear their husband or friend.

Sex is foul

[9] I think that since you are now worn down by old age, you take little enjoyment from the putrid pleasure of copulation. Indeed, what can this senseless and foul pleasure, soon followed by regret, give to you old and dried out man and even to a young man, full of sap. The rebuke, the summons and the threat that torment a man soon after the sinful act, are they not a serious matter? It is an evil man who does not desist when warned, improve himself when punished, or better himself when corrected. What is the result of carnal intercourse but the destruction of the flesh? I wish it would only kill the body and not also the soul. When a man and a woman have intercourse, they seem like two clay plates being ground against each other until they break and are destroyed,

Beauty is fleeting

[10] But maybe you do not enjoy intercourse as much as sight and speech. But what sight, I ask, is so beautiful that you cannot find something even more beautiful? The beauty we should seek is in Heaven and has no match in this world. All perfection is in that world, whereas in this world, there is only imperfection. There, beauty is eternal; here, it is fleeting. There, it is constant; here, it is changing. The beauty you admire now will soon be taken away by fever, and if there is no illness, old age will not fail to appear, changing her smooth face full of sap into a wrinkled and furrowed face. The limbs that you now adore will, in time, become shrivelled, black, squalid, filthy and smelly. The eyes will not keep their splendour. The mouth will stink, the neck will bend, and the body will be like a dry and arid trunk. Think of this, abandon hope and flee before you are despoiled. It is much better to despise a thing than to lose it.

¹ Piccolomini had mentioned the same triad in his *De Duobus Amantibus* (1440): *Scis quia nec sanctissimum David, nec sapien-*

tissimum Salomonem nec Samsonem fortissimum ista passio dimisit immunem (WO, 1: 1, p. 382). The example of Holophernes is

inappropriate, given that he was deceived by Judith, one of the Old Testament heroines and saviour of the Jewish people.

[11] Jam vero de sermone suavi, {202v} dulci, placido et mellifluo, quo te¹ dicis² oblectari, admodum miror³. Quid enim sermo muliebris in se dulce habet? Quid dicit tibi amica? Nempe aut queritur aut plorat aut minatur aut tibi inanes fabellas refert⁴. Dicit, quid cum vicina fecerit, quid somniaverit, quot ova gallina pepererit⁵, quibus floribus sarta componantur. Omnis sermo mulieris de re vana⁶ levique⁷ est, in quo qui oblectatur, et ipsum levem esse oportet. Narrat tibi nonnumquam se⁸ et cum alio amatore, et⁹ quo pacto jacuerit, quid doni receperit, quam cenam habuerit, quibus voluptatibus fuerit usa. Quae res non gaudium tibi sed cruciatum afferunt. Sed accipe, quae velis gaudia in sermone amicae: erisne tam amens rationisque inops, ut non magis in alicujus docti viri verbis sermonibusque laeteris?

[12] Resume omnia simul, quae in amore sunt gaudia rursusque taedia: multa ista, pauca illa reperies veramque illius sententiam dices, qui *parum mellis in multo felle mersum* inquit *amorem esse*. Cum ergo, Hyppolite¹⁰, totus amor, de quo loquimur, vanus, asper, amarus damnosusque sit et hominem morbo gravissimo teneat, curandum est, ut ab eo libereris¹¹. Cura autem ea est, ut menti tuae persuadeas, malum esse amorem. Post haec declines amicae sermonem, otium fugias, in negotio semper sis, viros bonos, qui te instruant, sequaris, nulli ludo, nulli convivio intersis. Si quid largita est amica, abs te abjicias. Nihil penes te sit, quod illius fuerit. Puta illam esse nuntium diaboli, qui te perdere velit. Sint in memoria Christi beneficia, quae tibi impendit. Cogita, quot beneficii {203r} praemia in caelestibus sedibus et quot malefacienti supplicia apud inferos praeparata sunt¹². Cogita, dies tuos assidue fieri breviores instareque semper ultimum. Cogita, quia irrisui est, qui¹³ amat et praesertim vir aevo maturus. Cogita instabilem mulieris animum, cogita perditionem temporis, quo nihil est pretiosius. Cogita dissipationem bonorum. Cogita¹⁴ vitam, quam vivimus¹⁵ brevissimam in hoc saeculo, quamvis voluptatibus sit dedita et in alio mundo, quem inquirimus, nullum esse vitae¹⁶ finem. Haec si tecum sedulo cogitaveris praeceptaque ista¹⁷ tenueris, amorem, quo cruciaris, a te brevi tempore relegabis virumque alium te praestabis, Deo gratum caeloque dignum.

Vale. Haec habui, quae nunc raptim contra amorem dicerem. Alias, ubi otium fuerit, pluribus te admonebo. Iterum vale et, quod tibi damno est, avertere stude. Ex Vienna, 2. kalendis januarii anno domini¹⁸ 1446¹⁹.

¹ *omit.* M2

² te dicis : dicis te M3

³ mireris M1

⁴ fabellas refert : refert fabellas
M2, M3

⁵ peperit M2, M3

⁶ una M2

⁷ lenique M2

⁸ *omit.* M1, M2

⁹ *omit.* M1

¹⁰ Nicolae M2, M3

¹¹ liberius V4

¹² Cogita quot beneficii ... sunt
omit. V4

¹³ quis M1, M2, V2a; *corr. ex*
quis V2b

¹⁴ perditionem temporis ... cogita
omit. M2

¹⁵ vivis M1

¹⁶ finem M3

¹⁷ sua M2

¹⁸ Anno domini *omit.* M1, V4

¹⁹ Haec habui ... 1446 *omit.* M2,
M3

Inane conversation

[11] You claim you enjoy your lover's sweet, pleasant, gentle and mellifluous conversation, but I greatly wonder why, for what sweetness is there really in female conversation? What does your lover say to you? She complains or cries or threatens and tells you empty nonsense. She keeps blathering about what the neighbour woman did, what she dreamed about, how many eggs the hen laid, and what flowers her wreath is made of. All female conversation is vain and superficial, and those who enjoy it must themselves be superficial. Sometimes she tells you about her being with another lover, how they lay together, what gifts she received, what meal she had, and what sexual practices she used. Such things do not give you joy; no, they torture you! But whatever pleasure you get from your lover's conversation: will you be so foolish and senseless as to not take greater joy in the conversation of any learned man?

Conclusion

[12] Now, if you consider all love's pleasures and frustrations, you will find that the frustrations are many, the pleasures few. You will admit the truth of the saying, "Love has little honey mixed with much bile."¹ So, Ippolito, since all the love we are talking about is empty, cruel, bitter, harmful and keeping a man in the grips of a severe sickness, you must endeavour to be freed of it. Persuade yourself that love is bad. Afterwards, refuse to hear your lover's conversation, flee leisure, be always occupied, follow the instruction of good men, and do not participate in games and feasts. If your lover has given you anything, get rid of it. You should have nothing that was hers. Think of her as the messenger of the devil who wants to bring you to perdition. Remember the favours of Christ towards you. Consider the many rewards in Heaven² awaiting the man who does good and the many punishments in Hell awaiting the man who does evil. Consider that your days grow shorter and that the last one is approaching. Consider how ridiculous is the man who loves and especially the older man. Consider woman's fickle mind. Consider the waste of time, the most precious thing of all. Consider the dissipation of your possessions. Consider that the life we live in this world is very short, though given to sensual pleasures, and that the life we seek in the next world has no end. If you often think of this and follow these precepts, you will soon be freed of the love that tortures you and become another man, dear to God and worthy of Heaven.

Farewell. This is what I had to say, in haste, against love. On another occasion, when we have more time, I shall instruct you further. Again farewell, and strive to avoid what harms you. From Vienna, 31 December 1445.

¹ Piccolomini had used the same image in his *De Duobus Amantibus* (1444): *Heu amor infelix,*

quam plus fellis quam mellis habet (WO, 1: 3, p. 388).

² "caelestes sedes": the heavenly seats.

211. Letter to a friend in Milan (26 March 1445, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M1, f. 159v **.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 8, pp. 39-40 (based on M1)

{159v} Eximie doctor et orator elegantissime.

[1] Matthaëus Pisanus, vir frugi, iter ad vos facit. Hoc ego familiarissime utor atque idcirco, ut meo nomine te alloquatur, hortatus sum hominem. Tu sibi fidem praebe et pro quibus rebus tuum auxilium postulaverit, sive praeposituram meam concernant sive sua negotia respiciant, uti consuevisti, benignum te concedito. Ego, quia tuam humanitatem, tuam benignitatem tuamque in amicos fidem et in omnes homines bonitatem novi, non utor pluribus. Me, quantulus sum, habes. Utere ut libet.

Vale. Ex Vienna, 7. kalendas Aprilis 1445¹.

¹ 1446 WO

211. Letter to a friend in Milan (26 March 1445, Vienna).

Context: A friend of Piccolomini would be going to Milan.

Subject: Piccolomini recommends his friend to someone who has influence at the court of Milan and makes yet another attempt to mobilise support for the restitution of his provostship of San Lorenzo.

Distinguished doctor and most accomplished orator.

[1] Matteo Pisano, a decent man, travels to you.¹ He is a close friend, so I have asked him to speak with you on my behalf. Please trust him and show your usual benevolence in the matters for which he asks your help, whether they concern my provostship or his own affairs. Knowing your humanity, your kindness, your loyalty towards friends and your goodness towards all men, I shall say no more. Though insignificant, I am yours. Use me as you please.

Farewell, From Vienna, 26 March 1445.

¹ Milan.

212. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (October 1446, Frankfurt).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 94v¹ **; M3, ff. 174² **; M4, f. 165r *; VOS / 35, f. 91r *.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 9, pp. 40-41 (based on the mss. listed above).

Translations: RE, 65, pp. 238-240.

{94v} Aeneas Silvius, poeta imperialisque secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit Johanni Peregallo, scriptori apostolico.

[1] Excusserunt mihi lacrimas litterae tuae totaque viscera mea commoverunt, nam et privatas et publicas res deplorabas. Esset opus longa epistola, si satisfacere singulis tuarum litterarum partibus vellem, sed nec otium est nec cautio omnia scribere. Accipe igitur haec pauca a fido et constanti amico. Qui fuerim, nosti olim, dum conviveremus, nec erga te nec erga alios mutatus sum. Fortuna mihi vel Dei potius clementia blandior est, quam olim fuit, et beneficium habeo satis pingue et principem gratiosum. Cum his omnibus non te sperno, sed afficior semper desiderio tui. Cupio te visere, te alloqui, te amplecti, sed privatus sum hac voluptate, nescio quo fato quibusque adversantibus diis. Precor te tamen³, ut me utaris in omni tua necessitate nec mihi nec meis parcas rebus. Nam, quae mea sunt, tua sunt. Si secus reris, non facis amice, nec putes, oro, res publicas privatum nostrum amorem comminuere, nam quod ego⁴ ago publice, ita, ut⁵ vult Deus, ago. Scis, quid mihi obtigerit in praepositura Mediolanensi. Solent nedum homines sed bestiae prioribus admoneri casibus. Mihi cavendum est, ne {95r} offendam herum, ne, qui sum felix, fiam miser. Quibus praestiti fidem dominis, numquam fui noxius nec ero, dum vivam. Non me vel Roma vel Basilea ex constantiae⁶ ac⁷ fidei gradu dejiciet.

¹ SC, 198

² SC, 356

³ omit. VOS

⁴ omit. VOS

⁵ et M3

⁶ constantia M3, VOS

⁷ et M3

212. Letter to Giovanni Peregallo (October 1446, Frankfurt).

- Context:* Six months had passed since Piccolomini's last extant letter. During this period, he had been on a critical diplomatic mission for the emperor to Pope Eugenius, endeavouring to persuade him to deal tactfully with the German situation - and to further prepare the grounds for the emperor's renouncement of the German neutrality in the church schism and his recognition of Pope Eugenius IV as the legitimate pope.¹ Piccolomini had then gone directly to the imperial diet in Frankfurt, which would determine the German policies with regard to the schism and the Roman papacy. It was now time for Piccolomini to sever his last ties with the council in Basel and the court of the antipope.
- Subject:* Piccolomini advises his friend concerning a benefice or an office in the diocese of Trient. He also asks him to sell his position as a scribe to the antipope.

Enea Silvio, poet and imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Giovanni Peregallo,² apostolic scribe.

[1] Your letter³ completely upset me and made me cry, for you lamented both public⁴ and private affairs. It would take a long letter to address the individual items in your letter, but I do not have the leisure to write about all – and it would be incautious!⁵ So, accept these few words from a loyal and constant friend. You know who I was⁶ when we lived together,⁷ and since then, I have changed neither towards you nor towards others. Fortune - or rather God's grace - has been kind to me, and I now have a satisfactory benefice⁸ and a gracious prince.⁹ Having obtained these advantages, I do not spurn you but am always longing for you. I wish to see you, speak with you and embrace you, but since fate and - I know not what - gods oppose it, I am deprived of that pleasure. But I do ask you to use me in any need of yours and not spare me or my means, for what is mine is yours. If you think otherwise, you are not thinking as a friend should. Do not think that public affairs lessen our love¹⁰ for in this area, I myself simply do God's will. You know what happened with my provostship in Milan.¹¹ Men - and even animals - learn¹² from past events, and so must I do, taking care not to offend my master¹³ lest I, who am well provided for now, lose it all again. I have never harmed and shall never, as long as I live, harm the masters I gave my loyalty. Neither Rome nor Basel¹⁴ will shake my constancy and fidelity.

¹ See Piccolomini's oration "*Et breviter me hodie*" of 16 July 1446 (COR, 3: 10).

² Peregallo, Giovanni: Official at the Council of Basel. Later secretary of Felix V. Friend of Piccolomini, who in later versions of letters on his own sexual affairs, would substitute Peregallo's name for himself.

³ Not extant.

⁴ Presumably, the situation at the schismatic council in Basel and the court of antipope Felix V, whose secretary Peregallo was.

⁵ To speak freely of highly sensitive public affairs (e.g. the schism) could be dangerous if the letter went fell into the wrong hands.

⁶ Cf. Terentius: *Adelphoe*, 177: *Nosti qui sum*.

⁷ In Basel.

⁸ The parish of Haspach? See oration "*Non est apud me dubium*" (1445) (COR, 3: 6).

⁹ The emperor.

¹⁰ Piccolomini works for the emperor who is neutral with regard to the church schism whereas Peregallo works for the schismatic an-

tipope and schismatic council in Basel.

¹¹ The provostship of San Lorenzo of which Piccolomini was deprived because he had lost the duke of Milan's favour.

¹² "admoneri"

¹³ The emperor, whose ecclesiastical policies Piccolomini must not be seen to counteract.

¹⁴ The papalist and the conciliarist parties would not shake Piccolomini's support of the emperor's neutrality concerning the church schism.

[2] De Francisco nostro Bossio precor, ut pacatiorem habeas animum, fui namque cum eo nuper nec satis tibi exponere possem, quanto de te ille affectu loqueretur. Si nosset, ut turbulentae illic res sunt, ut periculosum est de praebendis invito principe loqui, non putares te negligi¹. Sed ego te rogo, ut eo te semel conferas nec oblationem amici spernas. Poteris reverti, si res non placebit. Amicus non tui solum² causa sed sui quoque praebendam offert, indiget enim amico. Quod de me dictum est, locum habere non potest, nam permutatio quaedam in manibus fuit, quae praepedita est. Novus episcopus Tridenti constituitur ex arbitrio ducis. Is quoque Francisci amicus est et meus, nec grave putarem illius cancellariam in tuas manus venire, si semel Tridentum peteres. Haec ut amicus scribo tibi³. Si aliter videtur, non improbo tuum iudicium.

[3] Mea opera, si qua in re tibi utilis est, utere. Si praepositura Mediolanensis aut jus illud aliquid potest tibi conferre, me commonefacito. Parebo voluntati tuae. Nescio tamen, an noster Novariensis, cui mandatum dedi, de re aliquid disposuerit. De officio meo scriptoriae, precor, ut absque mora illud vendas, sive, quod scribis, reperire potes sive minus. Nec te hoc terreat, nam, quod me⁴ movet, tibi non obest. Doleo interiisse virum bonum et amicum fidum, Laurentium de Rotella. Deus illi misertus sit.

Reverendissimo domino meo sancti Calixti me commenda et domino Stephano Novariensi et amicis ceteris. Et tu vale optime mihique, sive hic sive in Austria fuerim, saepius scribe. Ex Frankfordia.

¹ neglexi M2

² tui solum : solum tui M3

³ Haec ut ... tibi *omit.* WO

⁴ te M3

[2] Concerning Francesco Bossio,¹ you may be ease, for I was with him recently, and he could not stop telling me of his great affection for you. If you knew how turbulent things are here, you would know how perilous it would be to talk about prebends against the prince's will. But I ask you to go there at some point soon and not neglect a friend's offer.² You can always return if it does not please you. Our friend offers you a prebend not only for your sake but also for his own, for he needs a friend. What was said about me cannot happen, for something has occurred that prevents it.³ The new bishop of Trient⁴ has been appointed according to the duke's⁵ wishes. He is a friend of Francesco and me, and I believe it would be easy for you to become his chancellor if only you go to Trient. I am writing this as your friend. If you disagree, I shall, of course, respect your judgment.

[3] If my assistance can be helpful to you, then take it. If the provostship in Milan or the right to it can be of use to you, please let me know, and I shall obey your wishes. But I do not know if our [friend] of Novara,⁶ whom I have given my mandate in the matter, has done anything about it. Concerning my office as a scribe, please sell it as soon as possible, whether – as you write – you can get the full price or less. Do not be nervous about it, for my reasons for selling it pose no problem for you. I am saddened by the demise of that good and loyal friend, Lorenzo Rotella.⁷ May God have mercy upon him.

Please commend me to His Lordship of San Callisto,⁸ to Stefano from Novara⁹ and our other friends. And farewell, and write to me often, whether I am here¹⁰ or in Austria. From Frankfurt.

¹ Francesco Bossio. Canon of Trento and friend of Piccolomini.

² Bossio had apparently offered to help Peregallo obtain a benefice in the diocese of Trient.

³ Possibly, the benefice of Sarantenthal, which a rival had snatched from Piccolomini before he could get possession.

⁴ Georg Hack von Themeswald (-1465): Elected bishop of Trient on 16 October 1446.

⁵ Siegmund of Austria.

⁶ Bartolomeo Visconti [Aicardi] (1402-1457): Bishop of Novara 1429 to his death. Former employer and friend of Piccolomini. See DVI, ch. 5.

⁷ Lorenzo Rotella: Canon of Trient.

⁸ Juan de Segovia (ca. 1395 - 1458): Castilian prelate and theologian. Chronicler of the council.

Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V.

⁹ Stefano Caccia de Fara: Member of the Council of Basel. Friend of Piccolomini.

¹⁰ In Frankfurt.

213. Letter to Gaspare Caccia de Fara (October 1446, Frankfurt).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 95r¹ **; M3, f. 174²; VOS/35, f. 105r *; BNB/10344, f. 204r *.

Editions A: KOB, 109³.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 10, pp. 41-42; (based on the mss. listed above).

{95r} Aeneas Silvius, poeta imperialisque secretarius, Gaspari Novariensi, amico fido et docto, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Accepi volupe tuas litteras⁴, quibus et te sospitem cognovi et mei memorem. Non possum, ut vellem, quae mihi obtigerint, postquam te dimisi, offerre. Scires me multas passum miseras. Utcumque⁵ sit⁶, eo jam in loco sum, de quo Deo⁷ gratias ago. Scio id tibi jucundum esse, nam, quae mea fortuna est, et amici est. Novi, quam me amas neque impune amas⁸. Ut tuus eram Basilae, sic hodie sum. Vellem te opibus atque honoribus auctum audire, sed non omnia uno tempore veniunt. Da operam, ut facis, virtuti, dilige litteras, junge te bonis, non deerit auxilium Dei. Et cum minime putabis, tunc maxime exaltaberis. *Jacta cogitatum tuum in domino et ipse te enutriet*, quia⁹, si neque divitiae neque honores assint, non tamen desperandum est. Nec enim ista sunt, quae beare homines possunt. Virtus sola in caelum prebet aditum, quod si eo anhelamus, haec ascendenda est scala. Breve est, quo in terris vivimus, tempus. Sive divites sumus sive pauperes, spernendum est, si modo in caelum domicilium praeparamus, quod te facere, qui virtutem colis, non ambigo. Haec nunc scribenda fuerunt.

Clarissimum virum, patrum tuum, sive is avunculus est, Stephanum Novariensem, ut meis verbis salvere jubeas, opto. Vale et, ut facis, perge me amare. Ex Frankfordia¹⁰.

¹ SC, 199

² SC, 357

³ DV, 78v

⁴ tuas litteras : Litteras tuas M3

⁵ utrumque M2

⁶ sum M2

⁷ omit. M3

⁸ neque impune amas omit. M3

⁹ quod M2

¹⁰ Ex Frankfordia : etc. M3

213. Letter to Gaspare Caccia de Fara (October 1446, Frankfurt).

Context: Piccolomini's young friend, Gaspare Caccia de Fara, continued faithfully to write to him, possibly in the hope that he might obtain an office for him at the imperial court (see letter 150).

Editions: Piccolomini advises Stefano to pursue virtue above all.

Enea Silvio, poet and imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Gaspare from Novara, loyal and learned friend.

[1] I was delighted to receive your letter, telling me that you are safe and sound and still remember me. I cannot describe to you, as I should wish to, what has happened to me after I left you. You would hear that I have suffered much misery. But however that may be, I am now in a position for which I thank God. I know this will make you happy, for my fortune is also my friend's. I know how you love me - and without restraint! I was yours in Basel, and I am the same today. I should like you to hear that I have amassed riches and honours, but all does not come at one time. If you cultivate virtue, as you do, love letters and associate with good men, then God's help will not fail you: when you least think it, you will be raised up high. *Cast your cares upon the Lord, and He shall sustain you.*¹ You must not despair if you lack riches and honours, for these are not the things that make a man happy. Only virtue leads to Heaven, and if we strive to go there, this is the ladder to use. The time we live on Earth is short. We should not care whether we are rich or poor, as long as we are preparing an abode in Heaven, which I am sure you do who cultivate virtue. This is what I had to write now.

Greet your (paternal or maternal)² uncle, Stefano from Novara, from me. Farewell, and love me as always. From Frankfurt.

¹ Psalms, 54: 23.

² In letter 52: 2, Gaspare had himself called Stefano his maternal uncle (avunculus).

214. Letter to Heinrich Stotter (end October 1446, Würzburg).

Manuscripts: M2, f. 79r-79v¹ **; M3, ff. 67r-68r².

Editions A: KOB, 599³.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 11, pp. 42-44 (based on M2 and M3)

{79r} Aeneas Silvius, poeta imperialisque secretarius, domino Henrico Stotter⁴, plebano⁵ in Plettenberg, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Inter alia pietatis opera maximum est⁶ uxorem viro suo conjungere, ne separati⁷ vivant, qui duo esse debent in carne una. Qui vero disjungit matrimonio junctos, is Dei adversatur praeceptis. Scriptum est enim, *quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*. Verum mariti quidam adeo duri, asperi, crudeles ferique reperiuntur, ut non sociam divinae et humanae domus uxorem suam putent, sed etiam tamquam servam et vile quoddam mancipium teneant, nunc injuriantes verbis nunc factis. Caedunt pauperulas feminas, lacerant, cruciant mortemque minantur. Hinc plures viros suos deserunt cumque victu careant, aliorum virorum, a quibus alantur, commercia suscipiunt. Quae res non tantum ipsis mulieribus - nam leves sunt, fragiles, timidae - quantum ipsis viris imputandum est, quos oportet et constantiores et in re qualibet esse meliores.

[2] Nunc, cur haec scribam, paucis absolvam. Accessi nuper socium meum, quem habui in Franconia, cumque in oppido quodam per aliquot dies fuisset, occurrit mihi mulier quaedam forma egregia, statura tamen brevi. Hanc Basileae videram saepiusque fueram allocutus, nam contribulus quidam meus eam maxime dilexit. Interrogo⁸, quid faciat, uti⁹ valeat, quem habeat amatorem. Ait se artificio sericeo vitam ducere, bene sibi esse, amatorem nullum habere. Ducit me domum, ostendit vestes et opera, quae facit¹⁰, unicamque habet ancillam et, quantum suspicari possum, vita est utriusque pudica. Tum ego, “Num tu,” inquam, virum habes?” “Utinam non haberem,” respondit, “nam sic et ego animam et ille perdimus.” Cum interrogassem, ubinam esset vir suus, dixit in Basilea vocarique Hermannum Appel, quocum jam pluribus annis non fuerit, nam “Vir saevus est,” inquit, “qui me die¹¹ noctuque nunc pugnis nunc fuste caedebat. Ad extremum autem etiam mihi mortem minabatur, quam ego fuga evasi.” Tunc ego, “En bona mulier, si jam te ille recipere vellet tecumque vivere, ut virum cum uxore decet, an reverti ad eum velles?” “Utinam,” inquit mulier, “sed novi hominem, quia non faciet. Amat enim aliam feminam eamque domi concubinam habet, cui sunt ex illa plures filii.” “Quid tu scis?” inquam ego, “Forsitan eum jam peccati poenitet et te, si reperiret, alacri susciperet animo vitamque suam emendatam ageret tecum. Visne, ut scisciter ejus animum?” Tum illa: “Hic saepe ad me venit, postquam ab eo fugi, nec me quaerebat sed res meas. Itidem nunc timeo. Veniret enim, ut puto, et quae nunc habeo, nam satis bene mihi est, secum asportaret; mihi autem sola verbera et cicatrices aut livores relinqueret.” [cont.]

¹ SC, 165-166.

² SC, 142-144.

³ DV, 59r

⁴ Scoter cod.; Stoter WO

⁵ omit. M2, M3

⁶ esse M3

⁷ separate WO

⁸ igitur add. M3

⁹ em. WO; ut cod.

¹⁰ fecit WO

¹¹ qui me die noctuque omit. M2, M3

214. Letter to Heinrich Stotter (end October 1446, Würzburg).

- Context:* By now, Piccolomini's religious and ecclesiastical conversion was complete, and he had entered clerical orders, being ordained subdeacon and deacon and having been assigned the parish of Aspach, to whose parishioners he had written a long sermon on Christian life.¹ Filled with new-found religious zeal, he was eager to perform pious works, and when he met a woman who had left her abusive husband, he undertook to reunite them, as God would wish.
- Subject:* Piccolomini relates the case of the wife who had left her abusive husband and asks for Stotter's help to reunite the estranged spouses. There are no later letters on the matter, and - hopefully for the woman - Piccolomini's pious endeavour came to nothing!

Enes Silvio, poet and imperial secretary, sends many greetings to Heinrich Stotter, parish priest in Plettenberg.

[1] Among the works of piety, one of the greatest is to reunite a wife with her husband lest they live apart who ought to be united in one flesh. He who separates those united in marriage goes against the divine commands, for it is written that *What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.*² But some husbands are so hard, unkind, cruel and fierce that they do not consider their wife as their companion in the divine and human home, but keep her as a servant or even a vile slave. Now they hurt them in words, now in acts. They hit the poor little women, maul them, torment them and threaten them with death. Therefore, many women leave their husbands, and, with no living, they have commerce with men who take care of them. These women - gentle, fragile and timid - are not to be blamed as much as their husbands, who ought to be more constant and better in all ways.

[2] Now I will briefly say why I write. I recently visited a friend in Franconia, and when I had been for some days in his town, I met a woman, beautiful but little. I had seen her often and spoken with her in Basel, for a colleague of mine was infatuated with her. I asked what she did to subsist and who her lover was. She replied that she lived very well as a seamstress specialising in silken clothes and that she had no lover. She took me to her home and showed me the clothes and things she had made. She has one servant girl, and as far as I could see, they both lived chastely. Then I asked her, "Do you have a husband?" "I wish I did not," she replied, "for as it is now, he and I are living in danger of our souls." When I asked her where her husband was, she said that he was in Basel and was called Hermann Appel. She had not lived with him for several years, for "he is a violent man," she said, "who beat me days and night, sometimes with fists, sometimes with a stick. In the end, he even threatened to kill me, and then I fled." Then I: "Oh, my good woman, if he would now want to take you back and live with you as a husband ought to live with his wife, would you then be willing to return to him?" "Oh, I wish he would," she said, "but I know the man, and he will not do it. He loves another woman, lives with her in his home and has some sons with her." "Well, what do you know?" I said. "Maybe he repents his sin, and if he could get you back, he would receive you with joy, mend his ways and live with you. Do you wish me to inquire how he feels?" She replied, "After I fled him, he often came here, but he did not want me but my possessions. He would come, I think, and take away all I have now - which actually amounts to something. [cont.]

¹ Oration "Non est apud me dubium" (1445) (COR, 3: 6).

² Matthew, 19: 6.

[cont.] “Non sic faciet,” inquam ego, “nam per mediam fidamque¹ personam scrutabor animum suum et, si bonus erit, suadebo, ut ad te² veniat, utque te recipiat et finem peccatis ponat.” Ad haec mulier, “Precor te,” inquit, “experiaris, nam³ meo cum viro libenter viverem, ut animam lucrificarem suam meamque.” Haec partim per me, partim per interpretem sum locutus.

[3] Nunc ergo, reverende⁴ pater, in hoc opere pietatis, ut partes vestras interponere velitis precor, ut, si fieri potest, viro suo restituatur mulier. Velitis ergo⁵ informari, quis sit ipse Hermannus, an vivat, an concubinam habeat, an morate vivat, an criminose. Quod si adhuc in peccato est et adulteram habet domi, ingerite sibi conscientiam, incutite timorem, exponite, quam brevis humana vita, quam fallax, quam incerta, quam certa mors instet, quam incerta mortis hora⁶, ut bene viventibus promissa sita aeterna felicitas, mala⁷ autem operantibus supplicium sempiternum, ignis edax, poena sine fine. Exhortemini⁸, ut ad se ipsum revertatur et ad creatorem suum, Deum, qui eum proprio sanguine redemit. Suadete sibi, ut, dum vivit, memor sit Dei, ut, cum {79v} moriatur, memoriam sui habeat Deus. Inducite, ut exclusa concubina, quam cum peccato tenet, legitimam conjugem recipiat domique teneat, quam cum mercede habere poterit et Deus illi benefaciet nec relinquet eum in tempore opportuno.

[4] Humana res est peccare, angelica emendare, diabolica perseverare. Recognoscat se tandem et ad Deum reversus dicat: “*Erravi sicut ovis, quae periit; require servum tuum, quia mandata tua non sum oblitus.*” Misereatur sui ipsius, misereatur conjugis exulantis. Parcat conjugi peccata sua, ut conjunx quoque sibi ignoscat. Sciat se ita obligatum uxori, sicut et viro est uxor. Non superbiat et dicat: “Ego vir sum,” nam ambo creaturae sunt Dei tam vir quam femina. Apud Deum *non est distinctio* sexus, tam pro femina quam pro mare natus est, passus, crucifixus et mortuus dominus. Si prudentior sit uxore, dignum est eos, qui plus sapiunt, imperfectum tolerare minus sapientis, nam et apostolus Paulus jubet *alterum alterius onera portare et omnes unum esse in Christo*. Quod si Hermannus ipse acquiescere vult vestris monitis uxoremque propriam recipere ac cum ea caste, pie et⁹ sancte vivere, dimissis pristinis injuriis atque odiis, scribite mihi statim et ego tunc significabo locum, in quo est mulier, cui nomen est Catharina, et faciam, quod ipsa veniet ad virum suum, aut, si vir voluerit, poterit et ad eam venire et cum ea manere. Nam ipsa multum lucratur arte sua manuali et sericea et, si ambo erunt simul, poterunt vitam honestam et hilarem ducere et animas cum corporibus salvas facere.

[5] In omnem autem eventum scribite mihi quamprimum, quid sit de ipso Hermanno, quid agat et quid intendat facere¹⁰, quod ego pro singulari munere recipiam¹¹, qui libenter vellem hoc¹² apud Deum promereri, ut dissoluti matrimonii reintegrator forem, utque duas personas in peccato viventes ad frugem vitae laudabilis reduxerim. Nec enim ambigo, rem fore Deo acceptam magnumque sequi exinde praemium, cujus et vos participabitis, si diligenter, provide, libenter et accurate rem hanc aggrediamini. Et quia litterae semper suum non¹³ habent cursum, postquam semel mihi scripseritis, non pigeat iterum atque iterum rescribere, ut praestet diligentiae sedulitas, quod viarum inseguritas averterit¹⁴. Sic enim una tandem ex vestris epistolis ad me perveniet, unde possum, quod volo, perdiscere.

¹ fidemque M2

² me M3

³ non M2

⁴ venerande m3

⁵ reverende pater ... ergo *omit.* M2

⁶ mortis hora : hora mortis M3,
WO

⁷ male WO

⁸ exhortamini WO

⁹ ac M3

¹⁰ in omnem autem ... facere *omit.*

M3

¹¹ praecipiam M2

¹² hic M3

¹³ semper suum non : non semper
suum M3

¹⁴ avertit M2

[cont.] The only thing he would leave me would be the lash and wounds and bruises.” “He will not do that,” I said, “for I will sound him out through a trustworthy person, and only if it looks good will I persuade him to come to you to take you back and put an end to sin.” To this the woman said, “I ask you to do as you propose, for I would be happy to live with my husband so that both his and my soul could gain merit.” I partly spoke with her directly and partly through an interpreter.¹

[3] Now, Reverend Father, I ask you to engage yourself in this work of piety so that - if possible - the woman may be reunited with her husband. Please seek information about this Hermann:² is he alive? Does he have a concubine? Does he live decently or sinfully? If he still lives in sin and has a concubine at home, then appeal to his conscience and inspire fear in him. Make him see how short, treacherous and uncertain human life is, how certain death awaits him, how uncertain the hour of one’s death is, and how eternal bliss is promised to those that live virtuously, whereas eternal punishment, consuming fire and suffering without end is promised to evildoers. Exhort him to come to his senses and return to God, who saved him with his own blood. Persuade him to remember God as long as he lives so that God will remember him when he dies. Convince him to cast out the concubine with whom he lives in sin and take back and keep his legitimate wife, whom he can have with merit so that God will favour him and not abandon him when he needs Him.

[4] It is human to sin, angelic to mend one’s ways, and diabolical to persist in sin. Let him finally come to his senses, return to God and say, “*I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost: seek thy servant, because I have not forgotten thy commandments.*”³ May he take pity on himself and his banished wife. May he forgive his wife her sins so that his wife forgives his, too. Let him know that he has obligations towards his wife as his wife has obligations towards him. Let him not be proud and say, “But I am a man!” for both men and women are creatures of God. God does not make any *distinction*⁴ of the genders, and the Lord was born, suffered and crucified and died both for women and men. If the man is more sensible than his wife, it is fitting that those who know more tolerate the shortcomings of those who know less, for the Apostle Paul commands to “*bear ye one another’s burdens; and so you shall fulfil the law of Christ.*”⁵ If Hermann follows your advice and agrees to take back his wife, to live with her chastely, piously and respectfully, and to abandon his former violent and odious behaviour, then write quickly back to me, and I shall inform you where the woman is. Her name is Catherine. I shall arrange that she comes to her husband, or, if he wishes to, he can come to her and stay with her there. For she has a decent income from her silk business, and if they are together, they can both live comfortably and contentedly and save their souls as well as their bodies.

[5] In any event, write to me, as soon as possible, how the matter stands with Hermann, what he does and what he intends to do. This I shall consider a special favour. Indeed, I should very much want to be deserving of God by restoring a broken marriage and leading two persons living in sin to the fruits of a praiseworthy life. I do not doubt that this would please God and earn a great reward which you and I will share if you perform this task diligently, prudently, gladly and carefully. And since letters sometimes go astray, then please write me again and again after the first letter so that persistent diligence may achieve what the unsafety of roads cannot. Thus, if just one of your letters reaches me, I shall learn how to fulfil my wish.

¹ Note that Piccolomini apparently knew some German.

² It is not clear why Piccolomini would ask a parish priest in Plet-

tenberg to seek information about a man apparently living in Basel.

³ Psalms, 118: 176.

⁴ Romans, 10: 10.

⁵ Galatians, 6: 2.

Valete optime, amate me, ut soletis, et rem istam totis viribus perficiendam suscipite. Cum autem ad me scribitis, in curia regia reddi mihi litteras jubete, nam illuc revertar. Ex Herbipoli¹.

¹ etc. *add.* M2, M3

Farewell and love me as always. Please accept and carry out this task assiduously. When you write to me, please address the letter to me at the royal court, to which I am returning now. From Würzburg.

215. Letter to Juan Carvajal (19 April 1447, Siena).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 77r-77v¹ **; VOS / 35, f. 136r *; (HAB / Weissenburg, 90, f. 129r²).

Editions A: KOB, 96³ (KO).

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 12, pp. 45-47 (based on M2, VOS, KO).

{77r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino, domino Johanni, Sancti Angeli cardinali, domino suo colendissimo, Aeneas Silvius, poeta, imperialis secretarius, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Gravis mihi calamus est, gravior⁴ carorum absentia dominorum, gravissimum est nil⁵ scribere praecipuis patribus, cum est otium. Cum ergo venissem in Africam, quam vos Senam⁶ potestis interpretari, remoratus sum plusculos dies. Nec enim sanctis diebus homini, praesertim Romae sanctificato,⁷ videbatur faciendum iter. Remansi ergo, Procopio Florentiam misso, dum hic sum. “Quid,” inquam, “nihil hero tuo, cardinali tuo, legato tuo scribes?” Victus nihil sum scribere. Sed quid scribam, nisi jocer? Nihil est scriptu dignum et jocari, vel gravitas, cui scribitur, ejus vel tempus vetat. Quid igitur faciam?

¹ SC, 161-162

² Not collated.

³ DV, f. 56v

⁴ grauius KO

⁵ nihil KO

⁶ seuam KO

⁷ sanctificatio KO

215. Letter to Juan Carvajal (19 April 1447, Siena).

Background: No letters are extant from October 1446 to April 1447. During that period, Piccolomini participated in a diet in Frankfurt (October 1446) and was highly instrumental in formulating the conditions for German recognition of the Roman papacy. Afterwards, he was sent to Rome as the *de facto* leader of a large imperial/German mission to negotiate the terms of this recognition.¹ During the embassies' stay in Rome (January to April), Pope Eugenius died and was succeeded by Tommaso Parentucelli, cardinal of Bologna, under the name of Nicolaus V. Piccolomini was ordained a priest while in Rome,² which he left on 30 March 1447.³ On his way back to Germany, he stopped for Easter in Siena.

Subject: Piccolomini reports to Cardinal Carvajal that there is a rumour about the death of Heinrich Schlick, one of the two rival bishops of Freising, and that an emissary of the other rival bishop, Johann Grünwalder, is on his way to Rome, presumably to use the rumour to ensure papal confirmation of Grünwalder as bishop of Freising. Piccolomini then proceeds to – jokingly – entice Juan Carvajal, recently appointed papal legate to Germany, to set off soon and not remain in Rome.⁴

Enea Silvio, poet and imperial secretary, sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Juan, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, his Worshipful Lord.

[1] My pen is heavy, but the absence of my dear lords is heavier, and heaviest of all is not to write to eminent Fathers when there is time. When I came to Africa - read Siena⁵ - I stayed for some days, for I considered that a man - and someone who had been consecrated in Rome⁶ - ought not to be travelling during the holy days⁷. So I remained in Siena and sent Prokop⁸ to stay in Florence while I am here.⁹ Then I said to myself, "Why are you not writing to your master, your cardinal, your legate?¹⁰" So I decided to write. But what can I write but jokes? There is nothing worth writing, but the dignity of the recipient and time forbid jokes. So what do to?

¹ For Piccolomini's report on the embassy, see CRDM, 1.

² Diener, p. 526.

³ CRDM, 2:

⁴ Interestingly, when Carvajal received this letter, he would know that Piccolomini had now been ap-

pointed bishop of Trieste, which Piccolomini did not before he returned to the imperial court (see the following letter).

⁵ The reference is obscure.

⁶ Piccolomini was ordained a priest on 4 March 1447.

⁷ The Easter days. Easter, in 1447, fell on 9 April.

⁸ Prokop von Rabstein.

⁹ In Siena, with family and friends.

¹⁰ Juan Carvajal had been appointed papal legate to Germany in April 1447 (CRDM, 1: 62).

[2] Data est inter equitandum mihi scribendi materia. Obvius fuit nobis apud Sanctum Quiricum¹ ex familia Grunewalder² quidam. En ecce materiam. Cum nomino Grunewalder³, magnum aliquid suspicamini, magnum est, Hercle. Is, obvoluto capite facieque more gentis contacta, interrogatus est per Johannem meum, cujus esset et unde veniret. “Frisingensis sum,” inquit, “et ab episcopo meo Frisingensi venio.” Paulo post a me repertus itidemque interrogatus, ubi me novit, “Ex Venetiis,” inquit, “venio et, si ulterius quaeris, ex Nurenberga,” nec quidquam ulterius respondens, vexato calcaribus equo, festinus⁴ evasit,⁵ ingessitque homo suspicionem, cum aliud mihi, aliud Johanni retulisset nec libenter mihi responderet. Audiveram in via fratrem cancellarii mortem obiisse, atque hinc conjectatus sum venire hominem sui heri causam promoturum.

[3] Dicit hic aliquis: “Quid tua interest, illo mortuo, super ecclesia Frisingensi?” Mea nihil, sed regis interest⁶. Ob quam causam rogo, precor, obsecro, ne quid innovari permittatis sine litteris regiis. Nolite principem offendere, nolite etiam hujusmodi⁷ inimico vestro plus credere quam expediat. Veteres amici semper sunt novis praeponendi. Vana est amicitia, quam metus facit, non amor. Nescio, si vera est mors Frisingensis; quae dicitur, confingi potest. Si vera est, in oculis⁸ regem habere oportet; sin⁹ conficta est¹⁰, et regem et cancellarium. Hos ego reverendissimae paternitati vestrae¹¹, quoad possum, facio recommissos.

¹ N. KO

² Gruneuald/i KO

³ Gruneualdum KO

⁴ festino KO

⁵ ingessit KO

⁶ illo mortuo ... interest *omit.* M2

⁷ homini M2, KO

⁸ otium M2

⁹ si WO

¹⁰ *omit.* WO

¹¹ reverendissimae paternitati vestrae : vestrae paternitati reverendissimae WO

[2] But while we were riding here, a subject for writing occurred.¹ At San Quirico² we met a member of the Grünwalder³ household. There was my subject! When I mention Grünwalder, you suspect that something important is happening, and it is indeed important, by Hercules. The man's head and face were covered, as is the custom of that people. My Johann⁴ asked him whose man he was and whence he came. "I am from Freising," he said, "and come on behalf of my [lord], the bishop of Freising."⁵ Right afterwards, I, too, came upon him and asked the same. But he recognised me and answered, "I come from Venice, and if you ask further, from Nürnberg," and with no further words, he spurred his horse and rode on in haste. It was suspicious that the man said one thing to me and another to Johann and appeared unwilling to answer me. On the way, I had heard that the chancellor's brother⁶ had died,⁷ and therefore I guessed that this man had come to promote the cause of this master.⁸

[3] Here, someone may say, "If he is dead, why does the Church of Freising concern you?" Well, it does not concern me, but it concerns my king.⁹ Therefore, I ask, pray and beg that you will not allow any change¹⁰ before you receive a letter from the king. Do not offend the prince, and do not believe your enemy¹¹ unreasonably. New friends should not be preferred to old ones. A friendship born of fear, not love is vain. I do not know if the Bishop of Freising¹² is really dead: the report may be an invention. If it is true, you must consider the king. If it is false, you must consider both the king and the chancellor. I recommend them as strongly as I can to Your Most Reverend Paternity.

¹ When bishop Nicodemo della Scala of Freising died in August 1443, the Roman pope, Eugenius IV, appointed Chancellor Schlick's brother, Heinrich as his successor, while the cathedral chapter elected Johann Grünwalder who was confirmed by the rump council in Basel and managed to get actual possession of the diocese. There were thus two rival bishops Freising. The emperor - lukewarmly - supported Heinrich Schlick.

² San Quirico d'Orcia, a town close to Corsignano/Pienza, ca 45. km. south of Siena.

³ Johann Grünwalder, de facto bishop of Freising.

⁴ Johann Steinhof von Plettenberg.

⁵ Johann Grünwalder.

⁶ Heinrich Schlick.

⁷ The rumour was false. Schlick died the following year, 1448, after formally renouncing his appointment to Freising, thus clearing the way for papal confirmation of Grünwalder.

⁸ The rumoured death of an incumbent to an ecclesiastical office might well led to a new appointment, making it difficult for the original incumbent to regain the benefice. This is what happened to Piccolomini in the matter of his provostship of San Lorenzo in Milan.

⁹ Friedrich III. The diocese of Freising had a number of regalia (castles and territories) in the emperor's lands, and the bishop was a prince of the Empire. The emperor would therefore expect to have a say in the appointment of the successor.

¹⁰ The appointment of a successor or the confirmation of Grünwalder's tenure.

¹¹ As a convinced conciliarist, as a member of the rump council in Basel, and as a cardinal appointed by the antipope, Grünwalder had been an enemy to the pope in Rome.

¹² Heinrich Schlick.

[4] Si adesset¹ cardinalis Bononiensis, sibi quoque rem hanc commendarem, qui regem venerabatur, cancellarium amabat et me quoque carum habebat. Sed nescio, quomodo in assumptione papae illum amisimus. Multum superbi et insolentes eramus, cum duos in curia cardinales, qui nos diligebant, haberemus, nec enim quidquam erat, quod impetrare tantis promotoribus non possemus. Nam quod vestra prudentia obmittebat, supplebat Bononiensis diligentia. Nunc sola est vestra reverendissima paternitas. Ubi non proficitis, nos² nihil est, quod amplius sperare possimus³. Ob quam rem vexabimus amplius vos⁴ nec quiescere umquam sinemus. Si vultis apud nos, apud Gerse nostramque Viennam bene recipi, curate, ne quid Romae contra nos fiat et omnia, quae petimus, fiant ac deficientis Bononiensis vices supplete.

[5] Sed intelligo vos! “Cavebimus,” dicitis, “nec Alamanniam revidebimus, nam quod⁵ legati fuerimus in Germania designati non eo tendit, ut veniamus illuc, sed ut pascamus vos verbis utque vos hinc expelleremus, qui ante⁶ pronuntiationem⁷ legati⁸ nolebatis abire. Quis velit in Alamanniam venire, dietas innumeras adire, praedones timere, semper pacem inter homines tractare, qui saxo duriores sunt, et ab aliis jura ecclesiae Romanae petere, quos satiare impossibile est, apud quos nulla honestatis, sed dehonestatis maxima⁹ ratio est? Bene atque optime reverendissimus ille pater Morinensis deliberavit, qui provinciam renuit nec agrum ille sterilem colere vult neque illuc ire, unde rarus est cum honore reditus. Sed ille pronuntiari noluit¹⁰ cautus et sapientissimus pater. Nos etsi nominati sumus, non ibimus tamen. Primus sapientiae gradus fuerat nolle nominari. Illum quia non tenuimus, a secundo non excidemus, qui est non ire.” Sic arbitror dicere paternitatem vestram reverendissimam.

[6] Sed nihil facitis. Nam hoc est, quod volunt Alamanni. Non enim daturus, sed recepturus est legati adventus. Ideoque, etsi numquam fiat, non dolebunt. Ipsi provisum est, tuti sunt, in securo sunt. Vos, si vindicare jura¹¹ vultis apostolicae sedis, ut veniatis oportet, quia¹² si labores fugitis, nihil est, quod juvet non venire, nam litteris et petitionibus nostris plus Romae paternitatem vestram obtundemus quam in Germania. Nulla die, nulla hora, nullo momento sinemus quiescere paternitatem vestram. Semper causae Teutonicae vos occupabunt.

¹ adest KO

² uos KO

³ possumus KO

⁴ nos KO

⁵ quid M2

⁶ antea WO

⁷ announcement

⁸ omit. WO

⁹ honestatis sed ... maxima :
honestas et honestatis M2

¹⁰ voluit WO

¹¹ omit. WO

¹² quod M2

[4] If¹ the cardinal of Bologna² had been there, I would recommend the matter to him, too, for he venerated the king, loved the chancellor and was fond of me. But we somehow lost him when he became pope.³ Oh, how proud and arrogant we were when we had two cardinals in the curia who loved us.⁴ There was nothing we could not achieve with such great sponsors, for what your wisdom could not obtain for us, the cardinal of Bologna supplied. Now, there is only Your Most Reverend Paternity. Where you do not succeed, we have no further hope. Therefore, we shall importune you more and never leave you tranquil. If you want to be well received in Gerse⁵ and our Vienna, then see to it that nothing is done against us in Rome, that all our requests are accepted, and that you fill the vacuum left by the Cardinal of Bologna.

[5] But I see what you are doing! You are saying that “We shall strive never to return to Germany. The appointment as legate a to that region does not mean that we should go there but that we should string you along with words and make you leave Rome since you did not want to go before the appointment of a legate had been announced.⁶ Who would want to come to Germany, to go to countless diets, fear robbers, always negotiate peace between men harder than rock, and vindicate the rights of the Roman Church against insatiable people whose most important motive is not honesty but dishonesty? The Most Reverend Father of Amiens⁷ reasoned excellently when he refused that province⁸ and did not want to cultivate an infertile field or go somewhere whence it is rare to return with honour. That cautious and wise Father did not want to be appointed legate. We have been appointed, but we shall not go. The first rule of wisdom was to refuse to be appointed. We did not observe that, but we shall not fail to observe the second one, which is to not go.” This is what I think Your Most Reverend Paternity says.

[6] But you achieve nothing, for this is exactly what the Germans want. Indeed, the arrival of a legate is not something that is given but something that is taken. If it does not happen, the Germans will not be sorry. They have gotten what they want,⁹ they are safe. If you will vindicate the rights of the Apostolic See, you must come, for if you want to avoid the troubles there, it will not help you to stay away. Indeed, if you remain in Rome, we [Germans] shall overwhelm Your Paternity with letters and petitions more than we would in Germany. We shall not leave Your Paternity in peace for one day, one hour, or even one moment! In Rome, You will be permanently occupied with German affairs.

¹ The rest of the letter is a joke with a serious point: the cardinal should take up his legatine mission and come to Germany.

² Tommaso Parentucelli, who became Pope Nicolaus V.

³ As pope, the former Cardinal of Bologna could no longer sponsor particular and national interests, so Carvajal was left as the only cardinal promotor of German interests.

⁴ Juan Carvajal and Tommaso Parentucelli had been appointed cardinals in December 1446, in recognition of their role in the process leading to German acceptance of the Roman papacy. Afterwards, as cardinals, they sponsored German affairs in Rome and were highly influential in the negotiations in Rome in February-March 1447, resulting in Ger-

many's formal and public recognition of the Roman papacy.

⁵ ?

⁶ CRDM, 1: 62.

⁷ Cardinal Jean Le Jeune.

⁸ Germany.

⁹ Through the pope's concessions to the emperor and Germany in return for German recognition of his legitimacy.

[7] His accedent Hispani, quibus ut morem geratis, oportebit, atque hi non precibus sed minis urgebunt. Nec Veneti, nec Florentini nec genus ullum Italorum impulsatam relinquent paternitatem¹ vestram. Ibitis papam rogatum et nihil obtinebitis. Hoc tormentum est, quo nullum Siciliae tyranni durius invenerunt. In tenebrosis aulis cubiculisque vitam inertem infelicemque² ducetis. Quod si Germaniam cito petieritis - nosco naturam vestram - ipsi vos agri saltusque ferarum inter eundem, flumina³, lacus, montes oblectarent et saluberrimus aer. Sed nolo plura dicere, ne cupiditatem nimiam veniendi objectem, qui pro meo commodo nescio, ubi magis reverendissimam paternitatem vestram esse cupiam, Romae an in Germania.

Valete et me, ut sum, recognoscite vestrum. Ex Sena⁴.

¹ dominationem M2, KO

² felicem KO

³ flammam KO

⁴ Ex Sena : etc. M2

[7] And then there are the Spaniards,¹ whom you will have to accommodate, and they will pressure you not just with requests but also with threats. And the Venetians, the Florentines and all the other Italian peoples will badger Your Paternity. You will go to the pope and make petitions [on their behalf] but obtain nothing. No Sicilian tyrant² invented torture worse than this. You will spend a listless and unhappy life in dark halls and chambers. But if you come to Germany soon - I know you! - you will take walks and enjoy the fields, the leaping animals, the rivers, the lakes, the mountains and the healthy climate. But I shall say no more lest I stimulate your desire to come too much, for I do not know whether it is more advantageous for me that Your Most Reverend paternity stays in Rome or in Germany!

Farewell – and know that I am yours. From Siena.

¹ Being a Spaniard, Cardinal Carvajal would naturally be used by

Spanish ecclesiastics and others as their spokesman at the curia.

² Sicilian tyrants, especially Dionysius I of Syracuse, were renowned for their cruelty.

216. From Nicolaus V (19 April 1447, Rome).

Manuscripts: AAV / Reg. Lat. 485. Nic.V. 1447, Anno I. lib. 1. fol. 51. *

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 13, pp. 44-48 (based on the AAV ms.)

Nicolaus etc. dilecto filio Aeneae, electo Tergestino, salutem etc.

[1] Apostolatus officium, quamquam insufficientibus meritis, nobis ex alto commissum, quo ecclesiarum omnium regimini praesidemus, utiliter exequi, coadjuvante domino, cupientes, solliciti corde reddimur et solertes, ut, cum de ipsarum regiminibus agitur committendis, tales eis in pastores praeficere studeamus, qui commissum sibi gregem dominicum sciant non solum doctrina verbi, sed etiam exemplo boni operis informare, commissas sibi ecclesias in statu pacifico et tranquillo velint et valeant, duce domino, salubriter regere et feliciter gubernare.

[2] Dudum siquidem bonae memoriae Nicolao, episcopo Tergestino, regimini Tergestinae ecclesiae praesidente, nos cupientes eidem ecclesiae, cum vacaret, per apostolicae sedis providentiam utilem et idoneam praesidere personam, provisionem ejusdem ecclesiae ordinationi et dispositioni nostrae duximus ea vice specialiter reservandam, decernentes extunc irritum et inane, si secus super his per quoscumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari.

216. From Nicolaus V (19 April 1447, Rome).

Context: Pope Nicolaus made have had his doubts concerning Piccolomini's youthful morals and conciliarist leanings, but he acknowledged his abilities and outstanding contribution to the imperial and German recognition of the Roman papacy. The church of Trieste was a fitting reward, which the emperor immediately assented to.

Subject: Pope Nicolaus appoints Piccolomini bishop of Trieste.¹

Nicolaus etc. sends greetings to his beloved son, Enea, [Bishop-]elect of Trieste.

[1] From on high, the apostolic office with the government of all the churches has been entrusted to Us, though unworthy. Desiring to usefully execute it, with the Lord's help, We are anxious, when required to provide leaders for them, to appoint such pastors who know how to guide the flock entrusted to them not only with words of teaching but also with the example of good works, and who will and are able - with the Lord's help - to provide salutary rule and felicitous leadership to the churches entrusted to them, in peace and tranquility.

[2] While Niccolò,² Bishop of Trieste, of good memory, was [alive and] presiding over the church of Trieste, We, desirous that in case of vacancy this church should have a useful and suitable leader appointed through the providence of the Apostolic See, considered that the provision of the said church should be specially reserved for Our ordination and disposition, and consequently decided that it would be invalid and illegal if anybody knowingly or unknowingly and based on any other authority whatsoever should attempt [to obtain this office].

¹ VO, 2: 10, p. 411; Boulting, pp. 174-175; Ady, p. 103; Mitchell, p. 103.

² Niccolò d'Aldegardi (-1447): Bishop of Trieste 1441 – 4.4.1447.

[3] Postmodum vero praefata ecclesia per obitum ejusdem Nicolai episcopi, qui extra Romanam curiam debitum naturae persolvit, vacante nos vacatione hujusmodi fidedignis relatibus intellecta ad provisionem ejusdem ecclesiae celerem et felicem, de qua nullus praeter nos hac vice se intromittere potuit sive potest, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, ne ecclesia ipsa longe vacationis exponatur incommodis, paternis et sollicitis studiis intendentes, post deliberationem, quam de praeficiendo eidem ecclesiae personam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem, demum ad te, canonicum Tridentinum et subdiaconum nostrum, cui de litterarum scientia, vitae munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium providentia et temporalium circumspectione aliisque multiplicium virtutum donis apud nos fidedigna testimonia perhibentur, direximus oculos nostrae mentis, quibus omnibus attenta meditatione pensatis de persona tua nobis et eisdem fratribus obtuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, eidem ecclesiae de dictorum fratrum consilio auctoritate apostolica providemus, teque illi praeficimus in episcopum et pastorem, curam, regimen et administrationem ipsius ecclesiae tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo, in illo, qui dat gratias et largitur praemia, confidentes, quod, dirigente domino actus tuos, praedicta ecclesia per tuae circumspectionis industriam et studium fructuosum regetur, utiliter et prospere dirigetur ac grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Jugum igitur domini tuis impositum humeris prompta devotione suscipiens, curam, regimen et administrationem hujusmodi sic fideliter geras et solícite prosequaris, quod ecclesia ipsa gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam, tuque praeter aeternae retributionis praemium nostram et ejusdem sedis benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis dominicae 1447, 13. kalendas Maji, anno primo.

[3] After the aforesaid church fell vacant by the death of the said Bishop Niccolò, who passed away outside the Roman curia, We were informed by trustworthy reports. Intending, paternally and solicitously, that the church should not suffer the inconveniences of a long vacancy, [We proceeded] to a speedy and felicitous provision of this church in which nobody could or can intrude himself, since the aforesaid reservation and decree forbid it. After We had diligently deliberated with Our brethren¹ about appointing a useful and profitable person to govern the said church, we finally directed the eyes of Our mind towards you, a canon of Trient and Our subdeacon,² having reliable testimonies about your knowledge of letters, purity of life, honest character, wisdom in spiritual matters and prudence in temporal, and many other qualities. After We and the said brethren had carefully considered all your qualifications and found them acceptable in view of your merits, We, on the advice of the said brethren and on Our apostolic authority, make provision for the aforesaid church by appointing you its bishop and pastor and entrusting fully to you its care, governance and administration in spiritual and temporal matters, in Him who grants favours and rewards.³ We are confident that, with the Lord guiding your acts, the aforesaid church will be governed through the industry and application of your prudence and ruled usefully and that it will prosper and grow both spiritually and temporally. Accept with eager devotion the Lord's yoke placed upon your shoulders and faithfully take up and solicitously pursue the care, government and administration [of this church] in such a way that it may rejoice to have been given a wise leader and proficient administrator. And may you merit to abundantly obtain the eternal reward as well as the blessing and favour of this see.

Given in Rome, at Saint Peter's, in the year 1447 of our Lord's incarnation, on 19 April, in the 1st year [of our pontificate].

¹ The cardinals.

² Pope Eugenius IV had appointed Piccolomini a papal subdeacon.

³ In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote about the appointment: *Twenty days after Aeneas left Rome, Nicholas received reliable news of the bishop of Trieste's death. Without consulting any cardinal or calling [he called] a consistory he came into the Sacred College in robe and mitre and, at first to the amazement and then with the approval of all the members of*

that holy assembly, he appointed Aeneas bishop of Trieste and sent him his presentation free of dues. Likewise Emperor Frederick, when he heard the see had become vacant, said, "That church is mine to give, and I'm going to get it for Aeneas." He wrote to the pope about the matter, not knowing that it was already settled. So when Aeneas returned to the imperial court, knowing nothing at all of what had happened, he found himself appointed bishop by both

the pope and the emperor. Nor did the people of Trieste, who were famously hostile to foreigners, resist his appointment. Even though the canons had already elected their own deacon [dean], a prominent fellow-citizen, they made him withdraw and unanimously awarded the post to Aeneas before he had even arrived (COM, 1: 17 (Meserve, 1: 17, 3, pp. 76-79).

217. Letter to Ágoston Salánki (5 May 1447, Radkersburg).

Manuscripts: M4, f. 236r *

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 14, pp. 49-50..

{236r} Aeneas Silvius, poeta, reverendo patri ac domino episcopo Jauriensi salutem plurimam dicit. Reverende in Christo pater ac domine, domine mi colende.

[1] Ea notitia, que inter nos fuit hactenus, persuadet mihi, ut, quae sentio vobis utilia esse, cum fiducia scribam. Afficior paternitati vestrae et bonum vestrum cupio intueri. Quantum ex multis signis intelligere potui, non vidi aliud in hanc usque diem, nisi regiam serenitatem vos diligere et acceptam habere paternitatem vestram. Quod autem in tradenda possessione Jauriensis ecclesiae remissior fuit, non odium, non indignatio erga vos ulla fuit, sed conditio temporum id exegit, nec mihi dubium est, quin successu temporis omnia vobis ad votum succedant, si benevolentiam et gratiam regiam conservare sciveritis. Haec autem ideo scribo, quia percepi vos nonnullis processibus ac censuris urgere velle Supronienses, ut vobis oboedientiam faciant, quod non est praesentis temporis, neque hoc est regiam majestatem placare sed potius irritare. Ideo ego, qui vestri honoris ac emolumenti sum avidus, cuperem, ut in praesentiarum a talibus supersederetis, quia sic procedendo non solum regiam majestatem, sed etiam sanctitatem domini nostri papae contra vos provocaretis et posset vobis in posterum multum prejudicare.

[2] Ego fui nuper in Romana curia et vidi, dum viveret felicis recordationis Eugenius, vobis scriptum fuisse, ut a talibus processibus supersederetis. Similiter et postea Eugenio vita functo moderni Romani pontificis litteras vobis directas esse percepi, quibus injungebatur vobis, ut Supronienses praefatos neve alios regiae majestati subditos processibus involveretis, sed processus et sententias regiae majestati molestas quascumque suspenderetis. Ideo ego pro bono vestro vos hortor rogoque, ut velitis a talibus desistere et non solum regi, sed papae complacere. Multum, credo, vobis esset utile, si usque ad Festum Michaelis vel alterius suspenderetis hujusmodi processus et interim alio modo cum regia majestate concordaretis, quia multae sunt viae, quibus res istae componi possunt. Et quia vobiscum familiariter ago, non cessabo ulterius scribere.

217. Letter to Ágoston Salánki¹ (5 May 1447, Radkersburg).

- Context:* In the summer of 1444, Friedrich III had, as a defensive measure against continued Hungarian depredations and incursions and to protect the rights of his cousin, Ladislaus the Posthumous, to the Hungarian throne, occupied a number of castles and cities in the border region of Hungary. In this context, he had also prevented the new bishop of Győr from taking possession of his see. The bishop responded with various measures. When in Rome, in February 1447, Piccolomi had complained to Pope Eugenius IV (shortly before his death) about the bishop's doings² and apparently obtained both his and his successor's support for the emperor.³
- Subject:* Piccolomini advises the bishop of Győr to desist from his attempts to acquire possession of his diocese through lawsuits and ecclesiastical censures and instead work for peace between Hungary and the emperor, which would result in an orderly settlement of his affairs.

Enea Silvio sends many greetings to the Reverend Father and Lord, the Bishop of Győr.

[1] Our previous acquaintance prompts me to confidently write what I feel would be of use to you. I am devoted to Your Paternity and wish to consider your advantage. As far as I can understand from many signs, all I have seen until now is that His Royal Serenity esteems and favours Your Paternity. That he resisted granting you possession of the church of Győr is not due to any enmity or anger against you but was only necessitated by the conditions of the times, and I do not doubt that, in time, all will be done as you wish if only you know how to keep the king's benevolence and favour. I am writing this because I have learnt that you want, with lawsuits and ecclesiastical censures, to compel the people of Sopron⁴ to make their obedience to you. It is really not the right time to do this, and it does not please His Royal Majesty but only irritates him. Therefore I, who am keen for you to acquire honour and emoluments, should like you to cease such endeavours at the present time, for your undertakings would provoke not only His Royal Majesty but also His Holiness, Our Lord Pope, against you and might cause much prejudice against you in the future.

[2] Recently, while Eugenius of happy memory still lived, I was at the Roman curia and saw a letter to you requiring you to desist from such procedures. When Eugenius died and was succeeded by the present Roman pontiff, I saw another letter addressed to you demanding that you do not involve the aforesaid Sopronians or other subjects of His Royal Majesty in lawsuits but suspend all processes and sentences displeasing His Royal Majesty. Therefore, it is for your own good that I exhort and ask you to desist from such procedures and to accommodate not only the king but also the pope. I believe it would be most expedient for you to suspend such processes until the Feast of Saint Michael⁵ or later and, in the meantime, come to an understanding with His Royal Majesty, for there are many ways to settle this affair. And being on friendly terms with you, I shall not fail to write to you again.

¹ Ágoston Salánki (-1466): Bishop of Győr (Raab; Arbe) from 1445 to his death.

² See CRDM, 1: 1, 12: *We complained about the doings of the Bishop of Raab.*

³ On this matter of Győr, Piccolomini said as follows in his oration "*Tritum est sermone*" to Pope Eugenius of January 1447 (COR, 3: 12): *Of the Hungarian cities and castles His Majesty controls Győr, Sopron, Güns and several*

others. The emperor took over Győr and Sopron several years ago in order to protect the rights of his cousin. If he had not held these cities, the boy would no longer have had any rights at all. Güns and some other cities he took by arms from the hands of robbers by virtue of his truce with Hungary (sect. 7). ... Győr is an episcopal city that the king received not from the Church, but from those who had occupied it, for a sum of

20.000 ducats. The king offered to give back the city as soon as a bishop acceptable to him had been appointed there, one who would be loyal to himself and to his cousin. Nor would he keep Sopron, held by him as surety, if a sum was paid over to him (sect. 10).

⁴ Ödenburg.

⁵ 29 September.

[3] Vos intuemini dissensionem, quae inter regiam serenitatem et barones regni Hungariae modo viget. Haec res, etsi omnibus est damnosa, vobis tamen et ecclesiae vestrae exitiosa est. Vobis plus quam ceteris periculum imminet, quia, utcumque res vergat, ecclesia vestra patitur. Ideo vestra multum interest procurare, ut res istae componantur, utque fieri pax possit nedum longa, sed perpetua. Ego audiveram in veniendo de Romana curia certam esse primatibus dietam et magnam fore spem concordiae. Nunc invenio rupta esse omnia. Nescio, quomodo hoc concordiae bonum impediatur. Multa timeo hinc inde mala, quia cum fortis in fortem impegit, ambo colliduntur. Utinam vos et reverendissimum dominum archiepiscopum Strigoniensem cardinalem alloqui possem. Multa vobis dicerem utilia regno et Christianitati, sed hoc aliquando dabitur. Interim ego tamquam vester totus rogo et consulo paternitati vestrae, ut de modis pacis cogitetis, de conventionem aliqua, de via, ex qua prohibeatur guerra et sanguinis Christiani effusio, nam hoc unicum medium est, quo vestra ecclesia pacifice potiri poteritis, et finaliter tam proceres Hungariae exinde quoque regia serenitas vobis habebunt grates. Quod a me scribitur, velitis in bonum recipere, quia nisi vos amarem, haec nullatenus dicerem. Precor, velitis super hiis mihi respondere quantocius, quia semper aliquid boni pro vestra reverenda paternitate cogitabo.

Datum in Rockspurg, die 5. Maj 1447.

[3] You are aware of the present conflict between His Royal Serenity and the barons of the kingdom of Hungary. This situation is harmful to all, but it is ruinous to you and your church. The threat to you is greater than to others, for your church will suffer whatever happens. Therefore it is greatly in your interest that this conflict be settled and peace be made, one that is not only long but permanent. When I returned from the Roman curia, I heard that the magnates would assemble and that there was great hope for a peaceful settlement. Now I find that all [negotiations] have been broken off. I fear the evil consequences both here and there, for when the strong strikes against the strong, they are both crushed. I wish I could speak with you and His Most Reverend Lordship, the archbishop of Esztergom,¹ for I could tell you much that would be useful to both your kingdom and Christianity as a whole. But that will be for another time. In the meantime, I, who am entirely devoted to you, ask and advise Your Paternity to consider the possibilities for peace and for an agreement and a way to prevent war and the shedding of Christian blood.² Indeed, that is the only way for your church to have peace, and then both the Hungarian nobles and His Royal Serenity will favour you. Please understand that I am saying this for your own good, for if I did not love you, I would not say it. I ask you to kindly answer this letter as soon as possible, for I shall always consider what is to the advantage of Your Reverend Paternity.

Given in Radkersburg, 5 May 1447.

¹ Dénes Szécsi.

² On 1 June 1447, a two-year truce was agreed between Hungary and Friedrich III.

218. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter of Trieste (mid June 1447, Graz)

Manuscripts: Not extant.

Editions A: None.

Editions: WO, 2: 1, pp. 50-51* (on the basis of Mainati); Mainati: *Croniche ossia Memorie storiche di Trieste*. Venezia, 1807, vol. 2, pp. 263-264.

Honorabilibus decano, canonicis et capitulo Teregestino, amicis carissimis. Honorabiles amici carissimi.

[1] Sicut ex litteris regiis cognoscetis, sanctissimus dominus noster, postquam audivit vacationem ecclesiae vestrae, cum summo consensu omnium cardinalium me absentem et nihil scientem ad ecclesiam eandem promovit. Credo et spero in bonitate vestra, quod et me contentabimini, qui non ambivi hanc ecclesiam, sed vocatus sum ad eam. Me episcopum habebitis, sed quasi fratrem. Scio enim juxta apostolum, quia non coacte regendi sunt subditi, sed *formam* in se *gregis* habere oportet, qui praeest. Scribit vobis regia serenitas, quae sunt per vos facienda. Precor vos, ut regi auscultetis mihi que faveatis, qui unus ex vobis ero vivamque et moriar vobiscum. Misi Romam ad expediendas litteras, id cito fiet, quia permutatio facta est. Sed non potero ego vos cito accedere, quia in legatione regiae majestatis jam ad principes electores proficiscar in arduis rebus. Conabor quantocius reverti et ad vos transire. Interim sit vobis ecclesia vestra commendata. Scribite interim aliquid ad regiam curiam, quia dominus Gaspar Schlick¹ litteras mihi directas accipiet.

Valete. Ex Gratz, die 20. Maji 1447.

¹ Flick Mainati

218. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter of Trieste (mid June 1447, Graz)

Context: The papal letter appointing Piccolomini Bishop of Trieste had reached the imperial court, and three months after being ordained a priest, he was now a bishop-elect, a major advancement that would set him on a path leading - in ten years - to the papal throne.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the cathedral chapter of Trieste of his appointment as their new bishop.

To the honourable dean, canons and Chapter of Trieste, dear friends. Honourable and dearest friends.

[1] As you will learn from the king's letter,¹ Our Most Holy Lord, when he heard your church had fallen vacant, with the unanimous agreement of all the cardinals, appointed me – absent and knowing nothing – as bishop of the said church. I hope and believe that, in your goodness, you will be content with me, for I have not solicited your church² but been called to it. You will have me as your bishop but like a brother. Indeed, I know that, according to the apostle, subjects should not be governed by compulsion, but he who is in charge should take *the pattern of the flock*.³ His Royal Serenity will write to you what to do. I ask you to heed the king and favour me, who shall be like one of you and live and die with you. I have sent a letter to Rome requesting expedition of the letters, which will happen quickly since the change has already been made. However, I shall not be able to come quickly to you, for His Royal Majesty has already sent me on a mission concerning grave matters to the prince-electors. But I shall endeavour to return soon and come to you. In the meantime, I commend your church to you. Please write to me at the royal court, for Lord Kaspar Schlick will receive all letters addressed to me.

Farewell. From Graz, 20 May 1447.

¹ For the text of the king's letter, see WO, 2: 2, iii, p. 231.

² Piccolomini would have known that he was considered for the church of Trieste since he himself

had written the emperor's letter to the cathedral chapter dated 30 May 1446, in which the emperor proposed that the chapter elect Piccolomini as bishop in case the

present and sick bishop died (WO, 2: 2, i, p. 231.

³ 1. Peter, 5: 3.

219. Letter to Jan Tuschek (mid June 1447, Vienna)

Manuscripts: HAB / Weissenburg 90, f. 136r
Editions A: None.
Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 16, pp. 51-52 (based on the HAB ms.)

Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, viro claro et optimo Johanni, insignis civitatis Pragensis secretario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Georgius tuus, ex officiis amicitie non minus meus, cupere te ait, epistolae cujusdam inter meas repertae quis sit auctor, qui sensus, qui finis, nam et obscura sunt verba et abditae sententiae et auctor ignotus. Voluissem tuo desiderio complacuisse, rideres enim totasque genas extenderes cachinnis plenas, si et cur edita sit epistola et quam materiam continet intelligeres. Sed abest mihi nunc otium, nam ex Romana curia reversus iterum cogor illo ire. At si mihi Deus incolumi redditum dederit, habebis ex me, quod optas indoctamque nonnullorum doctrinam et aliorum insaniam mecum ridebis. Res neque brevis est neque levis, ideo in aliud commodius reservata tempus.

Tu vale. Johanni Schindel, hujus saeculi praestanti philosopho, ceterisque meis amicis me commendatum redde et ama, ut soles naturaque tibi inditum est. Ex Vienna.

219. Letter to Jan Tuschek (mid June 1447, Vienna)

Context: Piccolomini's friend in Prague, Jan Tuschek, had asked about information on a letter apparently addressed to Piccolomini.

Editions: Piccolomini tells his friend that the letter concerns an abstruse and laughable subject, but as he is going on a travel, he will return to the matter later.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste,¹ sends many greetings to the distinguished and excellent Jan, secretary of the illustrious city of Prague.

[1] Your Georg² - and mine by virtue of the obligations of friendship - says that you wish to know the author, the meaning and the purpose of one of my letters, for the words are obscure, the meaning abstruse, and the author unknown. I should have liked to fulfil your wish, and you would laugh uproariously if you learnt why the letter was written and what it is about. But I do not have time now, for I have recently come back from the Roman curia and I must return there now.³ But if God grants me to come back safe and sound, you will get what you wish, and you will laugh together with me at the primitive learning of many and the foolishness of others. The matter is neither small nor light, so I shall reserve it for another and better time.

Farewell. Please recommend me to Johann Schindel,⁴ foremost philosopher of the present age, and my other friends there, and love me as always as is your nature. From Vienna.

¹ This is the first letter signed by Piccolomini as a bishop.

² Georg Huschek? (see following letter).

³ In fact, Piccolomini did not return to Rome before 1450.

⁴ Johannes Andreae Schindel (1375 - 1455/1458): Astronomer. At the time residing in Prague.

220. Letter from Jan Tuschek (1st half of 1447, Prague).

Manuscripts: SLUB / Mscr. Dresden. F.172.c., ff. 73v-74v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: Märkl: Neue, pp. 188-189 (on the basis of the SLUB ms.)

Missiva Tuschkonis ad dominum Aeneam Silvium. Doctissime vir, fautor mi amantissime.

[1] Locum, ut videtur, salutationis occupare non convenit, cum totus vester sim et semper a vobis optem mihi praecipere quidquid libet. Non enim servulum me vestrum praeceptorumque vestrorum executorem paratissimum tantum exhibeo, sed nominis Aeneae continuum praeconem, cujus in laude nedum ipsa lingua calamusve, verum etiam vires totius corporis, quoad vivo aut vivere potero, non silebunt. Rogo igitur, auscultetis et perpendite quod subditur. Novus quidam - ut ita dicam - poeta nostris surrexit in partibus, qui, uti conjicio, aliter volens apparere quam sit, epistolam suam mihi certum per nuntium obtulit, qua scientiarum et ingenii vestri perscrutando sublimia exemplis quibusdam imaginibusque ac figurationibus monstruosis me in tantum commovit, ut vix etiam spiritum habere videbar. Nomen itaque suum et conditionem ex tenore ipsius epistolae, cujus copiam hic inclusam vobis dirigo, percipite, et qualis homo sit, rogo, mentis vestrae colligentes indagine rescribite sibi ad materiam, quod videtur, mihi litteram eandem sibi ulterius per me destinandam una cum notula facientes, dum nuntius occurrerit, praesentari. Ego enim sibi rescripsi taliter, sicut in notula hic inclusa videbitis. Vos tamen durius talem, mi domine Aenea, multum precor tangite, calamum, ut contra talem decens est, acuentes. In eo mihi facietis complacentiam nimis gratam. Rogo etiam mihi, domine Aenea, sensum illius epistolae vestrae causamque mihi, dum fieri poterit et occupationes aliae permittent, dirigi, cujus copiam ante alijuius temporis elapsam vobis per Huschkonem destinavi.

Valete scientes me in omnibus semper vestrum.

220. Letter from Jan Tuschek (1st half of 1447, Prague).

Context: The notary Jan from Plzen had written to Tuschek inquiring about Piccolomini and speaking about him in derogatory terms (see appendix to this letter).

Subject: Tuschek informs Piccolomini about the notary's letter, of which he sends him a copy, asking him to write a suitable answer to the notary.

Letter from Tuschek to Enea Silvio. Most learned sir, my beloved patron.

[1] It seems wrong to occupy the [first] place in the salutation since I am entirely devoted to you and wish to obey all your commands. For I am your humble servant and readily execute your commands, but even more I am the permanent herald of your name, in whose praise neither my tongue and pen will ever be silent, and which I shall [promote] with all my forces as long as I live. Therefore, I ask you to hear and consider what follows. A new poet - so to say - has arisen in these regions, who, I surmise, wishes to appear greater than he is. By messenger, he has now sent me a letter, in which he with monstrous examples, images and figures subjects your learning and intellect to such criticism that it completely upset me, and I could scarcely breathe. Learn his name and conditions and what kind of man he is from the contents of his letter, of which I send you the copy included. I ask you to consider the matter carefully and write me a suitable letter that I can forward to him with a note as soon as a messenger is available. As you will see, I have already written to him in the note included here. I beg you to hit him hard, dear Enea, and to sharpen your pen as befits such a person. Thus you will cause me great pleasure. I also ask you, my Enea - when possible and your other occupations allow it - to explain to me the meaning and cause of the letter, a copy of which I sent to you some time through Huschek.¹

Farewell, and know that I am yours in all things.

¹ See preceding letter.

Appendix

Letter from Jan, Notary of Plzen, to Jan Tuschek (1st half of 1447)

Manuscripts: SLUB / Mscr. Dresden. F.172c., f. 72v.

Editions: Märkl: *Neue*, pp. 186-187 (on the basis of the SLUB ms.)¹

Johannes notarius Plznensis ad Tuschkonem notarium Pragensem. Servitio praemisso, praeceptor.

Relatio vulgi inexpertis suspensa, ut saepe autenticans falsa pro veris defert homines de gente in gentem, quod, una si mecum caritatis vestrae favor meminisse dignabitur, de francigena virgine, de Antichristi partu Babyloniae, de valetudine adhuc regis Poloniae Thaboritarumque et famosi commentatoris fabularum diebus nostris omisso recordio, scilicet domini Woxe, nonnullas narrationes prioribus pares et hodie poterimus reperire. Assurgit siquidem in districtu nostro nunc de solemnibus quodam oratore Aenea praeclara mentio, quae quamquam nuper quasi repere, jam cum crescente die uberius ac uberius succrescens, non solum in civitate nostra notatur multiplicari, verum et per omnia montana incipit divulgari. Quoniam autem tantae scriptae possidens glosa deberent habere sequentium et pauca fides, cum multi multa loquantur, ideo, socer, quidquid gratiae vestrae de praefato viro pateat, an quae clarissimorum e Troia aut scriptis ejus quem meduerint apostoli, ibidem sit vel rei veritatis et quod in facto comparet, scriptis vestris hactenus mihi, ut quaerentibus respondere valeam, dignemini nuntiare. Etenim nota levitatis aspergitur facili, qui credulitati rumoribus praestat assensum. Valete socios cancellariae vestre salutantes.

¹ See notes in Märkl.

Letter from Jan Tuschek to Jan, Notary of Plzen, to Jan Tuschek (1st half of 1447)

Manuscripts: SLUB / Mscr. Dresden. F.172c., ff. 73r-73v.

Editions: Märkl: *Neue*, pp. 186-187 (on the basis of the SLUB ms.¹)

Responsiva Tuschkonis. Servitium praemissa constantia, sodes et amice.

[1] Sane ita est, uti scribitis, quod incertum vulgus studia frequenter sumit contraria et nedum levitate crudelitatis, verum etiam amoris privata causa rectum saepius vertit iudicium in obliquum. Dum autem quaesiti quaeritis, ut respondere sciatis quaerentibus, quid mihi pateat de Aenea, miror quid vos aut quaerentes ipsos moverit, quod famam solemnem hujus et tam scientia quam moribus approbati viri, oratoris egregi, cui non ego solum, sed et infiniti alii similem vix norunt, poetae laureati ac in Italia, quae sedes habetur artis oratoriae, et in omnibus fere mundi finibus famosi, cujus etiam singuli mirantur prudentiam, vesanis censuistis ac nugosis fabularum rumoribus adaequare. Vereor ne edax *et inimica semper alienis profectibus invidia*, quae non solum praesentibus, sed etiam absentibus, neque notis tantum, sed etiam ignotis, nec contenta propinquis, verum etiam remotissimis livoris jacula nititur injicere, quae quoque de inferni profundo ad caelos usque pertingere satagit, provocaret aliquos ad ipsius Aeneae praestanti florentique nedum fortunae, sed et virtuti detrahendum, ut sua forte opinio minuatur et illa tam excellens opinione fortuna laboribus et miseriis permixta videatur. Quibus non tam puto jucundum est multos post se videre, quam grave est aliquem ante se habere, ut sic propriis cruciati passionibus ac vulneribus percussi domesticis in eorum poenae dolorisque majus augmentum - quia *quot sunt felicium gaudia, tot invidorum gemitus* - quidquid illi optimo viro cedit ad gloriam, hoc invidi sibi existiment derogatum, juxta illud Horatii: *Invidus alterius rebus marcescit opimis*. Ideo non est verisimile, ut mendax rumor veritatis esse glosa valeat. Nec cujusquam credulitas aut incredulitas potest aliquid Aeneae conferre vel diminueret. Scit enim vir egregius, quod nemo alterius fortunae qui virtutis est possessor invidet, et quod unusquisque suis virtutibus aut vitiis extollitur vel deprimitur, nec a virtutibus alieno mendicata quem ut praeconia suffragari. Haec sint responsa quaerentibus. Quod enim vidi audivique abs dedecore autumo referre me posse veniam poscens, si plus aequo aliquid scripserim. Fateor tamen quod si mihi aetas responderet, non solum sibi servire, sed et pedum ipsius vestigia ob eam quae in illo est scientiam prudentiamque non vererer honorare.

¹ See notes in Märkl.

221. Letter to Jan, notary of Pilzen (16 June 1447, Vienna)

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 271r-271v ^{**1}; M3, f. 267-268r².

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 18, pp. 53-54 (on the basis of M2 and M3).

{271r} Johanni, notario Pilzensi, Aeneas Silvius, electus Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Credo te virum bonum, minus tamen considerate scribis: puellae Gallicae me comparas et Antichristi partui taleque meum existimas nomen, qualem de vita regis Poloniae rumorem praedicant sui. Taboritarum et famosi cujusdam commentatoris fabularum efficis mentionem. Non litigo tecum: fateor, me multum minorem esse, quam fama praedicat, nec ego falsi nominis sum cupidus. Vivax non est laus, quae virtutem superat, scio ista de me.

[2] Sed quid tu me illis portentis comparas, quid me monstrum vocitas, quid mihi cum Taboritis? Extant epistolae meae, extant complura scripta atque opuscula: cur non haec inspicias et errata reprehendis, si qua reperis? Reperies autem plurima, si leges. Disputabo libenter³ tecum: ubi me viceris, acquiescam. Non sum pertinax, non sum rebellis. Audio libenter, quae me monent. Fieri cupio omni scientia doctior nec a te nec a puero septenni erubescam discere. Sic hominem decet. Omnes imperfecti sumus, alter emendat alterum. Sed monstrandi sunt et digito, ut ita loquar, errores signandi. Injustus est, qui famam carpit alicujus et non ostendit, ubi delictum est. Rogo te, Johannes, inspice mea scripta, examina diligenter et corripe, quae sunt digna menda.

[3] Scripsisti Johanni Tuskoni, probato et gravi viro, non me quasi hominem, sed quasi omen vocitas. Indigna sunt haec tua doctrina. Accepi, te moratum esse. Certe contra mores est obloqui, detestari, criminari, detrahare, nisi manifestae sunt causae, idque non clanculum faciendum est inter alios, sed ille monendus est, qui errat. Tu, mihi si quid scripseris, habebis responsum et vel emendabo me ipsum vel ostendam te non bene corripere et censorem monstrabo dignum censura.

Vale et si ista graviter accipis, rescribe et accipies graviora. Datum Viennae, die 26.⁴ Junii 1447.

¹ SC, 562-653

² SC, 831-832

³ libens M3

⁴ 26. WO

221. Letter to Jan, notary of Pilzen (16 June 1447, Vienna)

Context: See the preceding letter.

Subject: Piccolomini tells the notary that he knows he is imperfect and may be criticised for many things. However, the notary's criticism seems unfounded, and therefore Piccolomini exhorts him to read his works and then make his criticisms.

Enea Silvio, [Bishop-]elect of Trieste, sends many greetings to Jan, notary of Plzen.

[1] I believe you are a good man, but what you write [about me] is not very considerate: you refer to a French maiden and the birth of Antichrist, and you put my reputation on the same level as the rumours about the King of Poland being alive that are spread by his people.¹ You also mention the Taborites² and the fables of a notorious writer. I do not dispute with you: I admit that I am not as great as my reputation, and I do not wish to enjoy a false prestige. Praise that quells virtue is not true³ - that I know about myself.

[2] But why do you compare me with these portents? Why do you call me monstrous? What do I have in common with the Taborites? My letters are available, as well as several other writings and works. Why do you not examine them and criticise such errors as you may find? Indeed, you will find many if you read my works. I shall only be glad to dispute with you: if you defeat me, I shall yield. I am not stubborn nor recalcitrant. I gladly hear those who admonish me. I wish to become more proficient in all branches of knowledge, and I shall not be ashamed to learn from you or even a seven-year-old boy. This is what a man should do. We are all imperfect, and we should make each other better. But errors should be shown and pointed out. It is not right to censure another's reputation without showing where the fault is. So, I ask you, Jan, to inspect my writings, examine them diligently and correct what is faulty.

[3] You have written to Jan Tuschek, an honourable and serious man, calling me not a man but a bad omen. This is not worthy of your learning. I have heard that you are a decent man, but surely, it is not decent to oppose, detest, execrate and slander another unless there are evident reasons. And even then, you should not do it among others but admonish the one who errs. If you write to me, you shall have an answer, and I shall show that you reprove me without cause and that you are a censor who merits censure.

Farewell. If you take this badly, write me back, and you will receive even worse. Given in Vienna, 16 June 1447.

¹ I.e., Piccolomini's reputation being just as unfounded as the rumours about the king.

² An extremist Hussite sect living in the city of Tabor.

³ "vivax"

222. Letter to Jan Tuschek (16 June 1447, Vienna)

Manuscripts: M2, f. 271r¹; M3, f. 267r² **; VOS / 53, f. 143r *.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 17, pp. 52-53 (on the basis M3 and VOS)

{267r} Ornato doctoque viro domino Johanni Tuskoni, protonotario inclytæ civitatis Pragensis. Aeneas Silvius, secretarius regius³ electusque Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit⁴.

[1] Video semper legoque volupe⁵ tuas litteras, nam et amicitiam confirmant nostram et prudentiam testantur tuam. Accepi nuper, quae mihi scripsisti de Johanne, notario Pilsensi, qui me monstris comparavit. Vidi, quae sibi respondisti. Graviter amici causam defendisti, ineptias increpasti, veritatem juvisti, viri boni functus officio es, nam et absenti consuluisti nec amicum in ultimis terrarum agentem indefensum reliquisti. Amicitia vera non magis praesenti quam absenti favet. Qui amicus est, etiam mortuum diligit. Non corpus amici, non res, non famam laedi amicus patitur⁶. Hoc abs te factum est⁷ amice. Gaudeo tantoque tibi obnoxiosem me sentio, quanto id temporis abs te eram remotior. Romae, ut opinor, tunc fui, cum meo nomini detractum est. Sed quamquam tibi refero gratias, illi tamen non irascar⁸, qui me carpit. Scio imperfectum meum, ignorantiae meae sum conscius. Sapientissimus Socrates et oraculo probatus Delphico unum se scire ajebat, quoniam sciret nihil. Quid ego inquam? Sentio cum tuo Johanne nec scio quidquam nec nomine sum aliquo dignus. Scribam tamen illi pauca, ne se scire putet, quae tu atque ego nescimus.

[2] Litteras his adjunctas habebis, quas sibi dirigo, simul quoque interpretationem epistolae, quam longo desiderasti tempore. Paruissem⁹ antea tuae cupidini, nisi absens fuisset. Anni jan duo sunt, quibus assidue obequito: nunc Romae invenior, nunc Franckfordiae, nunc Viennae: nulla mihi quies datur. Nunc etiam ad electores imperii delegor; infra trimestre minime hic reperiar.

Vale et me, ut soles, ama atque observa. Ex Vienna, 16.¹⁰ Junii. Cum haec scripsi, rebar epistolam meam, cujus commentum quaeris, apud me fore, sed numquam reperi. Da igitur veniam et, si glossam vis, textum mittito¹¹.

¹ SC, 562

² SC, 539

³ omit. M2

⁴ *Salutatio:* Aeneas Silvius, secretarius regius electusque Tergesti-

nus, salutem plurimam dicit ornato doctoque viro Johanni Tuskoni, protonotario inclytæ civitatis Pragensis WO

⁵ omit. M2

⁶ petitur M3

⁷ esse M2

⁸ irascor M2

⁹ permissam M2

¹⁰ 26. WO

¹¹ iterum vale add. M3

222. Letter to Jan Tuschek (16 June 1447, Vienna)

Context: See the preceding letter.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks Tuschek for defending him to notary Jan. He acknowledges that his knowledge is imperfect, but on the other hand, he will let the notary know that so is his.

Enea Silvio, royal secretary and [Bishop]-elect of Trieste, sends many greetings to the distinguished and learned Jan Tuschek, protonotary of the illustrious city of Prague.

[1] I always see and read your letters with pleasure, for they confirm our friendship and demonstrate your wisdom. I have seen what you wrote about Jan, the notary from Plzen, who compared me to monsters, and what you answered him. Weightily you defended your friend's cause, chided his silly ramblings, defended truth and acted as a good man should, for you supported a man who was absent and defended a friend who was far away. True friendship favours the absent ones just as much as the present. A friend loves even him, who is dead. A friend does not allow a friend's body, property or reputation to be harmed. What you did was kind. I am pleased, and the fact that I was far away makes me feel even more obliged to you. I think I was in Rome when my reputation came under attack. But though I thank you, I am not angry at the man who criticises me, for I know that I am imperfect and am aware of my ignorance. Socrates, the wisest of men and even approved by the Delphic oracle, said that he only knew one thing: that he knew nothing. So, what shall I say? I agree with this Jan: I know nothing and am unworthy of fame. But I shall write him some things lest he believes he knows what you and I do not.

[2] I include the letter I write to him together with the interpretation of the letter you have wanted for so long. I would have fulfilled your desire before this if I had not been absent. For two years now, I have been on horseback: now I was in Rome, now in Frankfurt, now in Vienna.¹ I get no rest. And now I am even sent on a mission to the imperial [prince]-electors and shall not be back before three months.

Farewell, and love and esteem me as always. From Vienna, 16 June. When I was writing the above, I thought that I had the letter you want me to comment, but I cannot find it. Please forgive me, and if you want an explanation, send me the text.

¹ Piccolomini had been busily engaged as an imperial diplomat

to secure the imperial and German recognition of the Roman papacy

and thus settling the church schism that had lasted from 1438.

223. Letter to Michael von Pfullendorf (2nd half of 1447, 1st half of 1448).

Manuscripts: SLUB / F.172.c., ff. 75v-76r. **

Editions A: None

Editions B: Märkl: Neue, pp. 189-191.

{75v} Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, domino Michaeli, regio secretario et amico fideli salutem, plurimam dicit.

[1] Rem tibi auream commisi curandam, cuperem vel argenteam vel cupream recipere. In reditu magnifici cancellarii suspensum est negotium. Justam¹ oro amici causam opportune atque importune promovendam suscipe. Difficile est aurum extorquere, sanguinem plurimi quam aurum libentius dabunt. Pretiosa res videtur aurum. Quis non amet illud? Omnia patent auro. *Acrisii* filiam *Danaen* multis observatam *excubiis*, quis Jovi perviam nisi aurum fecit? Amphiam Thebanis aurum tradidit. *Subruit aemulos reges muneribus* aureis Alexander. Auro bellum geritur, pax emitur auro. Quaecumque videntur speciosa vulgo, eadem venalia facit aurum. Nimirum si turbae sequuntur et amant aurum, at qui sapiunt, magnas inesse pecuniis molestias norunt. Acquiruntur sane difficulter, retinentur difficiliter. *Crescente pecunia* crescit et *cura*. Insatiabilis est pecuniarum appetitus, inextinguibilis *fames*. Si quis fieri vult dives, hunc non pecuniis addere, sed cupidini detrahendum oportet. *Quanto sibi quisque plura negaverit, tanto plura divino munere feret*. Verior est pecuniae dominus, qui contemnit, quam qui possidet. {76r} Quam multos hodie ridere licet *inter magnas opes inopes*? Mihi *bene* fuerit, si *Deus quod satis* esset daret. Non peto divitias Croesi nec Darii, *importunam* timeo *pauperiem*.

¹ justa cod.

223. Letter to Michael von Pfullendorf¹ (2nd half of 1447, 1st half of 1448).

- Context:* Some pay was apparently due to Piccolomini when he left the royal court to take up his new office as bishop of Trieste, but due to complications in connection with Chancellor Schlick's return to the court, a firm decision had not been made.
- Subject:* Piccolomini asks his friend and former colleague in the chancery to expedite the affair of his salary. He uses the opportunity to discourse on the problems of wealth, which he sagely does not want.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings to Michael, royal secretary and faithful friend.

[1] I have charged you with obtaining [a certain sum] in gold for me, but I should also be satisfied with silver or copper.² When His Magnificence the Chancellor³ returned, the matter was put on hold. Now I ask you to take on the just cause of a friend and further it by all means, opportune and importunate.⁴ It is difficult to wrest gold from people - they will rather give their blood than their gold. Gold seems to be a precious thing. Who does not love it? All is open to gold.⁵ *Gold gave Jupiter access to Danaë*, daughter of *Acrisius*, though she was guarded by many sentries.⁶ Gold delivered the House of Argos to the Thebans.⁷ With golden gifts Alexander overthrew rival kings.⁸ Wars are made with gold, peace is bought with gold. All that ordinary people consider precious can be bought with gold. The masses evidently pursue and love gold, but wise men know that money brings much trouble. It is difficult to acquire and even more difficult to keep. *As money grows, worry grows, too.*⁹ The appetite for money is insatiable, the greed¹⁰ for it unquenchable. If someone wants to be rich, he should not add to his fortune but lessen his greed. *The more a man denies himself, so much the more he will receive as a divine gift.*¹¹ The man who despises money is more truly its master than the man who possesses it. How many can we not laugh of today who are *poor in the midst of mighty wealth?*¹² *I would be blessed if God gave just enough.*¹³ I do not wish for the riches of Croesus¹⁴ or Darius¹⁵, but I fear *distressing poverty.*¹⁶

¹ Michael von Pfullendorf (-1451): Colleague of Piccolomini in the imperial chancery.

² Some sum was apparently due to Piccolomini as a salary, see sect. 2.

³ Kaspar Schlick.

⁴ 2. Timothy 4: 2.

⁵ *Auro omnia patent*: in many earlier editions, this sentence was used as the title of Horace's ode

Inclusam Danaën (Carmina, 3: 16). The following passage until *pauperiem* is a paraphrase of this ode.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vs. 1-2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vs. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vs. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vs. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vs. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vs. 6.

¹² *Ibid.*, vs. 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vs. 11.

¹⁴ Kroisos (- 547/546 BCE): King of Lydia. Known for his proverbial wealth.

¹⁵ Dareios I [the Great] (ca. 550-486 BCE): King of Persia.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vs. 10.

[2] Salariolum tenue vix decretum expecto. Id si negatur, jam non paupertati, sed miseriae subiaceo, quia non status, sed vita negatur. Stat tamen sententia: nec sic atroci fortunae succumbere et fortem in adversis animum praestare, acerbum vincere fatum et vel in miseria vivere felices volumus. Nolunt nos sequi pecuniae: fugiant, absint, *abeant in malam crucem*. Spinae sunt et tribuli, si salvatori credimus. Excussi auro melius philosophabimur. Impossibile est arcam plenam et Christum possideri. Uterque vult dominari. *Non possumus Deo simul et mammine servire.*

Vale et quidquid fieri noveris meo in negotio mox rescribito. Consodales meos N. et N. et amantem fratrem tuum atque meum vel meis verbis salvere jube.

[2] I expect to receive some small pay though it was not quite decided upon. If it is denied, I shall suffer not just poverty but misery, for then I am denied both status and life. But our decision stands firm: we will not succumb to savage Fortune but show strength in adversity, defeat bitter Fate, and live happily even in misery. Money will not follow us: so let it flee us, let it be absent, *let it go to hell*.¹ If we believe the Saviour, money is but *thorns and thistles*.² If money is taken from us, we shall better be able to philosophise.³ It is impossible to have a full money coffer and Christ at the same time. Each wants to be the master. We cannot *serve God and mammon*⁴ simultaneously.

Farewell, and write to me if anything new happens in my affair. Greet my colleagues N. and N. and your and my beloved brother from me.

¹ "*Abi in malam crucem*". Classical expression, see Plautus: *Persa*, 2: 4, 17. Also used by Poggio Bracciolini, e.g. in *Invectiva in Nicolaum Perottum* (Poggio Bracciolini: *Opera*, 2, p. 815). Also used by Piccolomini in his oration "*Res Bohemicas*" of 1455 (COR, 6: 28, 35).

² Matthew, 7: 16.

³ Not long afterwards, Piccolomini would write to a friend: *If to philosophise is to be poor, then none is more philosophical than I (si pauperem esse philozophari est, nemo me philosophior est)* (WO, 2: 1, 21, p. 67). See also Seneca: *Epistolae Morales*, 17: 3:

Riches have shut off many a man from philosophising. Poverty is unburdened and free from care (Multis ad philosophandum obstitere divitiae, paupertas expedita est, secreta est.)

⁴ Matthew, 6: 24.

224. Letter to Jordan Mallant (13 August 1447, Cologne).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 267r-271r¹ **; M3, ff. 268r-273r²; V8, ff. 1r-4v.³

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 19, pp. 54-65 (on the basis of V8).

¹ SC, 555-562

² SC, 540-550

³ Of these three mss., the V8 represents an early version, and the M2 and M3 a later.

224. Letter to Jordan Mallant (13 August 1447, Cologne).

- Context:* After his return from Rome in April, Piccolomini was sent to the princes in the Rhine region, presumably to explain and make them accept what had happened in Rome.¹ Before setting off, he expected the travel to last three months (see letter 224: 2). In August he was in Cologne, where he heard that some of the university people there had commented unfavourably on his conversion from the conciliarist to the papalist cause. Seizing this opportunity, he wrote the first of his two retractations.²
- Subject:* Facing accusations that his conversion to papalism was due to opportunism and ambition of becoming a bishop, Piccolomini argues that his conversion was sincere and that the assembly in Basel had ceased to be a genuine council.³

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¹ I.e., the German recognition of the Roman papacy.

² The second, the *In minoribus agentes*, he would publish as a pope.

³ For comments on this letter, see VO, 2, p. 295, 415-416; Stolff: *Images*, pp. 160 ff.

{267r}¹ Aeneas Silvius, electus Tergestinus, viro doctissimo et amico fideli, magistro Jordano, rectori universitatis scholae Coloniensis, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Tantam esse divinae pietatis misericordiam, tantam quoque et tam immensam superni numinis caritatem, ut cadentes erigat, caecos illuminet, errantes instruat ac² ipsos etiam negantes persequentesque³ veritatem, ad sese revocet. Gavisi sunt apostolorum principes Petrus et Paulus. Gavisi sunt et complures⁴ tum confessores tum martyres, qui ex persecutoribus nominis Christiani facti sunt orthodoxae fidei defensores, et, qui propter idola persequerentur Christianos, propter Christum idola deleverunt. Recte igitur, inquit sapiens: *Tu autem deus noster suavis et verus es, patiens et in⁵ misericordia disponens omnia*. Ad vocem ancillae vilisque feminae negavit dominum Petrus, sed miseratione praeventus dominica gallicae cantu commonitus, *egressus foras flevit amare* et conversus non solum *confirmavit fratres suos* sed minas, catenas, verbera, cruciatus ac⁶ martyrium ferre pro Christi nomine non dubitavit.

[2] *Domine*, ait in Actibus Apostolorum Paulus, *ipsi sciunt, quia ego eram concludens in carcerem et caedens⁷ per synagogas eos, qui credebant in te. Et cum funderetur sanguis Stephani, testis fui: ego astabam et consentiebam et custodiebam vestimenta interficientium illum*. At hic, licet huiusmodi fuerit, conversus tamen ad Christum et aeterni luminis claritate perfusus, et “*Nunc,*” inquit, “*ecce alligatus ego spiritu vado in Jerusalem, quae in ea ventura sint mihi ignorans, nisi quod spiritus sanctus per omnes civitates protestatur mihi dicens, quoniam vincula et tribulationes me manent. Sed nihil horum vereor nec facio⁸ animam meam pretiosiore quam me, dummodo consumem⁹ cursum meum et ministerium verbi, quod accepi a domino Jesu, testificari evangelium gratiae¹⁰ Dei.*” [cont.]

¹ *Titulus/salutatio*: Excusatoria quare Eneas reliquerit concilium et secutus fuerit papam Eugenium quartum. Viro doctissimo et amico fideli, magistro Jordano, rectori universitatis scholae Coloniensis, Aeneas Silvius, electus Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit M2; Retractatio Eneae et plura de

concilio Basiliensi. Viro ...dicit M3; Aeneas Silvius, electus Tergestinus viro doctissimo et amico fideli, magistro Jordano, rectori universitatis scholae Coloniensis salutem plurimam dicit V8

² et M3

³ persequentes V8

⁴ gavisi sunt ... complures : gavisi sunt etiam plures V8

⁵ *omit.* V8

⁶ et V8

⁷ et caedens : excedens M3

⁸ faciam V8

⁹ consumo V8

¹⁰ gratia V8

1. Introduction

Enea Silvio, [Bishop]-elect of Trieste, sends many greetings to the learned man and faithful friend, Magister Jordan, rector of the university of Cologne.

[1] The mercy of the Divine Piety and the love of the supreme divinity are so immense that He raises the fallen, enlightens the blind, instructs those who err and calls even those who deny and persecute truth back to Him. The princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul,¹ rejoiced and so did many confessors and martyrs, who from persecutors of the name of Christ became defenders of the true Faith: those who persecuted the Christians because of idols, destroyed the idols because of Christ. Rightly Wisdom says, “*But thou, our God, art gracious and true, patient, and ordering all things in mercy.*”² At the words of a slave girl and base woman, Peter denied the Lord,³ but forewarned by the Lord’s mercy⁴ and moved by the crowing cock, *he went outside and cried bitterly,*⁵ but then he regretted his actions, found new courage and not only comforted the brethren but did not hesitate to suffer threats, chains, scourges, torture and martyrdom.

[2] In the *Acts of the Apostles*, Paul says, “*Lord, they know that I cast into prison, and beat in every synagogue, them that believed in thee. And when the blood of Stephen thy witness was shed, I stood by and consented, and kept the garments of them that killed him.*”⁶ Nonetheless, he converted to Christ and, illuminated by the splendour of the eternal light, he said, “*And now, behold, being bound in the spirit, I go to Jerusalem: not knowing the things which shall befall me there: Save that the Holy Ghost in every city witnesseth to me, saying: That bands and afflictions wait for me at Jerusalem. But I fear none of these things, neither do I count my life more precious than myself, so that I may consummate my course and the ministry of the word which I received from the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.*”⁷ [cont.]

¹ In the early version (V8), Piccolomini mentioned only Paul (as the vessel of election).

² Wisdom, 15: 1.

³ Matthew, 26: 73-74.

⁴ Matthew, 26: 34.

⁵ Matthew, 26, 75.

⁶ Acts, 22: 19-20.

⁷ Acts, 20: 22-24.

[cont.] Nisi scriberem epistolam, quam brevioris oportet esse sermonis, referrem plurimos, qui tamquam lupi rapacissimi gregem domini devastantes et agni mites et pastores postea fidelissimi, cum Deus voluit, sunt effecti, quia non sententiam, sed veritatem relinquere perniciosum est. Laudi datur pro justitia mori. Qui tueri coepit, iniquitatem honestius deserit quam tenet propositum. Sed quorsum haec tam longo repetita principio?

[3] Accepi sane nudius te¹ tertius et una tecum venerandum patrem Coloniensis ecclesiae sufraganeum pluresque divini atque humani juris interpretes convivium habuisse² ac *inter vinum et epulas* de rebus ecclesiae fecisse sermonem, meque miratos quosdam, qui una ex parte migravi ad aliam nec dicta³ scriptaque mea tenuerim. His ergo, quamquam tu prius amici causam magnifice tutatus, mutationem honestam justitiae partem dixeris, oportet me tamen, quia pungor stimulatorque, planius, serius ac⁴ nervosius respondere, ut maneat hoc memoriale omnibus, qui detrahunt mihi, sitque testamentum meum in perpetuum, quia necessario⁵ ex Basilea recessi et renuntiavi erroribus ejus, postquam⁶ meretricem comperi civitatem, quam rebar iudicio plenam. Refulsit mihi divina gratia, quae caligantes aperuit oculos splendorisque sui me radiis illustravit, quia ignorans peccavi.

[4] Erravi, fateor, cum Basiliensibus et *in delictis eorum ambulavi*⁷. Nec quasi unus ex infimis fui, sed elatus animo, superbus mente, plenus vento inter primiores bella ciebam, loquebar inepte, scribebam ineptius. {267v} Et quoniam mihi videbar sciolus, non erubui tractatus componere et insulsis sermonibus Romanum laniare pontificem⁸. Existimabam vera, quae dicebantur, et audita non probata scribebam. Nec parvum erat inter hostes Romanae curiae nomen Aeneae. Sed⁹ quantum me Basilienses extollebant atque amabant, tantum me alii deprimebant habebantque odio, nec mihi molesta cujusquam irrisio fuit, quia credebam me pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati.

¹ omit. V8

² convivium habuisse : habuisse convivium M3

³ acta WO

⁴ et WO

⁵ omit. WO

⁶ cum V8

⁷ eorum ambulavi : ambulavi eorum V8

⁸ Romanum laniare pontificem : Romani pontificis auctoritati detrahere V8

⁹ at WO

[cont.] If I were not writing a letter, which must be shorter than the spoken word, I would here mention the many who like rapacious wolves ravaged the Lord's flock but then, when God willed it, became gentle lambs and faithful shepherds. For it is not ruinous to abandon one's convictions but to leave the truth. It is praiseworthy to die for justice, but he who begins to defend it abandons evil even more honourably than he who just perseveres in it. But why this long introduction?

2. Piccolomini as a conciliarist at the Council of Basel¹

[3] Two days ago,² I heard you had been at a dinner party with the Venerable Father, the suffragan bishop of the Church of Cologne,³ and several specialists in divine and human law. While *you drank and ate*,⁴ you discussed the affairs of the Church, and some expressed their amazement that I had passed from one camp to the other⁵ and not observed what I myself had said and written. You defended me splendidly and said it was an honest and just change [of opinion]. Still, I am stung and roused, so I must answer them plainly, seriously and vigorously. Let this letter be a message to all who criticise me and a permanent testimony that I left Basel out of necessity and renounced all its errors after I had realised that the city was a harlot fit for judgment. God's grace shone for me, opened the darkened eyes and enlightened me with the rays of its splendour because it was out of ignorance that I had sinned.

[4] I confess that I erred with the Basileans and *walked on in their sins*.⁶ I was not an insignificant council member: puffed up, arrogant and full of empty air, I fought among the first, I spoke foolishly and wrote even more foolishly. And since I considered myself to have much knowledge, I was not ashamed to write treaties and revile the Roman Pontiff with insolent speech.⁷ I thought what was said was true, and I wrote things⁸ that I had heard but were unproven. The name of Aeneas counted for something among the enemies of the Roman curia. The Basileans praised and loved me, the others reviled and hated me, but their scorn did not worry me, for I thought that I was suffering for the cause of Christ.

¹ See COM, 1: 3-10 and letters 8-32.

² Which means that Piccolomini wrote the present apology in two days.

³ Either Johannes Schleeter or Hilgerus de Brugis.

⁴ Livius, 9: 18.

⁵ Helmrath: *Zweite*, p. 344.

⁶ Psalms, 67: 22: *perambulantium in delictis suis*.

⁷ Helmrath: *Zweite*, p. 344.

⁸ See letter 19: 2 and Piccolomini's oration "*Audivi*" (COR, 2:

1). See also his works *Libellus Dialogorum* (1440) and *De gestis Concilii Basiliensis commentariorum Libri II.* (1440).

[5] Nutriebant errorem meum mendacia plurimorum. Nemo apud Basilienses audiabatur, qui sedis apostolicae jura defenderet, qui Romanam curiam commendaret, qui laudi Eugenium daret. Ac qui Romanae sedis auctoritati detraxit, qui criminatus est Eugenium et curiam ejus¹ abominatus, is magnus summusque² habebatur. Frangebant me ipsa Panormitani Ludovicique nomina, qui duo luminaria juris maxima censebantur. Nova tunc ego avis ex Senensi gymnasio³ devolaveram nec Romanae curiae mores nec Eugenii vitam sciebam. Vera putavi, quae audivi, omnia: adhibui fidem dicentibus et in eorum nutritus erratibus⁴ steti cum illis. Cum suspenderent Eugenium, interfui depositioni et cum profanatus est, quem papam dicunt, nequaquam abscessi. Sed miser et stultus factus sum, illorum stultitia stultior coinquinatus sum et in puteum peccati demersus, nec umquam emersissem, nisi me superna miseratio respexisset. Inveniunt saepe misericordiam, qui per ignorantiam peccant: scienter erranti⁵ nullus patet in gratiam reditus. *Impius, cum in profundum venerit peccatorum, contemnit⁶, et sequitur⁷ eum⁸ ignominia et opprobrium.*

[6] Audiant igitur aemuli mei conversionem meam et convertantur etiam ipsi⁹. Sed quia *non recipit stultus verba prudentiae*, tibi, non illis, scribo. Non inficior, sed doleo me fuisse Basiliensem. Non nego, sed horresco, quae dixi scripsique. Ne feram inde supplicium, timeo. Misereatur mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam suam. Sit propitius mihi peccatori. Delicta juventutis meae et ignorantias meas ne meminerit. Relaxet mihi scelera mea, dum posui os in caelum et adversus Christum dominum sum locutus. Errans erravi et nosco erratum meum agoque gratias pio Deo, qui me ulterius errare non sinit. Nemo me scriptis meis sic ligatum putet, ut non liceat mutare sententiam. Male se genus humanum haberet, si variare propositum non liceret. Retractationum libros Augustinus scripsit. Liberi usque ad mortem sumus: ultima nos sententia judicat. Sed accipe tu¹⁰ rei seriem, quoniam Dei¹¹ misericordiam¹² sum consecutus.

¹ *omit.* WO

² is magnus summusque : in magnis summisque habebatur WO

³ *em.*; gignasio codd.

⁴ erroribus WO

⁵ peccanti V8

⁶ contemnitur WO

⁷ et sequitur : exsequitur M3

⁸ tum V8

⁹ etiam ipsi : si volunt sapere V8

¹⁰ *omit.* V8

¹¹ *omit.* V8

¹² Dei misericordiam : misericordiam Dei M3

[5] The lies of many nourished my error. No one who defended the rights of the Apostolic See, commended the Roman curia and praised Eugenius was heeded by the Basileans. But those who disparaged the authority of the Roman see, made accusations against Eugenius and abhorred his curia were considered great and excellent men. I was impressed by the names of Panormitano¹ and Ludovico,² considered the two greatest lights of law.³ I was then a young bird flown in from the University of Siena⁴ and knew nothing of the ways of the Roman curia nor of Eugenius' life. I thought that all I heard was true. I trusted what they said and, raised on their errors, I stood with them. When they suspended Eugenius,⁵ I participated in the deposition, and when he, whom they call pope, was abused, I did not leave. But I was wretched and foolish. I had become infected with their foolishness and was sunk in the pit of sin, and I would never have come out of it if merciful God had not reached out to me. Those who sin out of ignorance often find mercy, whereas those who sin knowingly cannot find favour with God. *The wicked man when he is come into the depth of sins, contemneth: but ignominy and reproach follow him.*⁶

3. Piccolomini's conversion from conciliarism to papalism

[6] So let my detractors hear about my conversion and be converted, too.⁷ But since *a fool receiveth not the words of prudence*,⁸ I write to you, not to them. I regret but do not deny that I was a Basilean.⁹ But though I do not deny it, what I said and wrote horrifies me. I fear that I shall be punished for it.¹⁰ *May God have mercy upon me according to His great mercy.*¹¹ *May he not remember the sins of my youth and my ignorances.*¹² *May he forgive my sins since I set my mouth against Heaven*¹³ and spoke against Christ the Lord. I erred, and I acknowledge my error, giving thanks to God who did not allow me to err any more. Let no one consider me bound by my writings in such a way that I cannot change my views.¹⁴ It would not be good for men if one could not change one's opinion. Augustine wrote books of retractions.¹⁵ We are free until death: it is our final conviction that judges us. But hear now how I obtained God's mercy.

¹ Niccolò Tedeschi (1386-1445): Archbishop of Palermo 1435 to his death. Appointed cardinal by antipope Felix V in 1440. See DVI, ch. 4.

² Ludovico Pontano [Romano] (1409-1439): Celebrated Italian jurist. See DVI, ch. 6.

³ Helmrath: *Zweite*, p. 345.

⁴ University of Siena: founded in 1240.

⁵ The rump council in Basel suspended Pope Eugenius IV on 24 January 1438 and deposed him on 25 on 1439.

⁶ Proverbs, 18: 3.

⁷ Helmrath: *Zweite*, p. 344.

⁸ Proverbs, 18: 2-4

⁹ I.e., a conciliarist.

¹⁰ I.e., by God.

¹¹ Psalms, 50:3.

¹² Psalms, 24: 7.

¹³ Psalms, 72: 9.

¹⁴ Helmrath: *Zweite*, p. 344.

¹⁵ Augustinus: *Libri retractationum* (426-427).

[7] Sicuti Saulus in Damascum hostis ibat Christianorum, sic ego in¹ Francfordiam infensus Eugenio proficiscebar. Vocor ad Caesarem; recipio secretariatum; servio summa fide. Fuit coram eo libertas et Romanis et Basiliensibus, quae vellent, dicere. Socratis est sententia ex disputationibus in utramque partem factis veritatem facilius elucescere. Adhibui aures fierique studui magnorum, qui adventabant, virorum sapientia doctior. Jam fervor ille Basiliensis tepuerat. Jam unus eram ex neutralibus factus, incipio meditari, examinare, quae dicebantur, comparare invicem. Quantum distat ortus ab occasu, tantum me prius a veritate semotum fuisse² comperio. Multum mihi luminis attulerunt ambo Sancti Angeli cardinales: quorum superior, “Si me,” inquit, “errantem, dum eram Basileae, sequebaris, Aenea, cur nunc vera monentem spernis?” Posterior vero - ut³ est scientia juris exuberans, Panormitani Ludovicique dicta non⁴ salubria monumenta, {268r} sed horribilia fore⁵ deliramenta monstravit.

[8] Velles, ut opinor, manifestius intelligere, quid viderim, quid repererim, quave potissimum causa sum imitatus. Episcopatum objiciunt quidam et ambitione me motum, non ratione submurmurant. Ignoscat his⁶ Deus. Ego equidem annis tribus ante pontificatum mihi delatum conversus sum. Nec Eugenius, qui mihi veniam⁷ praebuit, sed ejus successor, Nicolaus, me promovit absentem. Cumque mutavi sententiam, cum Basiliensibus plura reliqui, nihil ex alia parte recepi. Sed duxi maximi, si possem ad ecclesiae gremium intromitti, et quia prae omnibus regnum Dei quaesiveram, plurima mihi adjecta sunt et commissus tandem episcopatus. *Jactavi spem meam in domino et ipse me enutrivit.* Sic⁸ faciet Deus omnibus, qui eum *quaesiverint, dum inveniri potest, et eum invocaverunt, dum prope est.* Jam prope est, inquam, jam invocandus est dominus sub Nicolao, pio sanctissimoque pontifice ac vero Jesu Christi vicario, quem juxta verbum promissumque Jeremiae pastorem dedit ecclesiae suae altissimus juxta cor suum, qui pascet nos scientia et doctrina.

[9] Sed et⁹ accipe nunc brevissime contra Basilienses et contra¹⁰ me ipsum, dum illic fui, quid habeam. Tria tantummodo referam, quae meos Basilienses interimunt meque cum eis interemissent, nisi velocius recessissem. Si quis plura desiderat, in templo domique me conveniat, nec informationem docili subtraham nec argumenta subterfugiam contentiosi, dum sit inter illum et me, qui judicet. Quae sunt igitur haec tria, quae me a Basiliensibus alienarunt?

¹ omit. M2, M3

² omit. V8

³ et V8

⁴ esse add. V8

⁵ omit. V8

⁶ iis V8

⁷ viam V8

⁸ et V8

⁹ omit. V8

¹⁰ omit. V8

[7] As Saul went to Damascus as an enemy of the Christians, thus I went to Frankfurt as an enemy of Eugenius. I was called to the emperor's service; I became a secretary; I served loyally. At the emperor's [court], the Romans and the Basileans¹ were free to say what they wanted. Socrates held that truth was more easily found after the matter had been disputed on both sides.² I lent my ears and endeavoured to learn from the wisdom of the great men who came to the emperor's court. My Basilean fervour had now grown tepid. Having become one of the neutrals,³ I began to consider the matter and examine and compare what was said by the two parties.⁴ I realised that I had been *as far* from the truth *as the East is from the West*.⁵ I was much enlightened by the two cardinals of Sant'Angelo.⁶ The first⁷ said to me, "If you followed me while I was erring in Basel, Enea, why do you spurn me now that I am admonishing you to follow the truth?" The second one⁸ - an eminent jurist - showed me that Parnormitano⁹ and Ludovico's¹⁰ statements were not wholesome declarations but horrible deliriums.

[8] You would like, I think, to know more clearly what I saw and found, and why I finally embraced the papal cause. Some murmur that I was not moved by reason, and they object that I was motivated by an ambition to become a bishop. God forgive them! I converted to the papal cause three years before I was appointed bishop,¹¹ and it was not Eugenius - the pope who forgave me - but Nicolaus who appointed me in my absence. When I changed my views, I left much with the Basileans without receiving anything from the other party. But it was of the utmost importance for me to be readmitted into the Church. Since I had, above all, sought the Kingdom of God, various charges were given to me, and, in the end, I was entrusted with the episcopacy. *I cast my hope upon the Lord and He sustained me*.¹² Thus God will do to all *who seek Him, while He may be found, and who call upon Him, while He is near*.¹³ The Lord is near now and should be invoked under Nicolaus, a pious and most holy pope and the true vicar of Jesus Christ, whom God on high gave as a shepherd to his Church - according to his word and promise to Jeremiah - to nourish us with his knowledge and learning.

4. Arguments against the rump council in Basel

[9] But hear now briefly what I have to [say] against the Basileans and myself, while I was with them. I shall just mention three things that destroy the position of my Basileans and mine, too, if I had not left them soon.¹⁴ If anyone wants [to hear] more [reasons], let him meet me in a church or at home, and I shall withhold no information from him or dodge any arguments of my opponent, as long as there is someone else to judge between him and me. So what are the three things that made me abandon the Basileans?

¹ I.e., the papalists and the conciliarists.

² The majeutic method.

³ On 17 March 1438, the German nation had declared its neutrality between Pope Eugenius IV in Rome and the rump council in Basel.

⁴ Helmrath: *Zweite*, p. 345.

⁵ Psalms, 102: 12.

⁶ Cardinals Giuliano Cesarini (-1444) and Cardinal Juan Carvajal (1446-).

⁷ Cardinal Cesarini.

⁸ Cardinal Carvajal.

⁹ Archbishop Niccolò de' Tedeschi.

¹⁰ Apostolic protonotary Ludovico Pontano.

¹¹ 19 April 1447.

¹² Psalms, 54: 23: *Jacta super dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet*.

¹³ Isaiah, 55: 60: *Quaerite Dominum dum inveniri potest; invocate eum dum prope est*.

¹⁴ The papalists generally left the council of Basel in 1437-1438. Piccolomini left in 1442, which would not have been "soon" (velocius).

[10] Inveni quippe adversus Eugenium inique processum, non esse concilium Basileae, diffidere Basilienses justitiae suae. Parvane tibi videntur haec? An ne¹ sufficientes fuerunt hae cause recendi² sententiamque mutandi³? “*Recedite,*” inquit Moises, “*a tabernaculis hominum impiorum et nolite tangere, quae ad eos pertinent, ne involvamini in peccatis eorum.*” Timui iudicium Dei. Nolui cum Dathan et Abiron in infernum vivus descendere. Utinam nec mortuus illuc eam. Pateat mihi ex divino munere caelestis aulae janua, quam procul dubio nullus ingreditur, qui beato Petro, aeterni regni clavigero, suisque successoribus et eorum derogat auctoritati, nisi ante finem vitae resipuerit condigneque satisfecerit.

[11] Amplectamur jam primum⁴, quod Basiliensibus objectamus. Inique, dixi, adversus Eugenium processere⁵, falso namque in eum⁶ crimina congressere Basilienses⁷. Postquam Romae fui, perscrutatus sum omnia diligenter. Non dico eum fuisse deum, non angelum, non expertem peccati: circumdatus est omnis pontifex iniquitate. “*Si dixerimus,*” inquit Johannes, “*quia peccatum non habemus, nosmetipsos decipimus, et veritas non est in nobis.*” Pleraque et fortassis multa commisit Eugenius, quae melius fuerat omisisse. Erravit saepe ut homo, sed corripuit eum dominus nec illi diem in apostolatu quietum dimisit. Depositione tamen nihil dignum commiserat, namque si totius scripturae sacrae paginam volvimus, si sanctorum doctorum scripta lustramus, si conciliorum canones intuemur, si decreta pontificum audimus, tres sunt tantummodo casus⁸, in quibus ajunt Romanum pontificem generalibus conciliis esse subjectum: si haeresim teneat⁹, si schisma nutriat, si universalem¹⁰ scandalizat ecclesiam, quamvis in hoc ultimo sunt, qui dicunt non iudicandum papam, sed prohibendum {268v} sibi que resistendum. Prisci censebant, nisi deviaret a fide sacerdotem summum nulli mundano iudicio subiacere. Constantiense concilium duos adjecit casus, sed¹¹ nihil est horum, quod Eugenio vera vox imputet.

¹ non V8

² recessus V8

³ sententiamque mutandi : an mandandum amplius fuit V8

⁴ Amplectamur jam primum : sed membrum jam primum amplectamur V8

⁵ Basilienses *add.* V8

⁶ plura *add.* V8

⁷ *omit.* V8

⁸ cause V8

⁹ sapiat V8

¹⁰ volens V8

¹¹ ceterum M3

[10] [Firstly,] I found they proceeded unjustly against Eugenius; [secondly,] there was no longer a council in Basel; [and thirdly,] the Basileans did not observe their own laws.¹ Do these reasons seem unimportant or were they not sufficient to leave and change my conviction? Moses said, “*Depart from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest you be involved in their sins.*”² I feared God’s judgment. I did not want to descend to Hell alive with Dathan and Abiron,³ and I hope to not go there when I die. May God’s gift open the gate of the celestial court to me that nobody enters who denies the authority of Saint Peter, Keybearer of the Eternal Kingdom, and his successors unless he repents before the end of his life and makes suitable amends.

4.1. The council proceeded unjustly against Pope Eugenius IV

[11] Let us now deal with our first objection against the Basileans. I said they proceeded unjustly against Eugenius, for the Basileans falsely accused him of many crimes. Later, when I was in Rome, I investigated all this carefully. I do not say that he was a god or an angel or free of sin: any pope is surrounded by iniquity. “*If we say that we have no sin,*” says John, “*we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.*”⁴ Eugenius did some, possibly many things that it would have been better not to do. As a human being he often erred, but the Lord corrected him and never gave him a peaceful day during his whole pontificate.⁵ But he did nothing that merited being deposed. If we leaf through the sacred scriptures, if we read the writings of the holy doctors, if we consider the canons of the councils, and if we hear the decrees of the popes, there are only three cases in which the Roman pontiff is subject to the general councils: if he holds heretical opinions, if he fosters a schism, and if he scandalises the Universal Church. (Concerning the last point, some, however, claim that in such cases the pope cannot be judged, but he should be censured and opposed.) In older times, it was thought that the supreme priest was only subject to the world’s judgment [in the first case, viz.] that he holds heretical opinions^{6,7} The Council of Konstanz, however, added the two other cases. But none of the three cases is, in truth, applicable to Eugenius.

¹ ”justitia”

² 4. Moses, 16: 26.

³ 4. Moses, 16.

⁴ 1. John 1: 8.

⁵ In his ambassadorial report to the emperor from his mission to Rome 1447, Piccolomini gave this description of Eugenius’ personality: [39] *You will hardly find another pope who experienced more good as well as bad things. He gathered a council and dissolved it. He waged many wars, winning some and losing some. He suffered a sentence of deposition in the name of a council, and then he himself deposed those who deposed him. He had an adversary and rival in the papacy. While he was pope, the new and*

unusual Neutrality began. He lost Germany and regained it. He brought the Greeks to union. He gave the law to the Jacobites who did not know the gospel. He sent a fleet against the Turks, and gave his legate Giuliano power to deal with the Hussites. He first made war against Emperor Sigismund, and then gave him the crown. He deprived archbishops and bishops of their office, and even cardinals and electors of the empire he did not leave untouched. He canonized Saint Nicolaus of Tolentino. He was taken captive in Rome, but fled and returned. He lost and regained the Marche. When Braccio da Montone was lying dead and excommunicated in the field,

he absolved him and let him have a Christian burial. He razed Palestina to the ground. He raised Giovanni Vitelleschi to high position and later had him arrested, to die in prison. He regained Bologna and afterwards lost it again. He fought the King of Aragon, and later confirmed him as ruler of the Kingdom [of Naples]. He was first a friend to Venice, but later came to be suspect to them. He had a noble soul and no great vice, except that he did not know measure and undertook not what he could, but what he wanted to (CRDM. 1: 1, 39).

⁶ ”deviates from the Faith”

⁷ I.e., was heretical.

[12] Haereticum illum propterea dixere Basilienses, quia sinistra de generalium conciliorum auctoritate sentiret. Falsum hoc esse¹ reperi. Fungebar namque apud Eugenium legatione regia, dum Constantiense concilium ac ejus decreta recepit. Adversus quae, si quid antea dixerat² aut scripserat, liquet eum minime contumacem, minusque³ juste fuisse depositum. Nec enim Johannem papam XXII. ecclesia judicavit, quamvis falsa de resurrectione mortuorum sentiret, quia non fuit pertinax. Nec Moyses, vir justus, Aaron fratrem suum morte dignum putavit, qui *conflatilem* poscenti populo *vitulum* praebuit, sed peccato⁴ falso summum sibi postea, mandante domino, sacerdotium contulit. Dicent tamen Basilienses, jam fuisse judicatum, cum facta sunt haec, Eugenium. Si judicaverunt ipsi, non judicavit concilium, quia translatum erat, nec quae scripta sunt ab eo, si rite pensantur, Constantiensibus sunt adversa decretis.

¹ *omit.* M3
² *dixerit* V8

³ *minus* V8
⁴ *peccatum* M2, M3

4.1.1. Eugenius was not a heretic

[12] The Basileans claimed he was heretical because he held unacceptable views concerning the authority of the general¹ councils. I have personally ascertained that this is false, for when I was on a mission for the king² to Eugenius,³ he formally accepted the Council of Konstanz and its decrees.⁴ If he had said or written anything against it before that time, he was evidently not contumacious,⁵ and consequently he was not deposed justly. The Church did not judge Pope John XXII,⁶ even though he held false opinions on the resurrection of the dead,⁷ for he did not stubbornly keep them.⁸ And the just man Moses did not think his brother Aaron had deserved death for giving a *molten calf* to the people that demanded it.⁹ Afterwards, he even, at the Lord's command, conferred the high priesthood on the sinner.¹⁰ The Basileans will claim, of course, that Eugenius had already been judged¹¹ when he formally accepted the Council of Konstanz.¹² However, it was the men remaining there, not the council, who made the judgment, for [in the meantime], the council had been transferred.¹³ At any rate, if you examine his writings carefully, you will find that they do not contradict the decrees of Konstanz.

¹ I.e., ecumenical.

² Friedrich III

³ January-March 1447.

⁴ In his report to the emperor on the embassy to Eugenius, Piccolomini wrote: ... *Concerning the profession [of faith], the major problem was that they [the cardinals] would absolutely not accept the authority of the councils as declared in Basel. But in this matter we were helped by the [legates] from Mainz who said that it would be enough to refer to the decrees of the Council of Konstanz. They were seconded by the ambassador of Brandenburg, and we were happy to agree. We obtained that minutes were made of all these [agreements] – and these minutes, too, were discussed at length. In the end, both the words and sentences we wished were accepted [CRDM, 1: 19]. The pope's acceptance was*

declared in a bull he gave to the Germans ambassadors on his deathbed: Then, in few words we declared obedience to His Holiness, and having received the letter from his hand we gave it to the [ambassadors] from Mainz [CRDM, 1: 24]. Piccolomini did not know right before his death, on the same day that he signed the bulls to the emperor, the pope had also signed a secret document quashing anything in his concessions to the German nation that might prove harmful to the faith or derogatory to the authority of the Roman Pontiff (Gill, p. 165).

⁵ I.e., since he did not persist in such views.

⁶ Johannes XXII [Jacques Duèze] (1244-1334): Pope in Avignon from 1316 to his death.

⁷ John XXII held that those who died in the faith did not see the presence of God (the beatific

vision) until the Last Judgment. This caused a theological controversy concerning the beatific vision. In January 1334, the Faculty of Theology of Sorbonne stated that after death the blessed souls were immediately raised to the beatific vision. Right before his death, the pope backed down from his position and agreed that those who die in grace enjoy the beatific vision immediately.

⁸ 3 December 1334.

⁹ Exodus, 32: 4.

¹⁰ Leviticus, 8; Exodus, 28-29. The "Afterwards" does not appear warranted by the biblical texts.

¹¹ Eugenius was suspended by the rump council in Basel in 1438 and deposed in 1439.

¹² 1447.

¹³ On 18 September 1437, Pope Eugenius transferred the Council of Basel to Ferrara, in the bull "Doctoris gentium".

[13] Nec rursus schisma nutrierat Eugenius, qui ad sublationem schismatis Constantiae obnixe navavit¹ operam, qui Martino indubitato pontifici successit, qui sine competitore electus est, qui dissolutionem, quam de concilio prius fecerat, propter pacem ecclesiae revocavit. Adhaesit synodo, praesidentes transmisit, nec amplius vineae suae facere potuit, quam fecit. *Profectus in occursum Heliae rex Achab, cum vidisset eum, ait: "Tune es ille, qui conturbas Israel?"* Et² ille ait: *"Non ego turbavi Israel, sed tu et domus patris tui, qui dereliquistis mandata domini et secuti estis³ Baalim."* Sic dici Basiliensibus potest. Ipsi namque Basilienses initium schismati praebuerunt, iniquis sententiis Eugenium condemnantes⁴ ac novum idolum⁵ erigentes, quod me coluisse umquam et poenitet et pudet maxime. Scio namque, quod⁶ in leges divinas⁷ impie agere impune non cedit. Sed juvabit me divina miseratio, quia inscius deliqui et retraxi pedem cognita veritate.

[14] Subjiciunt denique Basilienses et casum tertium, ut uno deficiente juventur alio. Scandalizasse universalem ecclesiam astruunt Eugenium atque hoc ideo probari credunt, quia vacantium beneficiorum annatas exegit, et quia concilium, ut ipsi asserunt, invitum transtulit. Quis tam hebetis est ingenii, quis tam obtusi intellectus, quis tam caeci iudicii, ut propter annatas conturbari universam arbitretur ecclesiam? Nempe, quamvis nonnulli avaritiae cultores, emancipati atque exhaeredati filii a subditis potius exigere, quam superiori solvere annatas velint, non tamen tota ecclesia negat illas, cum plurimae nationes usque in praesentem diem non invite annatas solvant⁸, quas Romano pontifici non minus debitas recognoscunt, quam *decimarum decimas* juxta veterem legem maximo sacerdoti. Offerebat quoque pius pater Eugenius et annatas se dimissurum, si Romanae ecclesiae per alium modum provideretur, quam spoliari⁹ emolumentis¹⁰ omnibus nec sibi tolerandum¹¹ videbatur, nec erat consentaneum rationi, sicut ipsi postmodum ostenderunt Basilienses¹², qui suo electo¹³ quintum denarium beneficiorum omnium deputarunt¹⁴, quandocumque vacarent et quacumque auctoritate conferrentur: quod nationibus atque ecclesiis multo gravius erat, quam annatarum exactio.

¹ obnixe navavit : donavit V8

² omit. M2, M3

³ et secuti estis : estis consecuti M2

⁴ condemnarunt V8

⁵ et dolum M3

⁶ quoniam M3

⁷ dominicas WO

⁸ solvent M3

⁹ spoliare V8

¹⁰ emolumentum V8

¹¹ sibi tolerandum : tolerandum sibi V8

¹² omit. M3

¹³ concilio WO

¹⁴ deputaverunt M3

4.1.2. Eugenius was not a schismatic

[13] And Eugenius did not foster a schism. In Konstanz, he had actively worked to end the schism;¹ he succeeded Martin,² an undoubted pope and was elected without any rival.³ It is true that he dissolved the Council [of Basel] shortly after its beginning,⁴ but afterwards he revoked the dissolution for the sake of peace in the Church.⁵ He adhered to the synod,⁶ he sent presidents,⁷ and could *not do more for his vineyard than he did*.⁸ *And Achab came to meet Elias. And when he had seen him, he said: Art thou he that troublest Israel? And he said: I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, who have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and have followed Baalim*.⁹ The same can be said to the Basileans, for they were the ones who began the schism when they condemned Eugenius with nefarious decrees and erected a new idol.¹⁰ I am exceedingly pained and ashamed that I worshipped it,¹¹ for I know that you cannot act impiously towards the divine laws without getting punished. But merciful God will help me, for I sinned unknowingly and withdrew when I came to know the truth.

4.1.3. Eugenius did non scandalise the Universal Church

4.1.3.1. Eugenius justifiably continued to exact the papal annates

[14] The Basileans advance a third and final argument so that, failing one, they help themselves with another. They claim that Eugenius had scandalised the Universal Church, and they believe this is proven by Eugenius demanding annates¹² for vacant benefices and by his transferring the council against its will. Who is so stupid, obtuse and blind that he believes the Universal Church is upset because of the annates? Some greedy men,¹³ abandoned and disinherited sons, would rather demand money from their subjects than pay annates to their superiors.¹⁴ However, the whole Church does not refuse to pay them, for until now, many nations freely pay the annates, acknowledging them as due to the Roman Pontiff just like, according to the Old Law, the *tenth part of the tenth* should be given to the high priest.¹⁵ And like a pious father, Eugenius actually offered to give up the annates if only the Roman Church were provided for in another way. For being deprived of all emoluments was unacceptable and unreasonable, as was shown later when the Basileans themselves imposed a fifth of all benefices on persons elected, whenever the benefices became vacant and with whatever authority they were conferred. This was a much greater burden on the nations and churches than the exaction of annates.

¹ The Great Western Schism, 1378-1417, ending with three popes, all deposed or forced to retire by the Council of Konstanz (1414-1417).

² Martinus V [Oddo Colonna] (1369-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death. Restored the papacy after the end of the Great Western Schism

³ 3 March 1431.

⁴ In the bull "*Quoniam alto*" of 12 November / 18 December 1432 (Stieber, pp. 12-13).

⁵ In the bull "*Dudum sacrum*" of 15 December 1433 (Stieber, p. 21).

⁶ I.e., the council.

⁷ See Stieber, pp. 20-21.

⁸ Isaiah, 5: 4-6.

⁹ 3. Kings, 18: 16-18.

¹⁰ By electing an antipope, Felix V, on 5 November 1439. Piccolomini attended the conclave and the coronation, see letters 30-33.

¹¹ Piccolomini was Felix' secretary until November 1442.

¹² The first year's revenue of a see, abbey or benefice paid to the pope.

¹³ At the Council of Basel.

¹⁴ On 29 June 1435, in its 21st session, the Council of Basel suppressed the incomes of the Apostolic See, including the annates.

¹⁵ Genesis, 14: 20; Numbers, 18: 26-32 (tenths to the Levites, not just the high priest).

[15] Quia vero fundamentum hoc debile rati¹ sunt Basilienses, rursus ex alio capite turbatam ecclesiam contendunt. Turbavit concilium, inquiunt, dum transtulit invitum. Idcirco {269r} et universalem turbavit ecclesiam, quam concilium repraesentat. Vera illatio est, si² fatemur concilium invitum esse translatum aut Eugenium conatum esse transferre. At cum falsa sunt ista, constat et falsam reperiri conclusionem. Intellige³, quomodo acta⁴ res est, et judica⁵. Scio te bonum aestimatorem, bonum arbitrum⁶, quia nec consideras personam pauperis nec honoras vultum potentis⁷. Agebatur in Basilea⁸ de Graecorum reductione jamque decretum erat unanimi consensu in alium locum propter Graecos oportere transferri concilium. Nominatae quoque provinciae fuerant, ad quas ex percusso cum Graecis foedere translationem fieri licebat. Orta est demum super loco⁹ contentio: quidam Italiam, quidam Galliam proponebant, sed constabat Graecos extra Italiam non esse venturos, quamvis prius¹⁰ Sabaudiam acceptassent.

[16] Postquam res in deliberationem venit, legati apostolici et qui Dei timore erant imbuti locum in Italia nominarunt, Florentiam¹¹ aut aliam Italiae urbem, quae necessaria ad Graecorum reductionem praeberet, unde¹² Ferraria¹³ post obtinuit. Arelatensis et quae cum eo plebs erat Sabaudiam, quae necessaria minime dabat, et Avinionem, quae non erat in decreto comprehensa, insulsis ac¹⁴ fatuis consiliis elegerunt, et congratulor ego mihi, quoniam huic dementiae non consensi, quamvis tanta nonnullos¹⁵ caecitas oppresserit, ut Avinionem maritimam urbem et propterea comprehensam in decreto non erubuerint affirmare. Plures hujusce sententiae Basileae fuerunt, sed majores et meliores cum legatis sensere. Male res geritur, cum sententiae numerantur, non ponderantur. Si dignitates numeramus, major cum legatis pars fuit; si famulos atque copistas computamus, secuti sunt plures Arelatensem. Atque hoc modo pars major meliorem vicit. Pars tamen utraque juri inhaesit suo, duoque¹⁶ una die, uno¹⁷ in templo, uno in concilio, et¹⁸ quidem contraria publicata decreta fuerunt. Rebus cognitis, placuit Eugenio sanioris partis amplecti decretum Basiliensemque synodum in Ferrariam transtulit.

¹ exactio *add.* V8

² sed M3

³ intelligit M2; intelligo V8

⁴ est *add.* V8

⁵ judica? V8; judicata WO

⁶ bonum judicem *add.* V8

⁷ potentum V8

⁸ concilio V8

⁹ *omit.* M3

¹⁰ *omit.* M3

¹¹ Florentie V8

¹² Florentiae aut unde *omit.* M2,

M3

¹³ Ferrariam M2, M3

¹⁴ et V8

¹⁵ certos *add.* V8

¹⁶ alioque V8

¹⁷ *omit.* V8

¹⁸ *omit.* M2, M3

4.1.3.2. *The council itself decided its transfer to another city*

[15] However, since the Basileans themselves found this argument weak, they invented another, reason for claiming that Eugenius had disturbed the Church. He disturbed the council, they say, when he transferred it against its will, and thus he disturbed the Universal Church represented by the council. This accusation is true if we admit that the council was transferred against its will or that Eugenius personally endeavoured to transfer it. But since both these [premises] are false, it follows that the conclusion is false, too. Hear what happened and judge for yourself, for I know you¹ are a good judge of things and a good arbiter since you do not consider the poor man's person or revere the face of the mighty. In Basel, they were treating the matter of reunion with the Greeks, and it had already been unanimously decreed to transfer the council to another place acceptable to the Greeks. They had also nominated the areas where the council could be transferred, pursuant to the previous agreement with the Greeks. But then a conflict arose concerning the place: some proposed Italy, others France. However, it was clear that the Greeks would not come to any place outside Italy, though they had previously accepted Savoy.

4.1.3.3. *The saner part of the council fathers nominated an Italian city*

[16] When the matter was put up for discussion, the apostolic legates and those [council fathers] who feared God nominated a place in Italy: Florence or another Italian city that offered what was necessary for the reunion with the Greeks. Later, Ferrara prevailed.² The Cardinal of Arles³ and the people with him stupidly and foolishly chose Savoy that did not offer what was necessary, and Avignon that was not included in the [original] decree.⁴ I am glad I never agreed to this madness.⁵ Indeed, some became so mentally blind that they preposterously claimed Avignon was a maritime city and therefore comprised by the decree. Many in Basel agreed with them, whereas the higher-ranking and better fathers agreed with the legates. It is bad when opinions are counted and not weighed. But if we count the number of high-ranking council fathers, the majority were on the legates' side. On the other hand, if we count the servants and the copyists,⁶ the majority followed the Cardinal of Arles: that is how the larger party defeated the better one. But each party clung to its rights, so on the same day, in the same temple,⁷ and in the same council, two mutually incompatible decrees were published.⁸ When he was informed, Eugenius decided to accept the decision of the saner part and transferred the Basilean synod to Ferrara.

¹ Jordan Mallant, the addressee of the letter.

² The Council of Ferrara-Firenze achieved the much-desired reunion with the Greeks though it was short-lived.

³ Louis Aleman.

⁴ The decree "*Sicut pia mater*" of 9 September 1434.

⁵ In the council's General Congregation on 7 December 1436, Piccolomini voted for Pavia, Parma,

Udine (with conditions) and Savoy (!) (*Concilium Basiliense: Protokolle*, p. 357). Voigt's claim that Piccolomini voted with the majority appears unwarranted (VO, 1: 8, p. 146).

⁶ Many members of the conciliarist prelates' households had been incorporated into the council and had voting rights on par with the prelates.

⁷ The cathedral in Basel.

⁸ See letter 24: 30-37. For Piccolomini's own, earlier, conciliarist treatment of these same questions, see his letters from the period in Basel (letters 8-33) and his later letters 46 and 91. See also the introduction to Piccolomini's oration "*Audivi*" of 16 November 1436, in which he defended Pavia as the city for the reunion council (COR, 2: 1)

[17] Quis nunc invitum concilium ab Eugenio translatum esse contendat, cum pars sanior concilii hoc vellet; cum caput ipse concilii esset, qui transtulit; cum ecclesia per orbem dispersa, cujus vices concilium gerebat, Eugenio majori ex parte faverit; cum justis de causis concilium transtulerit Eugenius¹ atque ex illis, propter quas ipsum concilium sese decreverat transferendum; ac cum tota fere ecclesia laetata sit solemneque² festum fecerit ex fructu reductionis Grecorum, qui hac ex translatione resultavit? Istis ex rebus constat Eugenium non invitum sed voluntarium, cupidum et ultroneum transtulisse concilium, nec universalem quovis pacto ecclesiam perturbasse, quae sibi majori ex parte semper³ adhaesit damnavitque Basilienses. Quamvis enim Basilienses decretum fecerint adjecerintque poenas, si Romanus pontifex transferre⁴ concilium absque ipsius consensu temptaret, non tamen loci nominatio prohibita est sub poenis⁵ invito concilio per papam fieri. Ex quo fit, ut impune potuerit Eugenius locum nominare, ad quem transferretur concilium non expectato consensu, cum jam translationis⁶ consensus inesset. Sed diximus etiam in loci nominatione non defuisse consensum atque idcirco nullatenus scandalizatam ecclesiam.

[18] Transeo, quod Eugenium dilapidatorem bonorum ecclesiae suae dixerint, cum ipsi datis litteris agrum Picenum Francisco Sfortiae Vicecomiti et Nicolao de Fortebraccis patrimonium beati Petri consumendum, vastandum diripiendumque commiserint. Taceo, quod eum violatorem suorum decretorum⁷ accusaverint⁸, cum ipsi unum ex illis minime custodierint. Praetereo simoniam, quam impingebant illi, cum venalia sim expertus apud eos omnia fore.

¹ *omit.* M2, M3

² solemne V8

³ ex parte semper : semper ex parte V8

⁴ transferret M3

⁵ sub poenis *omit.* V8

⁶ translationi M3

⁷ suorum decretorum : decretorum suorum V8

⁸ accusaverunt M3

[17] Who will now claim that the council was transferred by Eugenius against its will, when this is what the saner part of the council wanted; when he who transferred it was its own head; when the Church dispersed in all the world, whom the council represented, largely favoured Eugenius; when the council was transferred by Eugenius for just reasons, indeed the very ones that made the council itself decree its transfer; and when almost the whole Church rejoiced in and solemnly celebrated the reunion with the Greeks resulting from this transfer? For these reasons, it is clear that the council transferred by Eugenius was not unwilling but willing, eager and ready. Therefore, he did not disturb the Universal Church which mostly adhered to him and condemned the Basileans. The Basileans may have decreed - adding penalties - that the Roman Pontiff could not transfer the council without its consent, but the pope was not forbidden under threat of penalties to select a place against the will of the council. Therefore, it is clear that Eugenius could nominate the place to which the council should be transferred without awaiting its consent since that had already been obtained. But, as we have said, even concerning the selection of the place, there was actually consensus,¹ and therefore he did not scandalise the Church.

4.1.3.4. *Other accusations against the pope are invalid*

[18] I pass over the Basileans' claim that Eugenius squandered the possessions of his church² since they themselves issued letters to Francesco Sforza Visconti³ and Niccolò dei Fortebracci⁴ authorising them to destroy, waste and pillage Saint Peter's Patrimony.⁵ I shall not mention how they accused him of disobeying their decrees when they themselves flagrantly ignored one of them. I pass over the simony they accused him of since I personally saw that all was for sale there.⁶

¹ In the sense that Eugenius consented to the proposal of the saner part of the council fathers.

² I.e., the Roman Church.

³ Francesco I Sforza. In his DVI, Piccolomini wrote, *Later, Francesco was sent to the Marche, against Eugenius, to take this province in the name of the Council, but he claimed it for himself since he was rather dissatisfied when he left the duke* (sect. 44).

⁴ Niccolò Fortebraccio [Niccolò della Stella] (1389-1435): Italian condottiere. Nephew of Braccio da Montone. In 1432, he invaded the Papal States together with troops of the Duke of Milan, commanded by Niccolò Piccinino. See DVI, sect. 40.

⁵ As part of his fight against the pope, the Duke of Milan sided with the Council of Basel and

claimed to take parts of the Church State in the name of the council, as he had been authorised to in a letter from the council of 21 August 1432. And in his DRBG (1450) Piccolomini wrote, "... cum Philippus dux Mediolani Franciscum Sfortiam Vicecomitem adversus Eugenium misisset et paulo post Nicolaum Piceninum cum exercitu - litteras namque conciliares ad id receperat - et patrimonium ecclesiae sibi vendicantes absque adversario undequaque discurrere" (WO, 2: 1, 44, p. 186).

⁶ Already in 1438, in an oration to the council on improving procedures for selecting bishops (the "*Si ea quae justa*"), Piccolomini had been concerned about corruption (COR, 2: 4, 11 and 17). In his DVI, he directly accused one of

the pillars of the council, Archbishop Tedeschi of Palermo, of such: *While there, he amassed a considerable fortune from his patronage - or better - his recommendations. He defended several unjust causes. Thus, having been bribed with a significant sum, he nominated Isidoro de Rosate as Bishop of Bergamo, a person without learning and, what is worse, a dishonourable man of many vices. As a commissioner of the council he also made Marco, a Milanese - completely unqualified though he was a doctor - bishop of Alessandria* (DVI, sect. 6).

[19] Satis est mihi, {269v} quoniam Eugenium ex his, quae sibi objiciebantur, nec haereticum nec schismaticum nec scandalizatorem ecclesiae demonstravi, ac consequenter iniquos fuisse, qui infulminati sunt adversus eum processus, primumque istud est, quod apud me Basiliensium causae detrahit atque illorum fundamenta deturbat.

[20] Secundum est, quoniam apud eos non esse concilium didici. Ostendi jam¹ supra, quia non est apud eos concilium, nam et translatum ex justis honestisque causis demonstravi. Si non est concilium generale neque universalem repraesentat ecclesiam; rursus quoque, si non repraesentant ecclesiam, non est concilium. Non repraesentant ecclesiam² Basilienses, ergo neque concilium faciunt. Illationem nemo negaverit: priora probanda sunt neque hoc refugimus. Ecclesia universalis est multitudo fidelium per orbem dispersa: haec suis ex membris constat. Hujus caput est Romanus pontifex, successor beati Petri, cui dictum est: *“Tu vocaberis Cephas, tibi dabo claves regni caelorum,”* *“Pasce oves meas,”* *“Duc in altum rete,”* *“Rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua”*, et cetera istius modi, ex quibus principatus ejus ostenditur. Membra potiora sunt cardinales, patriarchae, archiepiscopi, episcopi ceterique praelati et principes. Nec dubium est, quin majoris sit auctoritatis³ universalis ecclesia quam concilium, quia pluris est esse dominum quam vicarium. Ecclesia committit vices concilio, concilium gerit.

[21] Aspice nunc ecclesiam universam et vide, quam multi ex orbe toto cum Basiliensibus sentiant. Nec papa nec praelati nec principes nec populi quippiam auscultant⁴ eis, nisi forte Sabaudienses et quidam domo exules privatique plebibus. Hoc mihi plenissime constat, namque cum jussu regio per universam Christianitatem scripsissem atque ad restinguendum schismatis incendium praelatos ac⁵ principes invitassem, responderunt omnes unum se habere pontificem Eugenium, ex cujus oboedientia nec recessissent umquam nec recedere cogitarent. Cernis jam, quia non repraesentant ecclesiam Basilienses repraesentari nolentem⁶ ac gestis eorum contradicentem, ex quo fit, ut neque concilium faciant, quia non est concilium, quod non repraesentat ecclesiam.

¹ omit. V8

² non est concilium. Non repraesentant ecclesiam omit. V8

³ dignitatis V8

⁴ auscultavit WO

⁵ et V8

⁶ volentem V8

4.1.3.5. Conclusion

[19] It is enough for me to have cleared Eugenius of their accusations: he was not heretical, he was not schismatical, and he did not scandalise the Church. Consequently, they were in the wrong when they fulminated and instituted processes against him. This is the first reason that I believe weakens the Basilean case and destroys the basis of their arguments.

4.2. There is no longer a council in Basel

[20] The second reason is that I came to realise there was no longer a council there. I have already shown that the council is not there now since it has been transferred for just and honest reasons. If it is not a general council, it does not represent the Universal Church, and if it does not represent the Church, it is not a council. But the Basileans do not represent the Church. Ergo, they do not have a council.¹ Nobody could deny the conclusion, but the premises should be proven and that we shall do: Universal Church is the multitude of the faithful dispersed throughout the whole world. It consists of its members. Its head is the Roman Pontiff, to whom it was said: “*Thou shalt be called Cephas,*”² “*and I will give to thee the keys to the kingdom of Heaven,*”³ “*Feed my sheep,*”⁴ “***Take the net into the deep,***⁵ “*I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not,*”⁶ and other [statements] of the same kind proving that the pope holds the principate in the Church. Its most important members are the cardinals, the patriarchs, the archbishops, the bishops and the other prelates and the princes. There is no doubt that the Universal Church has greater authority than the council, for a lord counts for more than his vicar. The Church charges the council with acting on its behalf, and then the council acts.

[21] Now, look at the Universal Church and see how few in the whole world agree with the Basileans. Neither the pope nor the prelates nor the princes nor the peoples heed them, except possibly the Savoyards⁷ and some exiled [rulers], deprived of people. This is abundantly clear to me, for when at the king’s command I had sent letters to all of Christianity and invited the prelates and princes to extinguish the fire of schism,⁸ they all answered that they had only one pope, Eugenius, whose obedience they had not abandoned and would never even think of abandoning. You see now that the Basileans do not represent the Church since it does not want to be represented by them and even opposes their acts. Therefore they cannot be having a council, for if it does not represent the Church, it is not a council.

¹ Here, Piccolomini’s argument takes the form of a syllogism.

² John, 1: 42.

³ Matthew, 16: 19.

⁴ John, 21: 17.

⁵ Luke, 5: 4: *Launch out into the deep and let down your nets for a draught (duc in altum et laxate retia vestra in capturam).*

⁶ Luke 22: 32.

⁷ The antipope, Felix V, was previously the duke of Savoy and his son, Louis I, was its present duke.

⁸ In the summer of 1443.

[22] Instant iterum Basilienses fuisseque¹ aliquando in Basilea concilium asserunt, cum papa ceterique praelati ac principes oratores illic haberent ac concilium recognoscerent. Nec ego inficias eo, sed non quadrat mihi: “Fuit concilium, ergo est”. Quomodo enim concilium est, quando, qui concilium faciunt, abscesserunt? Regula est notissimusque canon nullam synodum ratam esse, quam sacrosanctae Romanae sedis non probaverit auctoritas. Insaniunt rursus mei Basilienses dicuntque non potuisse, qui semel accesserunt, invito concilio se subtrahere, tamquam ligetur dominus, quaecumque velit procurator, his assentiri, nec vicarium possit dominus revocare, superiorique legem praescribat inferior. Vanum est, ridiculum², stultum³ dicere plus concilium posse repraesentans quam representatam ecclesiam. Attende insuper oro parumper. Eugenius profecto, cum adhaesit concilio, non sic adhaesit, ut extra concilium remaneret, sed ut caput esset parsque potissima, cui *commissa erat*, ut inquit Bernardus, *grandissima navis, facta ex omnibus, ipsa universalis ecclesia, toto orbe diffusa*. Nec amplexus concilium suum privilegium suamque dignitatem amittebat, qui juxta Bernardum praedictum, *magnus sacerdos erat, summus pontifex, princeps episcoporum, haeres apostolorum, primatu Abel, gubernatu Noe, patriarchatu Abraham, ordine Melchisedech, dignitate Aaron, auctoritate Moises, iudicatu Samuel, potestate Petrus, unctione Christus*.

[23] Quinimmo et ipsum concilium {270r} in suis decretis inquit: “*Si dissolutionem revocaverit Eugenius concilioque adhaeserit, in caput nostrum ipsum recipiemus pedesque suos tamquam beati Petri deosculabimur.*” Nec insuper cardinales ceterique praelati sic concilio sunt incorporati, ut non⁴ essent membra concilii. Sed papa potissime atque isti concilium faciebant, quibus sese retrahentibus et alibi concilium celebrantibus, notissimum est Basileae non remansisse concilium, quia sicut carnis portiunculam ex utero feminae progredientem sine capite membrisque potioribus non dicimus hominem sed monstrum, sic conciliabulum et ecclesiam Sathanae, non concilium, ubi nec papa consentit nec membra ecclesiae potiora⁵. Non est igitur concilium Basileae, quia non repraesentat, ut dixi, ecclesiam repraesentari nolentem.

¹ fuisse V8

² est *add.* V8

³ est *add.* V8

⁴ *omit.* M3

⁵ ecclesiae potiora : potiora ecclesie V8

[22] But the Basileans persist and claim that at one time there was a council in Basel when both the pope, the prelates and the princes had their orators there and recognised the council. I do not deny it, but I cannot accept that “It was a council once, and therefore it is a council still.” For how can it be a council when those who formed it have left?¹ It is a rule and a well-known canon that only such synods are legitimate which are recognised by the authority of the Roman See.² However, my Basileans persist in their folly, claiming that those who had assembled once could not leave the council without permission, as if a lord was bound by whatever his procurator did and could not sack his own vicar, and a subject could dictate the law to his superior. It is vain, ridiculous and foolish to claim that the council representing the Church has greater power than the Church that is being represented. Please bear with me a little longer: When Eugenius adhered to the council, he did not adhere to it as if he were outside the council. No, he adhered to it as its head and most important member, to whom – according to Bernhard – was *entrusted the greatest ship*³, formed by all, *the Universal Church which is spread throughout the whole world*.⁴ When he accepted the council, he did not lose privilege and authority, for – again according to Bernhard – he was *the high priest, the Supreme Pontiff, the prince of the bishops, the heir of apostles, like Abel in primacy, like Noah in governing, like Abraham in patriarchate, like Melchisedech in orders, like Aaron in dignity, like Moses in authority, like Samuel in judgment, like Peter in power, and like Christ by anointing*.⁵

[23] And actually, the council itself, in one of its decrees, said that “*If Eugenius revokes the dissolution and adheres to the council, we shall accept him as our head and kiss his feet as those of Saint Peter.*” Moreover, the cardinals and the other prelates were not incorporated into the council in such a way that they were not members of it. On the contrary, the pope and the cardinals and prelates formed the council, and when they withdrew and held a council elsewhere, it is quite clear that there was no council left in Basel. When a piece of flesh comes out of a woman’s womb without a head and the important members, we do not call it a human but a monster. In the same way, if the pope and the most important members do not accept such an assembly, we do not call it a council but Satan’s assembly and synagogue. In conclusion: the assembly in Basel is not a council, for – as I have said – it does not represent a church that does not want to be represented by it.

¹ Mostly in 1437 and 1438.

² *Decretum Gratiani*, C.1: *Absque Romani Pontificis auctoritate congregari sinodus non debet. Sinodum episcoporum absque huius*

sanctae sedis auctoritate (quamquam quosdam episcopos possitis congregare) non potestis regulariter facere.

³ Of all the ships = churches.

⁴ Bernard de Clairvaux: *De consideratione*. 2: 8, 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*

[24] Tertium nunc superest atque ultimum, quod justissime Basiliensibus objectavimus, quia justitiae suae diffidunt. “Pro justitia,” dicunt Basilienses, “certamen habemus, pro auctoritate conciliorum, pro tutela ecclesiae, pro salute communi, pro fide catholica bellum gerimus. *Zelo zelati sumus*, sicut Helias olim, *pro domino Deo exercituum, quia dereliquerunt pactum tuum filii Israel, altaria tua destruxerunt et prophetas tuos occiderunt gladio, et derelicti sumus nos soli*. Sicut Eusebius atque Hilarius Arianæ perfidiae cum paucis objurarunt, sic nos toto profugi mundo intra muros Basilienses sinceritatem fidei defensamus.” Sed caveant ipsi, ne cum sequacibus Choræ portionem accipiant. Idem Hussitæ dicunt, ita pauperes de Lugduno, idem, qui Bosniam infestant, nefandissimi Monacelli, quos veluti membra putrida ex corpore Christi mystico sacrosancta resecauit ecclesia. Mira res, si solos angit Basilienses religionis catholice cura, qui nullibi salvam putant nisi Basileæ suam fidem.

4.3. The Basileans do not believe in their own cause

[24] We now turn to our third, last and completely just objection against the Basileans: they do not believe in the justice of their own cause. They say, “We are fighting for justice, for the authority of the councils, for the safety of the Church, for the common salvation and for the Catholic Faith. As Elias once said, “*With zeal have we been zealous for the Lord God of hosts: for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant: they have thrown down thy altars, they have slain thy prophets with the sword, and we alone are left.*”¹ Eusebius² and Hilarius³ with only a few others fought against the Arian perfidy,⁴ and in the same way we, as fugitives from the whole world, defend the pure Faith from inside the walls of Basel.” But let them beware lest they share the lot of the followers of Core.⁵ Indeed, the Hussites⁶ say the same, and so did the Poor Men from Lyon⁷ and the abominable *monacelli* infecting Bosnia,⁸ whom the Church cut away from the mystical body of Christ as putrid members. The Basileans believe the Faith is only safe in Basel, but it would be amazing if they were the only ones to care for the Catholic religion.

¹ 3. Kings, 19: 10: *zelo zelatus sum ... derelictus sum ego solus.*

² Eusebius (ca. 260-339): Bishop of Caesarea.

³ Hilarius (ca. 310 - ca. 367). Bishop of Poitiers.

⁴ Arianism: a Christological doctrine first formulated by Arius (ca. 256-336), a presbyter from Alex-

andria. It holds that the Son is subordinated to the Father. Condemned by the First Council of Nicaea in 325.

⁵ [Korah] Numbers, 16: 4.

⁶ Hussites: Bohemian sect.

⁷ Poor Men from Lyon = Waldensians. Sect that arose in the late 12th century and was condemned

in 1215, not for its views on poverty, but because it did not recognise the authority of local bishops.

⁸ “monacelli”: The heretical Bogomils?

[25] Majores nostri ante reges et praesides gentium, quam nobis tradiderunt fidem, forti vultu¹ fortioribus animis defenderunt. Basilienses, quod inquit esse fidei, coram Christianis principibus non audent profiteri: fugerunt Italiam neque illic² ad tuendam, quam vocant, justitiam, sunt ausi proficisci. Precatos memini omnium principum oratores, ad parandam ecclesiam ut ex Basilea peterent Argentinam ibique concilium celebrarent Basilienses. Sed non tantum alarum illorum veritas habuit, ut tot terrarum spatia devolaret, et tamen unius diei navigatione³ illuc poterat proficisci⁴. Sed ut olim Delphis Apollinem loqui fingeant, sic Basileae tantummodo istorum veritas fatur. Ac si Argentinæ fuisset propinquior, erat⁵ Spirae, ubi Basiliensium poterat facilius spirare spiritus. Quid plura? Rogitavit et Caesarea majestas, Constantiam ut se transferrent Basilienses suamque ibi justitiam tuerentur, nam et pontificem Eugenium ad ipsum hortari volebat, plusquam Basiliensibus, quos omnes reliquerant⁶, quam Eugenio, quem sequebantur universi, et favoris et humanitatis impendit⁷. Cum isti multorum dierum est montanum iter, illis tridui expeditam viam non aequus iudex imponeret. Sed renuere Basilienses, et qui se jactant rationem omnibus⁸ reddituros ejus, quam habent, fidei, numquam adduci potuerunt, ut extra moenia vallumque Basiliensis urbis examen⁹ acciperent et monstrant aperte¹⁰, quia judicare volunt, non judicari. Ob quam rem cogor invitus cum Isaia dicere: *“Vae, qui sapientes estis in oculis vestris et coram vobismetipsis prudentes.”* Vae vobis, {270v} Basilienses, qui totum creditis orbem caecum et vos¹¹ dumtaxat lumen habere. Talpae sunt captique oculis ceteri, vos lince et aquilas superatis intuitu. Utinam saperent Basilienses et novissima cogitarent. Doleo super eis, quoniam indurati sunt et nolunt intelligere, ut agant bonum. Credo etiam plerosque mentis impurae non esse, quamvis lumine cassi veritatem impugnent¹², quorum miserebitur aliquando dominus et ad caulas Nicolai sanctissimi domini nostri reducet, qui eos extensis brachiis ut pius pater bonusque pastor expectat ac ipsos ut oves perditas totis¹³ requirit in vallibus et artibus omnibus nititur vendicare, ne fiant¹⁴ luporum praeda cibusque daemonum.

¹ forti vultu : multo WO

² illuc V8

³ nauigatio M2; nauigio M3

⁴ erat eundum V8

⁵ erant V8

⁶ reliquerat V8

⁷ impenderet V8

⁸ praesentibus V8

⁹ ex ea viam V8

¹⁰ monstrat aperte : morantur ex parte V8

¹¹ et vos : nos M2

¹² impugnant M3

¹³ omit. V8

¹⁴ sint V8

[25] With firm demeanours and even firmer souls, our forefathers defended before the kings and rulers of peoples the Faith they passed on to us. The Basileans do not dare to proclaim what they call Faith before the Christian princes: they fled Italy and never dared to go there to defend what they call the justice [of their cause]. I recall that, for the sake of the Church, all the princes' ambassadors asked the Basileans to go from Basel to Strasbourg to hold the council there. But the wings of their truth were not strong enough to fly such a distance though it would only take one day to sail there. In the olden days, they pretended that Apollo spoke in Delphi,¹ and in the same way, the Basileans' truth only speaks in Basel. But though Strassbourg was closer, there was also Speyer (Spira), where the Basilians' spirit (spiritus) could have breathed (spirare) more easily. What more? His Imperial Majesty asked the Basileans to transfer [their assembly] to Konstanz and defend the justice of their cause there, and he invited Pope Eugenius to do the same.² Thus, he showed greater favour and kindness to the Basileans, abandoned by all, than to Eugenius, followed by all, for - like a judge partial [to the Basileans] - he imposed a travel of many days and over mountains on Eugenius, while the Basileans would only have an easy journey of three days.³ Still, the Basileans refused the invitation: they boast that they will make an account of themselves to all, but, in fact, they could never be brought to defend what Faith they have. They never accepted a hearing outside the walls and moats of Basel,⁴ which clearly shows that they want to judge, not to be judged. Therefore I must, though unwillingly, say with Isaiah, "*Woe to you that are wise in your own eyes, and prudent in your own conceits.*"⁵ Woe to you, Basileans, who believe the whole world is blind and that you are the only ones to have the light: all others are like moles without sight, whereas your sight surpasses that of lynxes and eagles. I wish the Basileans would come to their senses and consider the recent events.⁶ I am distressed at their obstinacy and that they do not want to do the right thing. I believe that many of them are not evil-minded though they have lost the light and oppose the truth. May the Lord have mercy upon them and lead them to the doors⁷ of Our Most Holy Lord Nicolaus,⁸ who awaits them with open arms, like a pious father and a good shepherd, and searches for them like sheep lost in valleys and, by all means, endeavours to recover them lest they get caught by wolves and devoured by demons.

¹ Apollo: Greek and Roman god, who spoke through his oracle in Delphi.

² The Third Council, a project entertained by the Germans to settle the schism between the schismatic council in Basel and Pope Eugenius' council (then in Rome). It fell through in 1443 when the European powers declared their support of Eugenius.

³ The distance from Rome to Konstanz (passing over the Alps) was 931 km. and from Basel to Konstanz 154 km. A three-day travel from Basel to Konstanz meant a daily travel distance of 51 km.

⁴ Helmraht: *Zweite*, p. 335.

⁵ Isaiah, 5: 21.

⁶ As the last European nation, the Holy Roman Empire followed by

the German princes recognised the Roman papacy in March 1447, see Piccolomini's ambassadorial report on this event to the emperor (CRDM, 1).

⁷ "caulae"

⁸ Pope Nicolaus V.

[26] Ego vero, Jordane, vir clarissime, cum manifeste vidissem apud Basilienses non esse concilium, Eugenium ex falsis mendosisque causis abdicatum pontificio, nec Basilienses ausos justitiam, quam se ajunt habere, ut par erat, ubique terrarum defendere, se solis confidere membris¹ Basileae, pauca haec dixi ex radicibus veritatis, adversus quae, si quis est, qui velit argumentari, garrulus erit potius quam disputator. Ego vero nolui amplius cum Basiliensibus delirare. Nolui caecos sequi. Nolui amplius manere cum eis nec² animam meam damnare cum illis. Quod³, si⁴ *ex tenebris ad lucem* migravi, si veritatem⁵ mendacio, si ecclesiam synagogae, si Christum praetuli Belial, non debeo reprehendi, non objurgari, non derideri, quia *gaudium est in caelis super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente*. Nec ego sum solus, qui relictis Basiliensibus Eugenio me submisi. Habes, ut praeteream nationes alias, in Germania complures, qui post ortum schisma promoti sunt Basileae, postea tamen ad Eugenium redierunt, ut Magdeburgensem, Salzburgensem et⁶ Bremensem archiepiscopos infinitosque alios dignitatis inferioris, quibus Basileae renuntiantibus maxima laus est salusque parta, qui viam ingressi justitiae damnatum iter ac *devios*⁷ reliquerunt *calles*⁸.

[27] Gallis⁹ illis¹⁰ est dedecus et ignominia, qui recedentibus aliis paucissimi remanserunt¹¹ in errore. Et quasi dictum sit eis, *si duo ex vobis consenserint super terram, de omni re, quamcumque petierint, fiet illis a patre meo, qui in caelis est: ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum*, instare volunt orbemque judicare, cum tamen manifeste videant, quia nihil impetrant ex his, quae petunt. De ipsis namque loquitur Isajas: *“Et cum multiplicaveritis orationem, non exaudiam.”* Non sunt enim congregati in nomine domini, quia nec unitatem servaverunt ecclesiae, nec potestatem habent illius. *“Turris,”* inquit sapiens, *“fortissima nomen domini”*¹². Ex ea praecipitati Basilienses in paludibus cenoque demorantur, ex quibus dignetur eos altissimus eripere, et ostenso his jubare veritatis ad obedientiam moderni pontificis beatissimi caelestisque vitae Nicolai V. reducere, cujus praeceptis obsequentes esse viros convenit sapientiae studiosos et ipsas¹³ doctrinarum scholas, et¹⁴ gratias agere domino, qui nobis pontificem dedit faventem ingeniis et omnium litterarum bonarumque artium studiis consecratum, cujus innata bonitas justum rectumque cupit et acquisita scientia monstrat.

Vale in Christo Jesu, qui nos cum eodem pastore nostro sanctissimo totoque grege dominico nec ex via veritatis sinat elabi¹⁵ nec suae vel minimum resistere voluntati. Ex Agrippina Colonia Romanorum, idibus Augusti¹⁶ 1447¹⁷.

¹ manentibus WO

² aut M3

³ et M2

⁴ t V8

⁵ prae *add.* M3

⁶ ac V8

⁷ domum V8

⁸ *omit.* V8

⁹ *omit.* M3

¹⁰ illae M3

¹¹ remanere M3

¹² nomen domini : nondum WO

¹³ ipsis M2, M3; ipsis *aut* ipsas V8

¹⁴ *omit.* M3

¹⁵ sinat elabi : elabi sinat M2, M3

¹⁶ anno *add.* M3

¹⁷ 1442 M2; 1444 M3

5. Conclusion

[26] But, Jordan, my excellent friend, when I clearly saw that the Basileans did not constitute a council, that Eugenius had been deposed as a pope with false and mendacious arguments, and that the Basileans did not dare to defend their just cause everywhere, as they ought to, but only trusted themselves there in Basel, then I undertook to speak from the depths of truth. If anybody wishes to argue against me, he is not a serious disputant but a blathering fool. At any rate, I did not want to share the Basilean madness anymore. I did not want to follow the blind. I did not want to remain with them any longer and to condemn my soul with them. But if I have gone *from the darkness to the light*,¹ if I have preferred truth to lies and the Church to [Satan's] synagogue and Christ to Belial, I should not be vilified or ridiculed, for *there shall be joy in Heaven upon one sinner that doth penance*.² And I am not the only one who left the Basileans and submitted to Eugenius. In Germany - to pass over the other nations - you have many who, after the schism had arisen, were promoted in Basel but afterwards returned to Eugenius, like the archbishops of Magdeburg,³ Salzburg⁴ and Bremen⁵ and countless others of lesser rank. Leaving Basel, they gained the highest praise and salvation, for they entered the path of justice and abandoned the damned path and the *crooked roads*.⁶

[27] The French should be ashamed to have remained - very few and in error - when the others left. They act as if it was to them it was said that "*if two of you shall consent upon earth, concerning any thing whatsoever they shall ask, it shall be done to them by my Father who is in Heaven. For where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them*."^{7 8} They persist in wanting to judge the Earth, though they clearly see that they do not obtain what they want. For it is about them that Isaiah says that "*when you multiply prayer, I will not hear*."⁹ For they are not gathered in the name of the Lord since they do not keep the unity of the Church and have no power over it. The Wise One says that "*the name of the Lord is a strong tower*."¹⁰ The Basileans have been cast down from this tower and live in quagmire and filth, from which I hope the Lord on High will free them. May He show them the light of truth and lead them to obedience to the present pontiff, Nicolaus V., a man of holy and celestial conduct. Men and schools of learning¹¹ wishing for wisdom should obey his precepts and thank the Lord for giving us a pontiff who favours intellect and devotes himself to the study of all the letters and the good arts, and who, through innate goodness, desires what is just and right and manifests it in the learning he has acquired.

Farewell in Jesus Christ, who - with Nicolaus as our most holy shepherd and all the Lord's flock - will not allow us to stray from the path of truth nor resist His will in any way. From the Agrippine Colony of the Romans,¹² 15 August 1447.

¹ Acts, 26: 18.

² Luke, 15: 7.

³ Friedrich III von Beichlingen (bef. 1427 - 1464): Archbishop of Magdeburg from 1445 to his death.

⁴ Friedrich IV Truchsess von Emmerberg (bef. 1400 - 1452):

Prince-archbishop of Salzburg from 1441 to his death.

⁵ Gerhard III von Hoya (d. 1463): Archbishop of Bremen from 1442 to his death.

⁶ Judges, 5: 6.

⁷ Matthew, 18: 19.

⁸ Helmrath: *Zweite*, p. 335.

⁹ Isaiah, 1: 15.

¹⁰ Proverbs, 18: 10.

¹¹ Like the University of Cologne.

¹² Cologne.

225. Letter to Louis I de Savoie (October 1447, Milano).

Manuscripts: "Originalkonzept des Eneas mit Korrekturen des Kanzlers Schlick im Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Wien"¹ (WO) *

Editions: Chmel: *Materialien*, 1, 256c; WO, 2: 1, 20, pp. 65-66.

Illustrissime princeps et excellentissime domine post recommendationem.

[1] Scribit excellentiae vestrae magnificus dominus Gaspar Slik², imperialis aulae cancellarius ac collega noster honorandus, super facto cujusdam oppidi sive castris sui Confluentiae, Papiensis territorii, quod sibi clarae memoriae dominus quondam Filippus Maria, dux Mediolani, in recompensationem cujusdam debiti necnon remunerationem obsequiorum concesserat, sicut haec distinctius ex litteris ejus percipietis. Cum veniremus ad partes istas nomine serenissimi domini nostri Romanorum regis habuimus super negotio hujus castris sive oppidi plenam commissionem, ut eidem domino Gaspari omnes favores nomine regis impertiremur. Intelligentes igitur oppidum seu castrum praefatum ad manus vestras devenisse, informati quam plenissime de jure ipsius domini Gasparis, qui litteras et monumenta^{3 4} nobis opportuna monstravit, rogamus obnixae magnificentiam vestram, ut eundem dominum Gasparem suscipientes in suo jure commendatum sibi vel procuratori suo dictum castrum aut oppidum restitui mandetis. In ea re⁵ complacebitis plurimum majestati regiae⁶, satisfacietis justitiae et nos exinde ad omnia possibilia servitia una cum dicto domino Gaspare obligatos habebitis. Responsum optamus per latorem praesentium nobis transmitti. Datum in Mediolano.

¹ *With corrections in the chancellor's own hand.*

² dominus Novicastri *corr.* Schlick

³ manumenta WO

⁴ tam regiae majestati *add.* Schlick

⁵ sine fallo *add.* Schlick

⁶ qui virum hunc summo diligit et pro ejus probitate et legalitate carissimum habet *add.* Schlick

225. Letter to Louis I de Savoie (October 1447).

- Context:* The recently deceased duke of Milan had apparently granted Confienza in Pavian territory to Chancellor Kaspar Schlick as a recompensation for unspecified services. When Piccolomini and the chancellor stayed in Milan in October 1447 on a mission for the emperor,¹ they intended to settle the matters with the Milanese authority, but learning that Confienza had somehow come to the Duke of Savoy, they addressed themselves to him.
- Subject:* Piccolomini asks Duke Louis of Savoy to grant possession of Confienza to the chancellor or his procurator.

Most Illustrious Prince and Your Excellent Lordship, after recommendation.

[1] His Magnificence Kaspar Schlick, Lord Chancellor of the imperial court and our honourable colleague, writes to Your Excellency in the matter of a certain town or its castle, Confienza,² in Pavian territory. This town or its castle was given to him by Filippo Maria, former Duke of Milan, of illustrious memory, in recompensation for some debt or as remuneration of services, as you will clearly see from his letter. When we came to these parts in the name of His Most Serene Lord, the King of the Romans, we had full powers to deal with the matter of this castle or town and to obtain all possible favours for Lord Kaspar in the king's name. But now we understand that the aforesaid town or castle has come into your hands. Being fully informed about the rights of Lord Kaspar, who has shown us the relevant letters and documents, we firmly request Your Magnificence to confirm the rights of Lord Kaspar and to command that the aforesaid castle or city be handed over to himself or his procurator. In so doing, you will greatly please His Royal Majesty, satisfy justice and oblige us and the said Lord Kaspar to render all possible service to you. We request that your response be delivered to us through the bearer of the present letter.

¹ See Piccolomini's report to the emperor on this mission (CRDM, 2).

² Probably Confienza, in Pavian territory.