Collected Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. Vol. 6: Letters from 1453 (nos. 284-436). Second version

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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

Vol. 6: Letters from 1453 (nos. 284-436)

Second version

Copenhagen
2025

Abstract

The present volume contains Enea Silvio Piccolomini's personal letters from 1453, altogether 142 letters. These letters cover a period of great events, as related to and by Piccolomini: It began with Porcari's rebellion against the papal government of Rome, which, with some luck, might have succeeded. It continued with negotiations to settle the Austrian rebellion against the emperor in 1452 that had led to the release of the boy-king Ladislaus the Posthumous' accession to the thrones of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. Then a series of problems in the three realms arose or manifested themselves, some of them insurmountable. In June, Constantinople fell to the Turks, threatening to continue their invasion of Europe. In the autumn, the court trial to settle the Prussian rebellion against the Teutonic Order took place, which prevented Piccolomini from returning to Italy, where the powers finally managed to move towards a permanent peace. And the Count of Celje was deposed from the government of Austria and the king's person.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papst Pius II; Papa Pio II; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); King Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg); Letters; Poetry.

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Note to the reader

The present volume is the second, revised version of vol. 6 of the *Collected Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*.

The reader should note that vol. 10 contains six indexes to the whole correspondence (vols. 1-9): persons, places, sources, subjects, (short) incipits, and correspondents.

[1] Excluding letters from the end of December 1457, after his appointment as a cardinal.

[2] Including letters from the end of December 1457, after his appointment as a cardinal.

[3] To the letters numbered 1-910 come 9 letters retrieved after the indexing of the main collection and which therefore had to be inserted into the appropriate volumes, re-using an existing number with a letter added, e.g., 15a.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

1453 was a tumultuous year in Piccolomini's life, and it is also the year represented by most letters in his correspondence. It began with Porcari's rebellion against the papal government of Rome, which, with some luck, might have succeeded. It continued with negotiations to settle the Austrian rebellion against the emperor in 1452 that had led to the release of the boy-king Ladislaus the Posthumous' accession to the thrones of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. Then a series of problems in the three realms arose or manifested themselves, some of them insurmountable. In June, Constantinople fell to the Turks, threatening to continue their invasion of Europe. In the autumn, the court trial to settle the Prussian rebellion against the Teutonic Order took place, which prevented Piccolomini from returning to Italy, where the powers finally managed to move towards a permanent peace. And the Count of Celje was deposed from the government of Austria and the king's person.

2. Themes

2.1. External

2.1.1. Accession of King Ladislaus the Posthumous

2.1.1.1. The affair of Kaspar Wendel and the plots to free Ladislaus from the emperor's guardianship

Despite the threatening Austrian rebellion against the emperor to obtain the release of his ward, the boy-king Ladislaus the Posthumous, the emperor left for his coronation voyage to Rome, bringing Ladislaus with him. The Austrian estates and the Hungarians took various measures to obtain the pope's support, but in vain. Instead, they plotted to obtain the boy-king's escape with other means. This affair was a great embarrassment for the papal court, caught in the power play between the emperor and his young cousin, the boy king, and needing to be on good terms with both. In letter 410 of 12 November 1453, Piccolomini gave this account of the affair and its aftermath to Cardinal Capranica:

> *I daily receive letters concerning the captivity of Kaspar, former tutor of the Most Illustrious King of Hungary, from other people requesting an answer, but your letter, which I just received, is especially urgent and compelling since it shows that my reputation is at stake because of this matter. Unless I can show how the matter developed, I fear that the affair will have serious consequences for me since it apparently discredits me in the eyes of the Most Reverend Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, although I am blameless. So, hear what actually happened and judge me afterwards.*
>
> *Kaspar was born in humble conditions. As a poor student in Vienna, he had to live by begging, as is the custom in this country. But virtue conquered fortune, and he succeeded, though not without difficulties. He was appointed to the Austrian chancery and joined the court. There, he*

became the tutor of the boy Ladislaus after he had sworn an oath to do nothing against the emperor's honour or interests and - like all the emperor's other familiars - had promised that he would, to the best of his ability, avert all troubles threatening His Imperial Highness. He was a diligent tutor for the boy and taught him letters and manners as best he could. He became so well-liked by the emperor and all the court that he joined the [emperor's] council, sat among princes, and dined at the royal table. When one of Austria's most important patronate churches fell vacant and was requested by barons and great nobles, he was the preferred candidate and obtained it as a gift from the emperor, although he had already acquired other benefices of no small value. So, he was highly influential at the court and enjoyed an excellent reputation for goodness and learning. All believed he would soon be raised to the episcopacy.

Until then, the man's life was praiseworthy and commendable, but afterwards he began - I know not why - to change and somehow to aspire to greater things and engage in affairs unworthy of him. Seeing that the Austrians were eager for political change, he had secret talks with Eitzinger, considered the emperor's mortal enemy, and when a certain Paul, Bishop of Ardschisch, arrived from Hungary, he had lengthy and secret conversations with him in Graz about abducting King Ladislaus. In Neustadt, moreover, he planned with a Baron Hohenberg to have the boy leave by a gate where knights would be standing ready to carry him away. But since all this came to nothing, he dictated a letter to the boy for the Austrians, asking them to continue their plot against the emperor and telling them that he did not want to go to Italy.

In Rome, too, he plotted various things, as he has confessed. But the crime he attempted in Florence surpasses all. Having left Rome, the emperor passed through that city, where Hungarians and Austrian envoys were awaiting him. Among them was Ágoston, Bishop of Jaurinum, who had a conversation like this with Kaspar in the church of Santa Croce. "This," he said, "is the place where we can give our king his freedom. We have made oaths not only to the emperor but also to Ladislaus. So, persuade the boy to do this: When the emperor wants to leave, let the boy accompany him to the gate. When he reaches it, he should say that he wants to stay a little longer in Florence and turn his horse. If the emperor tries to force him to leave, we are ready and will say that it is unworthy to use force on a king and appeal to the city's loyalty. The boy himself will shout that he is being coerced and thus move the people to show mercy. Before then, we will endeavour to persuade the city's senate to have armed men ready at the gates to prevent the emperor from using force. Here is a man we know as a merchant in Buda. He promises to obtain the senate's participation. It is your task to prepare the king while it is ours to deal with the [city] magistrates." Kaspar agreed, went to the king, and arranged everything as required. The crime would have been done if the Florentines had not preferred peaceful counsels to seditious ones. For when the citizen mentioned by the Bishop of Jaurinum spoke with the magistrate about this matter, he was severely rebuked and reprimanded, after which he returned to the bishop and told him that the plan would have to be cancelled.

Kaspar did not rest, though. When they arrived in Bologna, he persuaded the king to write to the pope in his own hand: "I have heard, Most Holy Father, that Your Holiness has initiated some processes against my faithful subjects in Austria working for my liberation. I cannot approve of this, so I ask you to revoke all acts against me, as you are obliged to since it is written: You shall help the ward and the orphan. If you do not, you compel me to appeal to greater judges." The words of the letter were different, but this was the meaning. The letter was closed, sealed, and sent to Bishop Ágoston. Whether it reached Most Holy Pope Nicolaus, only His Holiness knows; I do not.

The emperor suspected something was brewing but did not know what. When we were in Ferrara and he decided to go to Venice by boat, Kaspar, anxious because of his misdeeds, went to him and said that sailing made him violently sick and asked for permission, if it pleased his Imperial Highness, to go overland to Treviso. He got the permission and reached Padova, where he packed everything he had brought with him and what he had bought in Italy. Then he speedily went to Verona, having decided to proceed to Enn via Trient and the Etsch Valley. There he would take ship and go by the Donau to Vienna. He would no doubt have achieved his purpose unless one of the emperor's messengers, coming from Verona, said that he had seen him on the way. Then two knights and their companions were sent after him, caught him at Trient, and brought him, in chains, to Venice, where he freely confessed all the above and wrote it down in his own hand.

This is where I first heard of the man's downfall, for the emperor summoned him, told me all, and wanted me to take charge of him, knowing that I had been appointed apostolic legate to Austria. I surely regretted my friend's bitter fortune. Kaspar had been a close friend for many years, and I considered him a good man, meriting everybody's benevolence. I was horrified to hear what was said about him, and I lamented the uncertainty of the human condition, which has nothing firm and nothing stable. Everything is precarious and fluid: today we are happy, tomorrow sad; now we are raised up, now brought low. However, I told the emperor that I had no [legatine] authority in Italy, and I begged him to show mercy to the priest.

Kaspar was then taken to Neustadt. There, I was again asked to take charge of him and pass judgement on his crimes. I found the matter quite problematic, but having the authority of a legate, I did not see how I could refuse the emperor's request. So, upon consideration, I answered that I would be the judge on the condition that the procedure would be legitimate and according to the canonical rules. However, I would not accept custody of the accused since I did not have a suitable place to keep him. My answer pleased the emperor, who said he did not want more than what the holy canons ordained. Kaspar was brought before me once, with a notary, the marshall, and the Bohemian knight Prokop being present. He again confessed his crimes and confirmed everything that is written above. He accepted me as his judge and tearfully begged me to show him mercy and commend him to the emperor. I told him to take courage and said I would see him safe as much as decency would allow. Afterwards, he was sequestered in a prison cell that was neither squalid nor disgusting but spacious and with daylight, though secure and well guarded. He has a latrine, a feather bed, and a breviary for his prayers. He is brought food twice a day, and he drinks and eats the same as the emperor's household. Admittedly, his life is miserable, but men often bring such misery upon themselves through their own faults.

I have the power of a judge over him, not that of a prince, so I must follow the written law and not my personal inclinations. If I had unrestricted power over him, I would - being myself a sinner before God and deserving of the thunderbolt - act towards Kaspar as I hope God will act towards me and not be slow to show the mercy of Him, whose mercy I know that I myself always need. But being the judge, I have my hands bound by the laws and must neither be too severe towards Kaspar nor allow him to go unpunished since there is a party requesting a judgement. So, unless I am mistaken, I am doing what is incumbent upon me. Therefore, though some men who are close to the emperor and the first in his council want Kaspar to be tortured to reveal more, I have refused to allow it unless required by judicial procedure. Thus, the man

has remained untouched to this day even though his guard was executed because Kaspar had persuaded him to release him.

In the meantime, there have been many peace negotiations with the Austrians. Now King Ladislaus, now the Hungarians, and now the Bohemians have urged his release, but it has neither been denied nor granted. While this is unresolved, it does not seem appropriate for me to expedite or solicit the process. So, I remain silent, and I do not ask more than I am asked. However, I have often asked the emperor to show mercy to the prisoner, whom I would be only too happy to see freed from his miserable state, both for his own sake and for me to be relieved of this heavy, burdensome charge. This is what has happened in the matter until now. Let your keen judgement determine if I deserve blame. Personally, I think that I am being abused by those who blame me in any way, and they return evil for good, claiming that light is darkness and darkness is light. But the truth will come out, and I shall not be harassed with false calumnies. I am happy to have a clear conscience, whatever others may think.

This is what I wanted to write in reply to your letter, informing me that some are criticising me. If anybody hereafter denounces me to you, you will now know how to counter them in my defence. But I do hope that you do not believe those who disparage me. Concerning the letter from the Holy College, I have given it to the emperor, adding - twice or thrice - such words as I thought appropriate. His Majesty says that he will consider the matter and send a suitable response to the Senate.

The emperor was so angered by Wendel's treason that he was only released several years afterwards.

2.1.1.2. The Peace of Wiener Neustadt, 23 March 1453

To normalise the situation after the Austrian rebellion - supported by the Hungarians - against the emperor, peace negotiations were initiated in late 1452. They continued into 1453, but it proved difficult to reconcile the demands of the parties. Towards the end of March, the negotiations had reached a critical state, and the matter was discussed in the emperor's council, as related by Piccolomini in letter 290 to Cardinal Carvajal of 23 March 1453:

You know that Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, Albrecht of Brandenburg, and several other princes came to Vienna on the Feast of Saint Martin and endeavoured to settle matters [the peace negotiations], but in vain. Afterwards, the Kammermeister and Walther Zöbing had peace negotiations in Baden with the Governor of Hungary and the Count of Celje, but they, too, failed. When Duke Albrecht of Austria heard the negotiations were failing and war was coming, he feared his House would be harmed by internal strife. So, with the emperor's permission, he went to Vienna and spoke with the governors of Ladislaus. After lengthy peace negotiations, he finally returned with conditions that proved entirely unacceptable to the emperor.

Then, the Austrians - I know not why - began to avidly seek peace. Having requested letters of safe conduct, they sent eminent orators from themselves and the Hungarians to the emperor. During their audience with the emperor, they declared they had been sent on a peace mission and requested the return of the crown of the Kingdom of Hungary and some castles and properties belonging to Ladislaus as king. They also said much about the blessings of peace and the observance of justice. The emperor asked me to deliver a provisory response about the

matter of peace, the crown, and the return of the castles, and then we broke off for deliberations. In the meantime, Duke Albrecht of Austria again offered to mediate and consulted with the legates and those of the emperor's councillors whom the emperor had with him. Sometimes prospects seemed good, sometimes bad, for new matters requiring discussion cropped up every day.

In the end, when all seemed clear, a new, insoluble conflict arose: the Austrians asked for the free return of those castles belonging to the Duchy of Austria that were in the emperor's hands and had been pledged to several nobles in the imperial administration. But the emperor replied that he had made these pledges in his capacity as [Ladislaus'] guardian for the needs of the country, and he would not allow his acts as a guardian to be rescinded since that would be to his dishonour and against the custom of Austria. ... The emperor could not be moved by any argument whatsoever. All the [imperial] councillors were terrified and dared not say anything to the emperor, whom they saw deeply disturbed and angry. So they all asked me to address the emperor, for they thought he would hear me benignly and that this task was incumbent upon me in my capacity as apostolic envoy and bishop. I declined for a long time, well understanding that the mice were arguing about who was to bell the mouse-catcher. But when they saw me refusing, they rebuked me severely. Ulrich was summoned, and [in the end] I addressed the emperor thus:

"What I shall say now, Unvanquished Emperor, I am compelled to tell Your Serenity in my capacity as an apostolic envoy and your councillor. As a legate of the Holy Apostolic See, my most important task is to settle conflicts and make peace, especially between closely related princes. And as your councillor, I must advise and argue for that which is to your honour and advantage. We are now dealing with the peace between you and your cousin Ladislaus, which will soon be concluded if it pleases Your Piety. It will be a great joy and most welcome to Our Most Holy Lord Pope, who desires nothing more than concord and unity among princes and especially wishes you to enjoy peace and good fortune. All judge that the peace being negotiated now will be both to your honour and advantage, for just like war between relatives is abhorrent, they find it honourable for relatives to be well-intentioned towards each other. Peace is now being sought in your own house. Your brother has proposed articles of peace – and all know that he would not propose anything that is not to your glory. Your adversaries ask for your favour, as if they had been in error. What you have done in your capacity as a guardian stays valid. You will only return the castles you hold in pledge if you are given payment. The good Hungarian castles are left to you. The adversaries will pay a fine of 80,000 florins. It may be a small fine for their crime, but the praise for your leniency will be great.

What shall I say about your advantage? Freed from the Austrian problems, you can take care of your own interests: you will settle the affairs of Steiermark and Kärnten, and afterwards, you will proceed to the Empire and make peace between the princes and the cities. You will reform the state that has been torn apart; you will keep the money [otherwise] spent on war and acquire new funds; you will spare your subjects. You know the outcomes of battle are dubious: in conflicts with powerful and great regions, the fewer rarely win. But let us assume you win: who will your army harm but your own cousin and the subjects of your house? In this kind of war, victory will bring you no gains, for the spoils must be distributed to the soldiers, and you will have to return such cities as you may conquer to your cousin. Who does not see that war must be declined when it is waged at great risk and only threatens damages while not promising gains? Wherever, Emperor, I turn in the city, I see citizens and peasants shouting and wishing

for peace. Even this holy season demands that you take pity on them. If we ask God to forgive us, we ourselves should spare others lest we be condemned like the wicked servant who, having obtained God's forgiveness, throttled a fellow servant.

Now is the time to forget injuries and leave the revenge to God. Now is the time to reject war that foments plunder, burning, murder and adultery, devastates fields, cities and temples, and leaves no peace for justice and right. Have mercy, Emperor, have mercy upon the poor peasants, whom the sword of war usually destroys though they are innocent. Consider all the evils of a battle. Look at the situation of the Bohemians and the Hungarians. The first have heretics as their adversaries, and the second infidels. If you make war against your own, you will serve both the infidels and the heretics. But if you embrace peace, you destroy them both and deprive the Turks of the opportunity to conquer Constantinople, for if the Hungarians are free to act, they will not allow Europe's other eye to fall to the infidels. Therefore, to speak plainly to Your Serenity, all your councillors recommend this peace and urge you to accept it. If you receive their advice [to accept peace] and the matter turns out badly - which I do not believe it will - then nobody will criticise you for heeding your councillors. But if you make war and it turns out badly, all will blame you for believing you know more than all others. This I have said out of loyalty to you and to fulfil my office. In your wisdom, you will now decide what is appropriate."

When I finished speaking, the emperor looked at me furiously and said - in German, which he usually does not use with me - "I thought you supported me and cared for my honour. I see now that you are all against me and have no care for me. My adversaries know this, and therefore they have become more intractable, which is no surprise since all my people favour them. But since you disregard me, I will take care of my affairs and defend my honour alone."

I answered this with a few words, begging the Emperor not to consider me or the others as betraying his honour, for without his honour, none of us would have any. But I could not find suitable words of excuse, so when we left, I rebuked the other councillors who had pressured me into speaking what I did not believe would be helpful. But they, on the contrary, said that I had spoken usefully and that the emperor would ponder my words during the night.

During the following night, Duke Albrecht spoke at length with the [Austrian] legates and brought them to make greater concessions. Early in the morning, he came to the emperor and settled the whole matter. The legates were summoned, and the articles of peace were published in the expectation of their ratification. Since I am writing an account to Our Most Holy Lord on how and under what conditions the peace was concluded, I think it is unnecessary to repeat it here. Albrecht then went to Vienna and urged the Austrians, who were not unwilling, to [accept] the peace. Afterwards, he continued to Schwaben. The ratification [of the peace] is expected to happen on the Feast of Saint George. Since the Hungarians fear the Turks and the Austrians hear the Bohemians are vacillating, they will be more inclined to accept peace.

Due to Hungarian opposition, Ladislaus could not proceed with the ratification of the treaty, so the unstable peace in fact continue.

2.1.1.3. The government of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia after Ladislaus' accession

The ratification of the peace treaty was complicated by the power play of three important men: King Ladislaus' uncle, Count Ulrich II of Celje, János Hunyadi, and Georg Podiebrad, as related by Piccolomini in letter 303 to Pope Nicolaus of 28 April:

> *I may now be criticised for writing, in my previous letter, that there was sure hope of peace. I admit it: I am neither a prophet nor the son of one. I do not know what will happen. God, in His providence, hides future events in murky darkness. So, I should not have promised too much. I confess my error, but as I explained then, I had reasons, and they are still valid. The Austrians greatly wish to honour their promises and claim the Hungarian people want the same. They say, however, that the Count of Celje and the Governor of Hungary oppose it. Well-informed persons believe the reason is that peace is not advantageous to the two men, for as long as there is war, one will rule Hungary and the other Austria: fleecing others' sheep, they will be well dressed. They fear that if all is at peace, the peaceful peoples will throw off their yoke. In the meantime, they endeavour to come to an understanding with Georg Podiebrad to let him take over Bohemia, and thus the three men will devour three realms. The boy king, the noble orphan, will have to be content with the name [of king] alone.*
>
> *I do not know how the Bohemian affairs will turn out. The Lord of Rosenberg opposes Georg, who lures some to him and rebuffs the others. So, there too, the Faith has many problems. I do not think the king will arrive in Bohemia for the Feast of Saint John, as stipulated, but it would be foolish of me to dare to predict the future. God keeps it to himself. It is enough for me to write about past events, and even those I cannot describe exactly when I report something I have only heard, for fact and report are rarely in agreement* [sect. 4-5].

However, the Count of Celje was shortly to fall from grace and to be replaced by Ulrich Eitzinger. In letter 401 to Cardinal Carvajal of 16 October 1453, Piccolomini related the circumstances of the count's deposition:

> *I am sure many have written to Your Grace that Count Ulrich of Celje, a great and powerful man, governor of King Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia, who has not yet reached manhood, was recently deposed from this great office. But since I believe they have not written how this happened, I have decided to explain it in the present letter.*
>
> *It may be useful to remind you of the political changes in Austria, which - to my mind - would be worthy of Genoa and Bologna, for Austria has changed its regime four times in two years! It was governed by Emperor Friedrich before he went to Rome, and it obeyed him as the guardian of King Ladislaus. Soon after, Eitzinger conspired to have the multitude usurp the government. It instituted 12 governors and made Eitzinger the first man in the country. When the emperor had returned from Italy and released his royal ward, the count was given power over the king and Austria. Now that the count has been expelled, Austria is once again ruled by the multitude. Here is what happened.*
>
> *When the count had received charge of King Ladislaus, the people thought he was acting insolently when he took the king now here, now there; ignored Eitzinger, who had great influence with the multitude; despised the Viennese senators; treated the prelates as commoners; and imposed grave burdens upon the subjects. Therefore, Eitzinger and his party*

plotted to expel the count from Austria, saying it was unworthy for them to tolerate such things from the count that they had not accepted from the emperor. When the count became aware of this, he strove to remove Eitzinger if it is true what his opponents say. I have little personal knowledge of this matter, but relate what I have heard from important men. Still, it is difficult to know exactly what happened, and I leave the burden of proof to others.

The Hungarian barons met with the king in Pozon. There, the count and Governor János reportedly decided that when Eitzinger arrived, he would be arrested and executed on the pretext that he had accused the Hungarian barons of wanting to murder the king if he went further than Pozon. But Eitzinger heard about the plot, and though summoned three times by royal letters, he did not leave Austria but remained there, all the time urging his accomplices to hasten their preparations for the count's removal. Ladislaus had promised the Bohemian envoys to enter Bohemia on the Feast of Archangel Michael to receive the crown of the kingdom in the traditional manner. So, when the count returned from Pozon, he worked hard to organise a magnificent royal progress into Bohemia. Since public money was lacking, he decided to exact money from private people. But the people had contributed money recently and refused the burden, cursed the count, and showed themselves in a rebellious mood.
Emboldened by this, Eitzinger rose in the royal council and refused the imposition of a pecuniary contribution on the people unless the four estates of the region, as they call them, met and decided to exact the money. Moreover, he said that before the king left Austria, it would be necessary to summon a popular assembly to determine how Austria should be governed in his absence. Many councillors agreed with Eitzinger. The count saw that the people were against him and would not support him when they met. Realising there would be little profit in resistance, he allowed a meeting of the Austrians to be held in Korneuburg and brought the king there. When the Austrians met, as approved by him, they obtained permission to address the king without the count being present and persuaded their king of tender age to do whatever they wanted. They said the count was not working for the king but for himself. The king ruled in name only, whereas the real power was with the count. In Austria, he usurped the prince's prefectures, magistracies, priestly offices, taxes, and customs duties, which he spent on a large household with horses, dogs, and harlots. He placed garrisons in fortified castles, cities, and fortresses and kept them in his own hands. He held all of Austria in submission and obedience. In Hungary, he had appointed Voivode János governor, who would pay 24,000 ducats per year to the king and 12,000 to the count. In Bohemia, he had entrusted the administration of the kingdom to Georg for a period of six years. …

Therefore, they requested the removal of such a governor, declaring that his way of life was so corrupt and terrible that it was shameful for himself and the king. The king heard them attentively and agreed to the count's removal. Since he was soon to go to Bohemia, they persuaded the count that it was fitting for the king to first say goodbye to the senate and prominent citizens of Vienna, who had always been loyal and obedient subjects to himself and his forefathers. The early morning after the king's arrival, Eitzinger entered the castle by a rear gate, bringing almost a thousand armed men with him, and occupied the upper parts of the castle. In the Augustinerkirche close to the castle, he placed nearly as many armed men, telling the leaders to come quickly with the men if they heard a commotion inside the castle. He himself went with the leading senators of the city and many barons from his faction to the king, told him that everything was ready for the count's expulsion, and explained the plan.

The count slept in his own house outside the castle. When he was informed that many citizens had entered the castle and plotted against him with the king, he immediately went to the palace. Though he found it occupied on all sides and heard about the uprising against him, he did not become afraid but went to the king's chamber. There, he waited for some time before the doors that had previously been open to him at all times, but then he became impatient and indignant and began to knock on and kick the door. The king then ordered that he be admitted. When he entered, no one greeted him. All remained silent and looked at each other, and then Eitzinger turned towards the count and addressed him in about this way: "What I tell you now, Count, you must accept as coming from the king, for it is he who commands me to speak. You have governed the king and Austria for a year. This will stop now. The king no longer needs your counsel or service. Go wherever you wish and know that henceforth, this court is forbidden to you."

When the count had heard it, he quite calmly and impassively answered, "Illustrious King, though what Eitzinger has just spoken was said in your name, I cannot believe that it reflects your mind, for it is foreign to Your Majesty and against my merits [towards you]. From childhood, I served your grandfather Sigismund with complete loyalty. I saved your grandmother from great dangers. I was a faithful companion of your father Albrecht both in Bohemia and Hungary, and he never entered a battle without me by his side. I was often wounded in the service of his kingdom, which he saw and praised. At great peril, I alone defended your mother, my cousin Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, against the King of Poland when all abandoned her. Before you were born, I fought great and dangerous battles on your behalf, and right after your birth, I opposed all the barons of Hungary to keep your kingdom safe for you. For your sake, I was taken prisoner by the Hungarians and thrown into a filthy prison, and was released only with great difficulty, having provided good and noble men from my lands as hostages. Finally, when you were in Emperor Friedrich's charge and only unwillingly stayed with him, I, to set you free, declared war on my prince and lord, the emperor, and brought you to your own domains. The Hungarians and the Bohemians were brought into your obedience through my efforts. Had I remained silent, you would still be under Friedrich's guardianship, and neither the Hungarians nor the Bohemians would ask for you. All my life has been spent in your and your ancestors' service. I have spared no labour and avoided no danger for your sake. Busy with your affairs, I have almost spent all my inheritance. I have grown old, weak, and worn out while fighting to ensure your kingdom [for you] and prepare your glory. The reward I receive now is unworthy [of you]. I am treated neither justly nor well if I am dismissed from your council as useless and unfaithful, for I have never said or done anything that I did not consider to your honour and advantage. But this decision is not yours, I believe, for it is incompatible with my services to you and the blood that unites us. It is Eitzinger who plots and does these things. He is envious and hostile because I demanded that he return the castles of yours that he is occupying and because I did not allow him to lead the barons of this land at his pleasure, to govern Austria, and to play king. I hope that, in your piety, you will hold me in higher regard. Do not forget my services, and do not let Eitzinger mock me as he likes."

When the count had spoken, all were silent, and some were moved by the count's words. Then Eitzinger said, "You have no reason to blame me. It is not I but your own acts that remove you from the royal government. You wanted to rule alone, to dispose of Bohemia and Hungary as you wish, to impose intolerable burdens on Austria against the will of its subjects, to fleece the prelates and the cities, and harass them in all ways possible. We could not accept that Emperor

Friedrich would rule us without our counsel, though he was the closest relative of our prince, the legitimate guardian, the true heir to this land of Austria, and the lord of our lord. How do you think we could accept you, who are far less than him but dared much more? We threw off the yoke of this truthful and gentle lord; how could we tolerate your tyranny?"

The count indignantly answered, "You call the emperor truthful as if you wish to accuse me of being a liar?" Eitzinger said, "What I said has been heard, and I change neither my words nor my opinion. But concerning your removal, do not think I have spoken without the king's command. I take all present as my witnesses that I have related the king's decision, not my own." But looking around for men who would confirm his words, no one dared to open his mouth; all remained silent. Fearing the king had changed his mind and fearing the count, they looked at each other and thought the count had won. But when Eitzinger saw the councillors vacillating, he, undaunted, turned towards the king and said, "What do you say, Best Prince? Is it your will to remove the count or not?" Then the king said, "It is Our will and wish." At these words, all cried out, praised the king, scorned the count, and did not speak to him. ...

After the count's removal, the king, accompanied by Eitzinger and the other councillors, went into the hall where the barons had been summoned to hear the king's decision. When, at the king's command, Eitzinger had announced the deposition of the count, the greatest of the barons, Georg Puchheim, said, "I fear, Great King, that you are following bad advice. The count is a close relative and a powerful and bold prince, who has done immense favours to you and your ancestors. If he now suffers the indignity of being removed from your council, he will plan for revenge. He disposes of well-fortified castles and has friends in Hungary and Bohemia, and he will not leave you and your country in peace. If Your Highness heeds me, you will act with restraint towards your own blood." Other barons agreed with Georg. But the prelates and the envoys of the cities and the whole crowd raised their hands towards heaven, said the king's decision was divine, saluted Eitzinger, and looked grimly at those who were thought to support the count and would not leave them unharmed. When the margrave had arrived and spoken in vain for the count, the count approached the king and said, "We have been here long enough. It is getting late, so why don't we take to horse and go to the country house?" The king answered, "Go where you please; I shall spend the night in Vienna." The count, understanding that he was done for, took the margrave's right hand and went to the king's sister. He complained of his injuries but only got womanly tears. Fearing that his enemies were plotting something worse against him, he mounted his horse and, accompanied by the margrave and only five servants, reached the gate towards Hungary. There, he took leave of the margrave and, with many threats against Eitzinger and the Viennese, left as if going into exile and went to a castle he owned close to Vienna. Less than a year had passed since he took charge of King Ladislaus. Thus, the man whom Ladislaus' two great realms previously regarded as a heavenly star and the only man they listened to fell from the king's favour in less than an hour. This is an excellent example of how human affairs may develop. ... All power is subject to jealousy and cannot last for long. A man who wants too great honours and riches builds for himself a high tower from which there is a deep fall and a terrible plunge into ruin [sect. 1-17].

2.1.1.4. King Ladislaus' coronation in Bohemia

Having surmounted a number of difficulties, the boy king Ladislaus was finally able to leave Austria for his coronation in Prague. In letter 414 to Pope Nicolaus of 24 November 1453, Piccolomini relates the circumstances of his royal progress, his coronation, and the ensuing events in Prague:

After the dismissal of the Count of Celje, King Ladislaus left for Bohemia. He was accompanied by Duke Albrecht of Austria and the other Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, Governor János of Hungary, and many prelates and nobles from Austria and Hungary. In Iglau, he was received with the highest honours by the Governor of Bohemia and the other barons. When he entered the kingdom, the king made his oath to his subjects and received their oaths in return, as custom demands. A good distance from Prague, he was met by the clergy and all the people, led by Rokycana, as if he were the city's archbishop, though he used neither mitre nor crozier.

The king was crowned by the Bishop of Olomouc on the Feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude. Afterwards, there was a grand banquet. Rokycana participated neither in the coronation nor the banquet. The following days, the officials of the kingdom were appointed. Important among them was the noble knight, Prokop von Rabenstein, who is most devoted to Your Holiness. He was made Chancellor of the Crown of Bohemia and is now in charge of that office. … Georg Podiebrad is in charge of the kingdom and the king's person and sleeps every night in his chamber. No Austrian or Hungarian has any power with the king, though Eitzinger has been given an apartment in the palace. The Bohemians want the king to stay with them until he has learned their language and can speak to his subjects without an interpreter.

The Hungarians and the Austrians are returning home, disappointed and scorned. They are indignant that they did the hunting,[1] whereas the Bohemians took the prey. Margrave Albrecht has returned home, disgruntled. Duke Albrecht is reportedly on his way to Vienna. Eitzinger and Voivode János are still in Bohemia as allies of Georg, the Governor of Bohemia. They are joking among themselves that he has Bohemia in his power, the other Hungary, and the third Austria. The other Austrians and Hungarians from the king's household are given food and drink but no money. Those who request permission to go home receive it easily [sect. 1-4].

In Bohemia, it was decided that all crown properties not pledged as surety must be returned to the king's hand before the Feast of Lucia. And to redeem the pledged properties, the nobles and commoners promised to transfer a year's income from all the properties to the royal treasury. It is also said that the Church's properties would be returned and that Georg had already returned those he had occupied, but I do not have sufficient information on this point. Prokop writes that Georg wishes me to travel there and hopes that my visit will profit the Church's affairs, but I shall not do so unless Your Holiness commands it. Rokycana preaches publicly in praise of the new king and demands that people pray to God to bend his heart to the truth and to believe and hold what that holy man Jan Hus once taught. To achieve this, all the king's young companions have been chosen from this sect.

2.1.2. The Fall of Constantinople, 29 May 1454

News of the Fall of Constantinople reached the imperial court in early July 1453, and Piccolomini immediately sent a report to the pope (letter 340 of 19 June / 12 July 1453). Some days later, he

[1] By rebelling against the emperor and forcing him to release Ladislaus from his guardianship.

developed the account in letter 341 to Cardinal von Kues of 21 July. This account contained almost all the elements that went into his later crusade orations:

> *Though you undoubtedly know the Eastern events well - or too well, alas - I believe it is appropriate to speak about them with Your Piety and share the pain you feel since you have visited those regions and well know how dangerous this situation is to the Christian religion. You know how Greece is connected with the rest of Europe. You know the location of Thrace and have a clear impression of the size of Constantinople, the mass of its walls, and the nature of the surrounding sea and land. You also know of the power of the Turks as well as the indifference of the Latins. Why do I pursue this subject? Because we have now received the unhappy, inauspicious, bitter, and horrible news that Constantinople has been conquered, Pera has surrendered to the Turks, and the Christian fleet sent to assist the besieged has been defeated and taken.*
>
> *Travellers from Rascia [Serbia] say that, on the 30th of May, the Turkish ruler moved war machines to the city of Constantinople and made three attacks. The first two failed, and he lost many men. Then, furious, he ordered the whole strength of his army - he reportedly had more than 200,000 men - to approach the walls and mount the ladders. He himself went first among the soldiers, threatening some and promising rewards to others. The third attack was strong and energetic, and, finally, the city's inhabitants were so worn down - rather than overcome - that the Turks managed to break through an old gate and enter the city. Mehmed gave the order to kill all persons over six years old of either sex. The emperor of New Rome is said to have been captured and immediately beheaded. The priests and all the monks were tortured with various instruments and killed. The rest of the population was passed to the sword. So much blood was shed that rivers of gore ran through the city.*
>
> *Thus, that noble city, founded by Constantine I, fell into the hands of the infidels about 1130 years after its foundation. The Old Rome had stood for a little longer when it was first taken by the Goths, for Alaric seized Rome 1164 years after its foundation. But he forbade breaking into the basilicas of the saints. I do not know what the savage Turks will do with the royal city, but it is easy to guess. The Turkish people are hostile towards our religion, so it will leave nothing holy or pure there. It will destroy the noble temples, or at least profane them. Alas, the temple of Sophia, famous in the whole world, once served by 900 priests and built with consummate art and precious materials, is now becoming a ruin or being desecrated by Muhammedans. The abodes of the monks and the holy places are used as brothels. That noble city will be destroyed or turned into the capital of the Turks, to the immense loss of the Christian people. Oh, noble Greece, this is your end. Who will not feel your pain? Once, there were many famous and powerful cities in Greece. We read about the accomplishments of the Thebans and the illustrious deeds of the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. Corinth was an important state. If you now search for the walls of once-famous Mycene and powerful Larissa, memorable cities, you will not even find their ruins: nobody can show you where these cities were.*
>
> *Only Constantinople survived the great ruin of Antiquity. Pausanias extended the small town of Byzantium, and Emperor Constantine raised it to incredible splendour in emulation of the City of Rome. Constantinople possessed so many wonderful works, so many arms, so much literature, and so much glory that it seemed to make up for the loss of all the cities [of old]. Therefore, when Athanaric, King of the Goths - after peace had been made with Gratian and confirmed by Theodosius - came to Constantinople, he admired the splendour and greatness of*

the royal city and, overcome with awe, reportedly said, "The emperor is God on Earth, and anyone who opposes him commits a mortal error."

Though, after the Empire's division - or better, its translation to the Franks - Constantinople fell into enemy hands several times, it was never conquered by enemies of the Christian name, as I remember Your Grace used to say: never were the basilicas of the saints destroyed, never were the libraries burnt, and never were the monasteries plundered. Thus, Constantinople remained, to our days, a monument of old wisdom and the home of letters. No Latin appeared truly learned if he had not studied for some time in Constantinople, which seemed, in our time, to have acquired the reputation for learning that Athens had at the time when Rome flourished. From there, we Latins recovered Plato and the works of Aristotle, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Thucydides, Basilius, Dionysius, Origenes, and many others, hoping to recover many more in the future. But now that the Turks have won and gained possession of all that the Greek power held, I believe that it is the end of Greek letters and that the Greek name has never suffered a greater disaster than now. Xerxes and Darius, who once inflicted major calamities upon Greece, fought men, not letters. The Romans, though they conquered Greece, not only did not scorn Greek letters but embraced and honoured them to the extent that you had to become Grecicised to be considered a man of great learning.

That will all change under the rule of the Turks, a savage people, enemies of morality and letters. Indeed, those who are now called Turks do not, as some suppose, descend from the Teucrians or the Persians. The Turks are a Scythian people that have come from the middle of Barbary. According to the philosopher Aethicus, they dwelled beyond Euxinum [the Black Sea] and the Pirrichian Mountains by the Northern Sea. They are an infamous and unknown people, given to all kinds of sexual debauchery and the pleasures of brothels. They eat repugnant things and do not know wine or salt. The only feast they observe is the month of August, during which they paid tribute to Caesar Octavian in littoral gold, something they were not forced to do but did of themselves seeing other regions paying tribute. They are still marked by their origins, though they have lived in Asia (Minor) for a long time, have lost some of their former uncouthness, and have acquired some culture. They still avoid wine and eat the flesh of horses, bison, and vultures. They are slaves of lust, disdain the study of letters, and cultivate an incredible arrogance. Surely, any decent person would deplore that the Greek eloquence has fallen into their hands.

Where can we now find the spirit of eloquence? The river of all learning has been cut off, and the fountain of the Muses has dried out. Poetry and philosophy have been buried. I admit that letters thrive in many places in the Latin world, like in Rome, Paris, Bologna, Padova, Siena, Perugia, Cologne, Vienna, Salamanca, Oxford, and Erfurt. But they are only small brooks, flowing from Greek fountains. A river cut off from its spring dries out. How can you find water in a river when its source has dried out? Holy Father, I can only be deeply distressed to see this great loss of letters.

Our forefathers thought that what was entrusted to letters would be remembered forever. Thus, a poet rightly said, "The muses can free anybody from the tooth of death." And our Naso thought that now that his splendid poem was finished, he would be immortal. He said, "And now my work is done, which neither the wrath of Jove, nor fire, nor sword, nor the gnawing tooth of time shall ever be able to undo," and later, "I shall have an undying name." And Virgil thought his verses could make Euryalus and Niso immortal, saying, "Happy! If my poetry has

any power, no day shall ever blot you from the memory of time." And Flaccus believed the same, saying about himself, "I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze, more lofty than the regal structure of the pyramids, one which neither corroding rain nor the ungovernable North Wind can ever destroy, nor the countless series of the years, nor the flight of time." But they were all mistaken, for even the Muses die, and even the outstanding works of all poets and writers fade from memory. How many poets do you think have lost their fame with time? Nothing under the moon lasts forever. All that has a beginning also has an end. Those consecrated by letters have a long life, but they are not immortal. New schools of thought arise, new writing styles are created, and new intellects emerge who carry all before them and consider all that came before them as inept.

And now the Turks, enemies of Greek and Latin letters, will want to make a place for their own letters, and, therefore, they will not let other books remain. Who doubts that now that they have taken Constantinople, they will burn the books they find there? So, Homer, Pindar, Menander, and the other famous poets will die a second time. This will be the final passing of the Greek philosophers. The Latins will live longer, but I trust they will not last long unless God looks more kindly at us from on high and grants the Roman Empire and the Apostolic See a better fortune, for the Latin letters live and die with the Roman See. Still, I shall not talk about the situation of that see since we have now begun to speak about Constantinople, not Rome: we are pained and distressed that the Greek letters have fallen with Constantinople.

This is a grave wound, but an even greater one is that the Christian Faith has been diminished and pressed into a corner, for whereas she once occupied all that region, she has now been driven from Asia and Libya and is not even allowed to be at peace in Europe: the Tartars and the Turks hold much territory beyond the river Don and the Hellespont, and the Saracens occupy a kingdom in Spain. The name of Christ covers only a small part of the world. The land where our God was seen and lived for 30 years or more among men, the land he distinguished with miracles and consecrated with his own blood, the land where the first flowers of the Resurrection appeared, that land is now - because of our sins - trodden under feet by the enemies of the Cross. That blessed land, the promised land, the land flowing with milk and honey, now obeys an evil people. The city of the Living God, the workplace of our redemption, and the holy places made purple by the blood of the immaculate lamb are now being polluted by the hands and feet of the Saracens. The holiest place of the Christian religion and the sacred bed on which He who is our life fell asleep in death for our sake are now trampled upon by the followers of Muhammad. Charlemagne first claimed this land with much toil. Then it was lost, but later it was reclaimed by Godefroi. Emperor Konrad and King Louis of France did not hesitate to defend it, gathering armies and going to Asia. When our princes later grew indolent, neither Jerusalem nor Antioch nor Akron remained in our power. What we once held in Asia, we have now shamefully lost. We fled and left the victory to Muhammad - an immense loss, an enormous shame! But it would have been better to lose the cities we possessed in enemy country than to be expelled from the towns situated in our own [European] soil and which were formerly Christian.

But what is it that we have now lost? It is the royal city, the pillar of the Greek people, and the throne of the second patriarchate. Alas, oh, once far-reaching Christian religion: how are you now being pressed back and languish? Of the four great patriarchs, now only the Roman is left to you. How can you stand when three of the four pillars supporting the ecclesiastical edifice

have now been removed? You have lost one of your two eyes. Unless merciful God looks to you, we have little hope for your salvation.

Indeed, after his victory in Constantinople, the Turkish ruler has not, as we read that many others formerly did, become indolent but immediately attacked and accepted the surrender of Pera, the neighbouring city, for a long time in Ligurian possession. There is a rumour that he has now seized the fleet sent by Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus together with the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Catalans to support Greece, whether it was done for by storms, cut off due to a lack of local knowledge, or poorly defended because of some mishap, as rumour has it. There, he has assembled great forces, powerful war machines, and an immense hoard of weapons of all kinds. He has killed all adults, and he has now inflicted such disasters upon the Christian people as have not been heard of for many centuries. He has celebrated a triple triumph, whereas we have been struck down by a triple defeat. The Venetians coming here say that the city resounds with weeping and that every house is in mourning. Here, matrons and there, husbands are lamenting. Some women mourn their husbands, others their sons, and others again their brothers. All have lost a relative. Private and public laments are heard everywhere.

The [Venetian] Senate is rightly shocked to have lost the freedom to sail as they please, not only in the Pontic Sea, the Syrian, and the Cretan Sea, but even in the Adriatic. The Turks hold a part of Albania. If they pursue their victory, how can Durazzo resist their power when Constantinople could not? And who can protect Brindisi, its neighbour on Italian soil? Will the Turks close the Adriatic Bay? This is a great disaster for Venice, but it is even greater for Christianity, for when the Venetians are defeated, it will no longer have control of the sea. The Catalans and the Genoese are powerful [peoples], but without the Venetians, they cannot withstand the Turks. All they will be able to do is resist the molestations and continuous attacks of the Africans, whom they are constantly fighting.

All this, pious Father, seems bitter and disastrous to me. It gives us reason to lament the past and fear the future. Thus, I suffer with those who suffer. What has happened is bad, but what can be expected is worse. We have seen the fall of the Greeks; now, we are waiting for the ruin of the Latins. Our neighbour's house burnt down; now ours is waiting for the fire. Who, now, stands between us and the Turks? Only a little land and a little sea separate us. The Turkish sword threatens our necks while we blithely pursue our internal wars, assail our brothers, and allow the enemies of the cross to overrun us. Germans rage against Germans, Italian hands shed Italian blood, and neither the French nor the Spaniards have peace at home. Everywhere, there is a feud among neighbours, an undying hatred, a wound that can never be healed. The Turkish commander chose a good moment. When he heard about the strife between the Latins, he safely attacked the Greeks. May God make him decide not to attack us further while we are disunited: brothers do not trust brothers, and fathers do not trust sons. We are finished unless pious God comes to our aid. But the heavenly beings only favour those who are vigilant and active; they flee cowards. If you do not help yourself, you seek God's help in vain. Fortune helps the bold and pushes the timid and negligent far away [sect. 17-20].

2.1.3. Towards a crusade

Piccolomini saw clearly that the Turkish invasion of Europe could only be met by a joint military effort, i.e., a crusade. In the abovementioned letter 341 to Cardinal von Kues of 21 July, he wrote what amounts to a papal programme for preparing such a venture:

> *Therefore, though I trust that Our Most Holy Father and all the Holy Senate[1] are now entirely focused on the safety of the Christian Commonwealth, I should greatly wish for Your most wise Grace to be now in Rome: I know you would spur the running horse and not allow any negligence in this grave matter. You would talk to one cardinal after another and not leave the apostolic ears in peace. I should hope that your efforts would soon result in provision to be made not only for the defence of Christianity against the infidels but also for seeking out the Turks in their homes to crush and destroy them. I believe that, in this great matter, Your Grace should either be recalled to the City for consultations on the common good or - indeed - be appointed [papal] legate with the mission to arouse the German people to come to the support of the threatened Faith.*
>
> *If none of this happens, I should think (and here I presume, like the pig, to instruct Minerva) that it would be well for Your Grace to send letters to the Supreme Pontiff and the Sacred College, telling them to meet this great crisis resolutely, to spare neither their money nor their persons, and to seek remedies for these new wounds and not let them fester through negligence. They should summon the kings and princes to meet in some specified place, appoint a date for the meeting, send papal legates de latere, explain the misfortunes now suffered by the Christian Commonwealth, show what future dangers must be feared and what must be done, make peace or at least a truce between the Christians, preach the cross, and promise the remission of sins. The apostolic trumpet must sound, and nothing must be neglected or left undone. If a suitable time and place are announced, the kings will surely meet in person or send representatives and embrace the cause of the Faith in good spirit.*
>
> *I have spoken at length to the emperor on this matter, not privately but in a public meeting of his council. I found him willing and exceedingly eager. Indeed, many of the senators present cried profusely as they heard my exhortation and the emperor's reply. You would have seen old men with venerable white hair readily offering to join this expedition, saying they would die happy if they fell while fighting against the impious Barbary. I pass over the robust men and the hot-blooded youths for whom a day's lingering in this matter seems like a year. I believe you would find the same in the other princely courts. Reason tells us - do not fear! - that neither the Rhinish nobility, nor the Gallic pride, nor the Italian cleverness, nor the Spanish strength, nor the English audacity would be lacking in this venture. As for the Bohemians, the Hungarians, and the Poles, their very closeness [to the Turks] will move them.*
>
> *Believe me, all Christians will consent to a crusade if the Roman Pontiff engages his authority and the loyal and eloquent voices of good preachers - among whom Your Piety is commonly thought to figure - are heard to the ends of the world. It will not even be necessary to mention the examples of Matatthias[2] and others who won when they fought for the laws of their fathers*

[1] The College of Cardinals.

[2] Mattathias ben Johanan (d. c. 166 BCE): a Jewish priest who initiated the Maccabean uprising against the Seleucid Empire. (1 Maccabees, 2).

against countless hostile forces. Our country abounds in strong men. It can mobilise an innumerable army (having the robust hearts of young men under arms), whether you require men, horses, or weapons. The Christians are superior to the Turks. Nothing can stop us but our own negligence or discord. Whether we must fight on land or at sea, we shall be victorious if only we have the will. Italy alone once defeated Greece, Asia, Libya, and Egypt. What can it not achieve now when joined by the strength of Germany and France?

We know from our forefathers that whenever Latin forces assembled, the Oriental peoples trembled, and our armies were always victorious unless God was angered by the people's sins or they were destroyed by plague or hunger. But in open war, the Latins always won. So, if now the Christian people take arms with open hearts - not because of dismal greed nor desire for empty glory, but filled with the zeal of God - for the salvation of brothers, for the law of Christ, for the expansion of the Catholic Faith, the Lord will undoubtedly look to his people from on high and, happy with sons of men, he will protect his inheritance, and with his victorious right hand he will - if we persevere - grant us to triumph not only over the Turks but also over the Saracens and other barbarous peoples [sect. 21-25].

The crusade cause would occupy Piccolomini for the rest of his life and even right up to the moment of his death in Ancona in 1464, as he was waiting for his Venetian fleet against the Turks.

2.1.4. The Prussian rebellion against the Teutonic Order

The rebellion of the Prussian cities against their master, the Teutonic Order, was mentioned in many of Piccolomini's letters from 1453.

In letter 340 to Nicolaus V of 19 June / 12 July, he wrote:

I continue, not because I wish to sadden Your Holiness, but so that I, to the best of my ability, can let the Apostolic Throne know what happens in Germany. While the Bohemians and Hungarians were doing what I have related above, the Prussians, who had made an unacceptable pact against the [Grand] Master of the Teutonic Order of Saint Mary, had been summoned to the emperor's tribunal and chosen some high-ranking men to go to His Imperial Majesty and defend their cause. Their travel passed through Moravia, a region infested with robbers, where the more spoils you take, the nobler you are considered to be. There, the men were assaulted and robbed of all their possessions. Some were killed, and the others were carried into captivity, though they had safe conduct from both the Emperor and King Ladislaus. Thus, when the day for the trial arrived, they were not there, and there was no hope for passing a judgement, for when the procedure is based on an agreement between the two parties, you cannot proceed against those who are absent and cannot appear, and the date of trial can only be postponed with the consent of both parties. The procurators of the Grand Master did not agree to a postponement. The emperor, however, endeavours to obtain concord between the parties. Some of the [Prussian] cities do not insist on a judgement, but on the other hand, they do not have the powers to accept a settlement of the conflict. So there is no great hope that the cities will abandon their pact, and the Order will not accept it. But if the parties leave without a result, a major conflict and evil threaten. The order is powerful and has many weapons and friends and much money, and neither are the cities powerless. 55 cities have joined the pact,

and the Hanseatic cities agree with them and have promised help. It is also feared that the neighbouring King of Poland will support the cities since he has often been an enemy of the Order and its Grand Master. When older men consider the matter, they much fear that the Prussians will imitate the Bohemians and expel the great and noble Teutonic Order. These matters concern the farthest coastal regions of Germany and do not interest men from the Mediterranean region [sect. 12-13].

And in letter 427 to Pietro da Noceto of 15 December, he relates the final judgement in the case:

The Prussian cities that were litigating against their lords, the [Teutonic] Order, and defending their alliance lost their case, and their league was condemned and quashed.[1] *The emperor sat in judgement together with 19 legates from the princes. They are now negotiating some form of concord between the two parties [sect. 4].*

2.1.5. The Passau affair

The appointment of a new bishop of Passau caught the pope between two parties, both of whom he wanted to be on the best terms with. On one side was Ladislaus the Posthumous, the new King of Hungary and Bohemia (and duke of Austria), who wanted the appointment of Ulrich von Nussdorf, one of his court officials. On the other side was the emperor, who would not accept the appointment unless von Nussdorf made proper obeisance to him as his temporal overlord – something that von Nussdorf obstinately refused to do. The emperor also used the matter to bring pressure on King Ladislaus to ratify the Peace of Neustadt (see above). The matter was important to Piccolomini for two reasons: firstly, one of von Nussdorf's fat benefices, the parish of Irdning, had been promised to him when the episcopal appointment went through. And secondly, because Piccolomini very much wanted to be on good terms with King Ladislaus, in particular because he wanted the king's support for his promotion to the cardinalate (see below). The matter went on for several years, greatly taxing Piccolomini's patience (as seen in the many letters where he mentions it) since he sorely needed the income from Irdning.

In letter 342 to Pietro da Noceto – a close friend and the pope's principal collaborator - of 25 July 1453, Piccolomini wrote of the matter:

Rumour has it that ambassadors of the Illustrious King of Hungary and Bohemia will come to the Apostolic See to confer on many matters with Our Most Holy Lord. Among other things, they will request that the Elect of Passau be appointed bishop and pastor of that church. Your Magnificence knows what has been written and promised to the Emperor in this matter. I consider that to be certain, firm, and solid. But if, for any reason, the Supreme Pontiff should decide to accommodate King Ladislaus in this matter and the Emperor in others, as the Supreme Pontiffs' decrees are often changed, I ask you to ensure that the promise of the Freising provostship to Ulrich Sonnenberger and the parish church to your Enea are not

[1] The emperor passed judgement in the case on 1 December 1455. See RTA, 19/2, p. 690.

> *forgotten, but that the promise to each is kept. We both put our hope in you and trust that, with your help, we shall not be disappointed* [sect. 1].

He returned to the matter in letter 351 to the same Pietro da Noceto of 10 August 1453:

> *I am sure the Greek affairs are keeping you and the whole Roman Curia very concerned and occupied, so I shall make this short. You have written to me, asking me to persuade the emperor to no longer keep the matter of the Church of Passau in abeyance and allow the elect to be appointed. I have striven mightily and often to obtain this, but my efforts have been in vain. The emperor maintains his position and will not accept that the elect be appointed unless he humbles himself. I do not know what the matter is with the elect, but he is arrogant and will not deign to submit to the prince. You see how the matter stands. Now it is up to you to consider and pursue the most expedient course. No more about this* [sect. 1].

And in a third letter to Pietro, letter 367 of 18 September, he wrote:

> *When I received your letter with the letters from Our Most Holy Lord, I immediately went to His Imperial Majesty, who happened to be at table. I awaited the end of the meal, and then, without witnesses, I gave him the apostolic letter, pretending not to know what it contained. The emperor bade me open and read it. When I had done it, he was dismayed and said, "This letter differs from what we recently received." I replied, "Emperor, new impediments require new remedies." Continuing, I tried to persuade the emperor to accept the wish of Our Most Holy Lord, and I asked for his answer. But he was most upset, as he considered two things: one, that the elect would, against his will, obtain the episcopacy in a city belonging to the imperial feudal territory, and the other, that he himself had been demonstratively and publicly defamed by the envoys of the elect. I tried to persuade him otherwise, and when, in the end, I asked for his answer, he said he wanted to discuss the matter more fully with his other councillors and ordered me to come to him with them.*
>
> *The matter was postponed for some days, as it is the practice of this court never to make speedy decisions. When the council assembled, Magister Ulrich Sonnenberger and I were the only ones to support the cause of the elect, and we strove to make the emperor favour him. But the emperor would not be persuaded, and the other councillors were against accommodating the elect. Thus, the matter was blocked. However, it was concluded that the emperor would accept the Church of Passau being provided with anybody else than the elect, as you will see from the imperial letter. On this occasion, we could obtain no more. The elect is hurting his own cause by offending the emperor, for he sent one of his closest collaborators, the steward of his household, to offer not 10,000 florins, as his envoys mendaciously claimed in Rome, but only 2,000, if the emperor would forgive him the injuries and write in his favour to the pope. However, the emperor considered it a serious matter to offer so little money for such a great offence. The man then said he would return to his master and come back here after some days with a broader mandate, and he hoped the affair could be settled satisfactorily. Then he left and never came back.*
>
> *Magister Ulrich and I wrote to the elect, hoping this affair could be settled with a smaller sum than 6,000 florins. We thought that it would be quite legitimate for him to give money for an offence towards his lord if he wanted to deserve his favour, for it is the way of all peoples to compensate for damages with money. But the elect, who had several times written to me and*

> *Magister Ulrich to obtain our support, neither sent a messenger back to the emperor nor wrote again to us. We do not know the reason, except that he may have received a letter from the Curia informing him that the pope would appoint him even against the emperor's will. Thus, a good man makes trouble for himself.*
>
> *And now his procurators publicly defame the emperor. I cannot express how much this upsets His Imperial Highness. However that may be, the emperor has decided to accept the appointment of anybody to the Church of Passau so long as it is not the elect. That way, Our Lord can settle this matter peacefully, for it will not be difficult for him to find someone willing to exchange his church for that of Passau if the Bishop of Freising or Brixen or Eichstätt or Augsburg or somebody else is asked. However, I propose another way here, viz., that Our Most Holy Lord accept the charge of reconciling the elect with the emperor and bring the elect to promise to accept whatever His Holiness decides he should give the emperor in compensation for the injuries. I think the emperor would accept this solution, and thus, the elect would get his church. Otherwise, I do not see how the pope can appoint the elect without angering the emperor, which would cause serious trouble. It would be unfortunate should friction arise between the pope and the emperor, now the best of friends, because of this church, and anyway, promises should not be broken easily. So much for the Church of Passau* [sect. 1-4].

Nothing came of this proposal, and the papal court continued to procrastinate and tergiversate. The matter was finally settled in August 1455 when the emperor granted von Nussdorff the regalia (temporal possessions) of his see of Passau.

2.2. Personal

2.2.1. Financial situation

Piccolomini came from a noble but poor family, and all his life, his personal financial situation appears to have been strained and sometimes desperate. His see of Siena was prestigious but poor ("abounding in foliage but not in fruit", letter 406: 4). Even as a pope, the limited resources of the papacy could not adequately finance his policies.

So, it is no wonder that he was permanently on the lookout for ecclesiastical benefices with incomes that could make it possible for him to maintain the living standard and household that his rank required. The example of the parish of Irdning has been related above.

Another remedy was to be relieved of the annates, a church tax, he had to pay to the papal treasury for his appointment to the see of Siena. He returns to this matter in many of his letters to friends and cardinals in Rome from this period, as seen in the following examples:

In letter 324 to Cardinal Calandrini of 27 May 1453, he wrote:

> *I understand that while Your Grace benignly advocated for the Sacred College [of Cardinals] to remit the annates due for the Church of Siena, the other cardinals did not agree. This does not diminish my indebtedness to you. But I still hope those cardinals will treat me more favourably since I am working for them day and night and shall do so as long as I live. I ask*

> *Your Grace to continue recommending me to the Sacred College whenever possible, lest I be burdened with this impossible payment. I am weighed down by many expenses, but I would be completely crushed by the payment of annates - I hope you are able to prevent it* [sect. 2].

And in letter 352 to Heinrich Senftleben of 10 August 1453:

> *It is a great comfort to me that you often write about affairs at the Curia, though sometimes I get to hear things that I would rather not. But one should report both good and bad things, which I am happy that you do diligently. I am not surprised at the lack of success concerning the annates, for, apparently, I must live as a pauper: my nature demands it. Maybe the pope will impose a tenth on all the clergy because of the Greek matter*[1]*: I would sorely miss that money. While striving to be freed of one evil, I am hit by two. But, as I have written previously, I believe I shall shortly come to you. Then I shall see how it must be with those annates, and I shall bear my fortune with fortitude* [sect. 1].

2.2.2. Apostolic legate

Piccolomini's status as an apostolic legate was prestigious but not without its problems.
Above it was related, how it brought him into a situation where the emperor asked him to judge the case of Kaspar Wendel, which caused problems for him in the College of Cardinals and might also do so at the court of King Ladislaus, Wendel's former pupil, whose support he needed in his bid for the cardinalate.

It also brought him into conflict with the ordinary ecclesiastical superior of the territory, the Archbishop of Salzburg, as witnessed by letter 296 to the archbishop of c. 17 April 1453:

> *I have received a letter in which you complain that I prejudice your jurisdiction by taking on cases belonging to your court, conferring parish churches, appointing parish priests, and allowing priests to be absent from their church.*
>
> *I shall reply briefly. I arrived from the City a year ago, and since then, I have only heard two cases, having been petitioned and urgently requested to do so. One I have settled, and the other one has not yet been argued [before me] by the parties involved. I have neither the inclination nor time to hear cases, though if I did, it should be welcome to Your Paternity since it would free you of a burden with no harm to you.*
>
> *I concede that I have, in fact, conferred a church in Graz and one in Neustadt, but this happened at the instance of the emperor as their patron. I have not conferred other churches except some of little importance, even though I have broad powers from that see from which your own authority derives. But I use these powers sparingly and only for good cause.*
>
> *I believe I have allowed absence only in very few cases and only for cogent reasons.*

[1] As a crusade contribution.

I much regret if Your Most Reverend Paternity considers that I have given offence in these matters, for I should only be too glad to accommodate Your Grace. But if you compare my acts with those of other legates, you will find that they have been modest and that I have not been presumptuous, for though I have received many appeals of judgements made by your see, I have, until now, refused them all. However that may be, since you appear to have doubts concerning my legatine mission, I state and declare that I have the powers of a legate de latere and other, special, powers that have been documented to your officials. In all this, however, it is not my intention to offend Your Grace but to accommodate you, for though, in the collation of benefices, I could reserve one in each of the provinces allocated to me, I have not done so yet.

Let this suffice as a reply to your letter, which I - remembering your former kindness and benevolence - accept as written with the best of intentions (although it was somewhat harsh) [sect. 1-5].

2.2.3. Literary production

2.2.3.1. Letters

An important exchange of letters between the Polish Cardinal Olesnicki and Piccolomini illustrates how his letter writing was perceived by a cultured contemporary dignitary and how he viewed it himself, though the humility shown in his self-appreciation was to some extent a matter of form.

In letter 366 of 10 September 1453 the cardinal wrote:

When [in 1450-1451] I received the volume with your [secular] letters, I thought it just and reasonable not to comment on individual subjects before I had read the whole. I was drawn to it with such desire that I would joyfully have read it in one breath (as they say) had it been possible. Every day, however, I was overwhelmed by so many public and private matters that reading the book would have taken months. And I would not have finished it now unless I had often stayed up in the stealthy hours of the night to read it. Now, if asked to write adequately about its virtues, I would exceed the rule that a letter should not resemble a book. Indeed, considering the words of your letters and their composition, I see that they are entirely free of murky knots, shine like white milk, and flow right into the ears of the hearers with a pleasant and clear sense, so much so that I could rightly address you in the words of Saint Jerome, "You have a great intellect," Enea, "and an inexhaustible store of language; your diction is fluent and pure; your fluency and purity are mingled with wisdom."[1] *"Many writers," as Seneca*[2] *says, "are tempted by the charm of some alluring phrase to some topic other than that which they had set themselves to discuss. But this has not been so in your case." You are the master of your words, and they do not draw you further than you want. All your words are compact and suited to the subject. You say all that you wish and often express more than you say.*

[1] Jeronimus: *Epistolae,* 3: 58, 11 (Ad Paulinum) (MPL, 22, c. 585).

[2] Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (4 BCE – 65 CE): Roman philosopher, author, and statesman.

Indeed, since I began to understand something of literature, I have detested the manner of those who, led by I know not what persuasion, cultivate in their speech such convolution of sentences and obscurity of words that only the most acute mind can understand their meaning. Ultimately, the work of a writer and a speaker only achieves its effect if it is coupled with dignity, for what is written without dignity can neither gain trust nor last long. Thus, we read that Seneca wrote to the Apostle, "I profess myself well content with the reading of your letters which you sent to the Galatians, and the Corinthians. They were such that I heard them with divine honour. For it is the holy spirit in you that expresses these exalted and venerable thoughts. I would therefore have you be mindful that when you speak of lofty matters, the polish of the style may not be wanting to the majesty of the thought."

And I think this kind of literary culture is sufficiently present when we strive to pursue not as much the eloquence of those ancient orators whom we admire so greatly as the style of the orators Italy has fostered in our age. In your works, I see that you, my illustrious friend, have succeeded in this so splendidly that I would call you a new Cicero. Indeed, your eloquence shines with Tullian purity. Often, you speak not only in serious but also in joking and playful terms about fleeing the vanity of this world, emulating virtues, and - most importantly - attaining the rewards of heavenly life [sect. 2-4].

In his reply to the cardinal, letter 406 of 22 October 1453, Piccolomini wrote:

I now pass on to the volume with my letters that Your Grace commends and praises in so many words. I do not claim as much credit for myself as you give me, for I am far from those you compare me with and whose equal you make me. I feel how tenuous my oratorical vein is and how limited and inelegant my store of words. [In this,] I trust myself more than others: I know that I am unadorned and speak openly, without ornaments. I reject all [oratorical] garments, and when I write, I do not labour, for I do not deal with lofty matters unknown to me. I [simply] pass on what I have learnt. It is easy to explain to another what you understand yourself, and you cannot bring light to others if you yourself are in the dark. I avoid complicated and long sentences. If there are polished terms available, I take care to weave them into the text; if not, I do not search far and wide but use such terms that come immediately to mind. My only concern is to be understood. However, I am aware that my language is coarse and unpolished and not worthy of reaching learned ears. Therefore, when you asked for my letters, I hesitated for a long time, doubting whether to let you, an accomplished and most learned man, see my inept writings. What reached your hands would be lightweight. I was ashamed of the many errors and had not yet had a copy made.
Though some of my letters were read widely, I had not put them into circulation myself. But the familiars living with me appropriated one letter after the other from the hands of the copyists and, having compiled them into one volume, circulated them to their fellows in the belief that they were something that they were not. Having never read anything but the commentaries on Alexander the Grammarian and the fables of the poet Brunellus and the sophisms of the vulgar dialecticians of Brittany and some old Trojan history, they thought they saw light in the darkness and - like blind men let the one-eyed lead them - they credited me with eminent eloquence, though I had not yet merited to be counted among the accomplished disciples. I accepted this honour, and though I knew this vain glory could not last, I did not let it disturb me. To those who came to me, I imparted such light as I could, and if I could not open fountains of milk for them, at least I could quell the thirst of my friends with pure water. What I gave them may not have been great and precious, but at least it was not bad or harmful. And when I met

great intellects, apparently capable of drinking from noble founts, I showed them living sources to drink from and taught them to pursue the flows of Quintilian, Cicero, and others, followed by Italy. So, I accepted that my writings were used by such new students of eloquence, of whom I would not be ashamed.

But you are versed in the writings of all the poets and orators; you are familiar with the whole of secular and ecclesiastical wisdom, and you know those works in the Latin language that are most admired. Therefore, I did not see how I could possibly send my trifles to you. Merchants [only] send their much coveted wares to the markets. And after midnight, when dreams are true, Quirinus appeared and admonished Horace in these words: "Tis foolish to carry timber to a wood." So, I saw that if you read the work you requested, my reputation would suffer. But since you kept insisting, I [finally] decided to obey your wish, though it would cost me my reputation. When I sent you the book, it was not so that you should judge it, for I myself thought it foolish, and even less so that you should praise it, for in my own judgement, it deserved abuse. No, I sent it because I could not say no to a friend, a father, and a lord. I thought that you would have enough after the first page, and when I released the book, I told it, "Go boldly, but know that you will reach the cardinal's learned ears at your great peril. He will either throw you into the fire or send you to the druggist." I judge my writings like he who said about his own, that they will end up wrapping pepper, cinnamon, incense, and saffron.

But the same thing has happened to me that recently happened to a Genoese monk of the Order of Saint Francis. While a student in Padua, he heard that Austria had excellent teachers of oratory. He had only an elementary knowledge of this discipline but wanted to master it completely. So, without saying goodbye even to his friends, he hastened to Austria, as eager for foreign teachings as the man who went to Ethiopia so that he might see the gymnosophists and the very famous Table of the Sun amid the sand. But when he arrived in Vienna and attended the schools of philosophy, he succeeded so well that he, who had come to hear [lectures], soon ascended the teaching chair, and the teachers he had been seeking he began to instruct as his pupils. A similar thing happened to me: I expected scorn, but instead I gained respect. I thought I would be vilified, but instead I am praised. I feared hate, but instead I get love.
What can I say? Should I declare you a slow-minded and unqualified judge who, bleary-eyed, sees black as white and says that bad is good and good is bad? On the other hand, there is your letter full of high learning, in which I do not know what to admire most: its grave content or its consummate elegance. Your one letter alone merits all the praise you heap on my whole book. The qualities you ascribe to me are, in fact, your own.
So, what is it that caused you to praise me? The reason is, [I presume], that you did not want to sadden me. You saw many letters where I titled myself "poet" and said to yourself, "This man must have a high opinion of himself to claim such a grand title." You remembered what Flaccus said about poets: "If one has gifts inborn, if one has a soul divine and tongue of noble utterance, to such give the honour of that name". And you know what Cicero said in his oration for Licinius Archia: "We have it on the highest and most learned authority that while other arts are matters of science and formula and technique, poetry depends solely upon an inborn faculty, is invoked by a purely mental activity and is infused with a strange supernal inspiration. Rightly, then, did our great Ennius call poets "holy", for they seem recommended to us by the benign bestowal of God." So, you thought that if you criticised my writings as they deserved, you would cause me great harm since I wanted to be considered one of the holy poets and claimed a place among this old race of learned men, whereas, in your opinion, I merited neither the title of poet nor even the name of an ordinary author. You thought that if you did not share

my opinion, I would lose courage, give up hope, and neglect style and writing. Not wanting to wound me this way, you wrote what you thought would benefit a friend. You wanted me to write, to exert my intellect, and to someday grow into the person I could be, if not the person I wanted to be. Therefore, you did not want to discredit my letters that had already begun to circulate throughout Germany. I am grateful that, in your kindness, you did not hesitate to put my reputation above your own judgement and gave me your support at your own cost.
I see that your commendation brings immense acclaim to my letters, for who will hereafter dare to criticise them, knowing they carry your stamp of approval? Indeed, I shall place your letter at the beginning of the collection so that all who read it will know that you have lent your authority to what they are reading. Though I keep in mind the response of Apollo that you should know yourself, it makes me happy to see my name honoured - in whatever way. Why should I not prefer to be praised falsely to be vilified rightly? Your commendation carries such weight that it makes others commend me, too. Many things [in this world] have not merited their grand reputation; though they are held in high regard and are treasured, they ought to be scorned and neglected. Fortune dominates everything. She sometimes – at her whim - lets mortals fall into oblivion and sometimes makes them famous, and she has never lost her power over poets and other writers. Many have become acclaimed thanks to her favour rather than because of their own qualities. And many who deserved eternal fame were forgotten because of Fortune's malice and could never rise.

But what if it was God himself (and not Fortune, which is simply divine providence or permission) who - for your sake - nodded approvingly at them? Should I not be happy and proud and acknowledge how I owe everything to your name since it was you who made me immortal? Idomeneus gained immortal memory because he was mentioned in Epicure's letters, and so did Atticus, mentioned in Cicero's, and Lucillus, mentioned in Seneca's. And since your name occurs in the midst of my letters, you release me from mortality, and the everlasting fame those men gained from others' letters, you give me through my own. So why should I not love you, cultivate you, and serve you in every possible way? In any case, I have said from the beginning that I was yours, and my feelings have not changed [sect. 6-12].

A letter from Goro Lolli shows that Piccolomini's letter writing also caught the attention of the Neapolitan court. In letter 419 of 10 December 1453, he wrote:

In the oration and letters sent to the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, you described Eitzinger's intrigue against the Count of Celje, the count's deposition from the government, the creation of the triumvirate, and other events in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. I read and reread them with such fascination that I wore them out, as Cicero wrote about Xenophon and his Cyropaedia. This sentiment was not just my own! I am now in the King of Aragon's army, commanded by his illustrious and firstborn son, Ferrante, Duke of Calabria. When Ferrante heard I had received letters from Austria, he was eager to hear about the emperor and his cousin, Empress Leonora, and asked me what news I had from Austria. So, I allowed him to read the letters, which he, other nobles, and several most learned men enjoyed so much that they (especially the duke himself and the Count of Celano, a well-read and eloquent man who greatly loves learned men) claimed to have never read anything so captivating. I had copies made for several men who asked for them, and first among them, the duke himself, who asked two things from me: firstly, that I should offer you his friendship and whatever he could do for you, and secondly, that he could read the letters I got from you or that I would provide him with copies. I agreed

to both and answered as was opportune. Thus, you may see how gladly I received and read your letters [sect. 1].

2.2.3.2. Historia Gothorum

In 1453, Piccolomini finished his abbreviated version of Jordanes' *Historia Gothorum*. We know of it because he mentioned it in three letters (290 of 23 March, 292 of 10 April, and 298 of 17 April) to Cardinal Carvajal, to whom he had sent a copy (together with a copy of his *Oratio contra Australes*, see below). Since the cardinal had not mentioned it in his letters, Piccolomini feared that they had gone missing somewhere on the way to the cardinal in Rome. In the first of these letters, he wrote:

I have previously sent Your Grace a treatise Against the Austrians and an abbreviation of [Jordanes'] History of the Goths. But I fear that I have been disappointed and that they have gone lost during travel. They were carried by Johann von Lieser and a doctor from Nürnberg. I wonder if they somehow failed me, for your grace makes no mention of the works in your letters [sect. 17].

2.2.3.3. The oration "Sentio

He also mentions the oration *"Sentio"*,[1] written towards the end of 1452 in defence of the pope and the emperor against the Austrian rebels. He had mentioned them as possibly gone missing in the three above-mentioned letters to Cardinal Carvajal. However, in letter 288 of 13 February, which Piccolomini had evidently not yet received, the cardinal wrote:

Our Most Holy Lord [the pope] is reading and publicly praises your treatise against the Austrians and commends all your writings. All who can get hold of them have copies made and keep them [sect. 5].

In a later letter, the cardinal also warned Piccolomini to not publish the oration before he left Austria because the contents would probably mightily upset the Austrians. Piccolomini mentioned this warning in letter 413 to Cardinal Peter von Schaumberg of 18 November, who had asked for a copy:

Your letters were recently delivered to me. In the [first] one, you requested two things from me. One was to support the cause of the [Order] of Saint Mary of the Germans to the best of my ability.[2] The second was to have a copy made for Your Grace of a small work that I have written against the Austrians and in praise of the emperor.[3] Nobody, however, asked for my reply to your letter, but I shall answer now since the envoy you sent to the emperor is going home.

In the matter of the order, I say and do what seems just to me and pertains to the imperial honour. I support the order as much as I can since I consider its cause to be the more just. Your envoy will fully inform you about what has been done in the matter until now. It is an important case, with a long tail. The small work mentioned by Your Grace I sent, more than a year ago, to the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, whose authority and opinion I greatly respect. He wisely

[1] COR, 4: 20.

[2] Piccolomini is referring to the court hearing on the conflict between the Teutonic Order and the Prussian cities.

[3] Piccolomini's oration *"Sentio"* of December 1452 (COR, 4: 20).

thought I should not publish the book while still in these regions. I obeyed the judgement of this great Father. I do not know how it is that some people in Rome have a copy, as you write. I myself keep hidden as much as possible what I wrote then. Therefore, I beg Your Grace to accept that I do not now send what you ask for. But I shall send it as soon as I am in Siena, and that will not be long if it pleases the Divine Piety. For it is my intention to leave here after Christmas and return home, and then I shall send you the book and also some other apologetic writings. In the meantime, you should not love your servant less, for I shall repay my debt with interest. No more in reply to your first letter [sect. 1-2].

2.2.3.4. Poems

In letter 366 of 10 September 1453, Cardinal Olesnicky wrote about Piccolomini as a poet:

You often compose such grave and splendid sentences that you completely justify having obtained the title of poet, which you use to sign your letters. For we have found that when the poets - whose knowledge of all great things and arts has always been evident - inserted something fictitious in their works, their primary intention (if we are not mistaken) was to acquaint people with moral philosophy that teaches men to live virtuously or natural philosophy that probes the secrets of nature. Moreover, they wanted to please and delight the minds and eyes of the hearers through extravagant praise of the virtues, based on the examples of illustrious men, or to make us consider - through well-deserved condemnation of the vices and abject ways of reprehensible men, which should be abhorred [sect. 5].

In his reply letter 406 of 22 October, Piccolomini wrote:

Before I entered Holy Orders, I did not call myself a poet because I wanted to appear similar to the Mantuan, or the Pelignian, or any other of the ancients, whom they call poets, noble and holy, sharing the divine mind. No, I gave myself that title in the way Seneca, in one of his letters, gave it as a common term for all who write verses, though the term, when used alone, means Homer to the Greeks and Virgil to the Latins. However, though we sometimes wrote verses, elegies, eclogues, and once a satire, we did not presume to take the title of poet. Indeed, we did not use it before Emperor Friedrich, having seen some of our writings, granted us the laurel crown in Frankfurt. Then we considered that we were allowed to take the title of poet just as those who study canon or civil law, when they have become magisters, sign their letters to friends as doctors of the decrees or the laws. We did so lest we appear to disdain the honour itself or the one who granted it. Thus, we have snatched our hand from under the cane, we know the grove of Mars, which ghosts Aeacus is torturing, and the size of the ash trees hurled by Monychus. So, we considered it legitimate to use the title of an art on which we had spent a great part of our life.

But another just as important reason compelled me to use this title often. When I was appointed a secretary to the emperor and came to Austria, all I met who were considered learned in Vienna loathed poetry as a pernicious and abominable pursuit. So I began to often argue and discuss with them and show them that poetry is rewarding to those who use it correctly and that the title should be considered honourable and sacred. Then, lest people believe me to dislike the title I myself praised, I began to sign [my letters] as "poet" and did not give up that title before I entered the Church, took Holy Orders, was ordained a priest, and then put behind me

> *all that smelled of worldly ostentation. So, now you know why I called myself a poet and what I meant by giving myself this title* [sect. 14-15].

2.2.3.5. Preparations for a History of Hungary

Piccolomini wrote a History of Austria (*Historia Australis*) and a History of Bohemia (*Historia Bohemica*). It is not farfetched to imagine that he would also be interested in writing a History of Hungary. In the histories of Austria and Bohemia, he had combined his materials on contemporary history, gathered from sources at the imperial court and his personal files, with existing histories of the two countries written by other (previous) authors. Concerning Hungary, he had himself abundant materials on contemporary history, but for the previous history of that country, he would need access to other sources. It is not surprising then, that in letter 302 to Nikolaus, Secretary of King Ladislaus of 24 April 1453, he mentioned that he had asked the Hungarian chancellor, János Vitéz, to send him a history of Hungary. This does not prove that Piccolomini was actively preparing to write a History of Hungary, but it does support the notion:

> *I recently wrote a lengthy letter to the lord bishop and sent it to the Austrian chancellor, asking him to forward it to the bishop. In the letter, I asked him for a history of Hungary, but I do not know if the letter was dispatched. Please ask the chancellor, and if it has not been sent, please ensure that it is* [sect. 2].

2.2.4. Humanism / Poetry

As a humanist, Piccolomini was much concerned with the defence of poetry and the related theme of Christian's use of pagan authors, themes to which he returned several times in his writings. One instance is the above-mentioned letter 366 of 10 September 1453 to Cardinal Olesnicky.

Having examined authorities opposing and defending the use of classical, pagan poetry (in a broad sense), he ends by quoting two Christian doctors, Jerome and Basil the Great, in favour of them:

> I pass over the philosophers' books, full of salutary teachings, which we read avidly, though they may contain poisonous seeds. Indeed, Jerome does not instruct us to avoid all reading of secular wisdom but - as mentioned above - explains to Damasus how to read secular philosophers and poets. *"A type of secular wisdom,"* he says, *"is described in Deuteronomy under the figure of a captive woman. The divine voice commands that if an Israelite desires to have her as a wife, he shall make her bald, pare her nails, and shave her hair. When she has been made clean, she shall pass into the victor's embrace. (If we understand that literally, isn't it ridiculous?) We ourselves are accustomed to doing this when we read the philosophers and when the books of secular wisdom come into our hands. If we find anything useful in them, we convert it to our own doctrine; but if we find anything – with regard to idols, love, the care of secular things – that is inapplicable, these we shave off, for these we decree baldness."* In a letter to Magnus, an orator in Rome, Jerome uses this similitude again, adding, *"Is it then to be wondered if I, on account of the delightful eloquence, desire to make the wisdom of the world a captive and a handmaid of Israel? And if whatever in her is dead, such as idolatry, pleasure, error, or lust, has been cut away or shaved off, and having mingled with this handmaid of purest body, I beget by her a generation for the Lord of Sabaoth?"* This is Saint Jerome's authentic

and highly relevant position on this matter. When he was asked if Christians could read the philosophers and poets with a safe conscience, he did not forbid them to all Christians but only to those who would *read them for pleasure*. We follow his judgement and clasp the hand of the holy doctor, for *since there are many poets and of all kinds, we should not turn our minds to everything they say. When they relate the deeds and words of outstanding men, we should be fervently inspired to become like them. But when they talk about wicked men, we should not imitate them but close our ears, as they said Odysseus closed the ears to the songs of the Sirens.*

In this context, the words of Basil the Great, admired by the Greeks, are quite to the point. This is his judgement about poets, as translated by Aretino: *"We do not praise poets when they imitate clowns, lovers, drunks, or mockers, nor when they claim that happiness is about laden tables or dirty singing, and especially not when they talk about the gods."* He then mentions bees. *"Some people,"* he says, *"only take smell and colour from flowers, but the bees also know how to extract honey from them. Thus, those who are not just fascinated with delightful style are able to gain some substance from the poets*." And he adds, *"The bees do not approach all flowers equally, nor do they use the whole flower, but only draw from them what they need and leave the rest. And we too, if we are wise, should only take away [from the poets' writings] whatever is suitable for us and truthful, and pass by whatever is left."* And not content with this, he continues, *"And since we enter into our lives by means of virtue, and virtue is much praised by poets, historians, and philosophers, we must pay special attention to those words of theirs."* Basil also said he *"had heard a certain man, skilled to understand a poet's mind, say all the poetry of Homer is praise of virtue and everything of his bears to this end, whatever is not incidental*. This is what great and holy men have declared concerning the secular poets [sect. 44-45].

2.2.5. Return to Italy

A red thread in Piccolomini's correspondence from these years is his longing for Italy and his wish to return there.

There were good reasons for Piccolomini to remain at the imperial court. One was that the emperor wanted it since Piccolomini had by now become his highly regarded councillor, diplomat, expert on Italian and Church affairs, and liaison to the papal court. Another was that the pope wanted it since Piccolomini was his most influential representative at the imperial court.

As Piccolomini wrote in letter 334 to Goro Lolli of 1 July 1453:

Concerning any hope I might have to obtain more from the Roman Pontiff by residing in Siena than by remaining here, I do not fool myself. At present, I have some influence with the Roman Bishop and the cardinals because of their regard for the emperor and not because of my own worth. But when I come to stay in Siena, neither the pope nor the cardinals will remember me. I know the curia's and the prelates' mindsets. I do not deceive myself, and I do not agree with you that I would be appreciated more if I lived close to the pope. The Roman Curia seeks favour, not men. It has many men with greater abilities than me, but the only Italian prelate it has among those dear to the emperor is me. So, now I am of some importance, but when I leave the emperor's court, I shall no longer be useful and therefore no longer in favour [at the papal court]. I palpably know that this is what will happen [sect. 4].

And finally, there was the danger of travelling through areas, including Siena, still infested by war and political turmoil. In a letter 313 to Rafaele Primadizi, his vicar in Siena, of 7 May 1453, he wrote:

> *It pains us much to be absent, and we fervently desire to come home. But the times are against us. The war raging in Italy and the situation in our own country [Siena] necessitate a temporary exile. We trust that, in your wisdom, you realise that the storms now shaking our country do not encourage our return. Of course, a bishop should - especially in times of trouble - be home to support his children and assist them by all means. But this truth only applies when the sons are able to take advice and accept the admonitions of their parent. So, if one's efforts are in vain and only lead to enmity, it is better to be silent and stay away until time permits a better course. We know our country and the ways of fellow citizens in times of war,*[1] *so we wait for peace, and if God gives it, you will soon have us back home* [sect. 2].

And in letter 371 to Francesco Tolomei of 25 September 1453, he wrote:

> *We had hoped that, through the agency of the Supreme Pontiff, peace would not fail to come to Italy. Now we hear that wars are flaring up without hope of concord. We wished and still wish to return home, but now we do not know what route to take. The clash of war is everywhere. I cannot go disguised as a pilgrim, and to travel as a prelate is dangerous* [sect. 1].

So, there were good reasons for Piccolomini to prolong his Austrian exile. However, there were other reasons pulling him back to Italy and Siena, one of them being his illness, old age and approaching demise, and difficulties in his diocese that could not be solved by an absentee bishop. These reasons are neatly summed up in letter 362 to Goro Lolli of 3 September 1453:

> *I received your letter while healthy and now reply to it while ill! You may well ask what kind of illness, for no illness is unknown to me. Indeed, there are no physical troubles or perils that I have not suffered at some point. I have had 1,000 kinds of fever. Every day, I have attacks of coughing. Passing stones is a regular occurrence. In Rome, I suffered pain in the loins for twelve days. In Padua, my eyes hurt. In the remotest part of Britannia, which they now call Scotland, I lost some teeth, under excruciating pain. Podagra follows me everywhere I go. What could I not say about stomach troubles? No physical ailment is unknown to me. Previously, the only trouble that had not yet hit me was the dribbling of urine and bladder troubles. Those I suffer now, together with the inflammation and the passing of blood.*
>
> *Hearing this, you will surely think that I have been severely hit, and you will not be mistaken. For I am pained and suffering not only in body but also in mind. For whose soul is so iron-hard that it does not suffer when the body suffers? These two, body and soul, are conjoined, and since they govern a man, one cannot be troubled without the other. But though distressed, I am not so overwhelmed that I cannot come to my senses: these pains will either be healed or end with death. My physician is a good man who loves me dearly and whom you know well, the noble knight Jacopo de Lodron. He gives hope of a speedy recovery. I treasure him because of*

[1] In times of war, civil unrest and bickering political parties in Siena, the position of a bishop endeavouring to stay impartial would be difficult, especially if, like Piccolomini, he belonged to the class of Sienese nobles, excluded for generations from the government of the city and generally suspected to wish to return to power.

his learning and his reliability, which I know to be very great. So, I hope to be healed soon. And if God grants it, I shall immediately mount my horse and come to you to spend the rest of my life at home.

But I am aware that it may turn out differently, for when even the life of a healthy person is in doubt, how can you be sure that a sick person [will survive]? If my illness grows worse or another besets me, it is quite possible that I must return my life to Him who gave it. But in that case, too, I have consolation. Many think it a misery to die away from one's country and relatives, and I, too, would rather die among my own than among strangers. For I know not how bones can rest more peacefully than in a tomb built by relatives. But I do remember what a famous philosopher once said: there are as many roads to the nether world as to the world on high, which is where I hope to go. And though I am burdened by a great mass of sins, I am sure God's mercy is greater than my wickedness. That is what I confidently trust.

I disagree with those who believe the soul dies after this life and who, therefore, claim that death is not to be feared since there is no pain in it: what was before us and what comes after is all death. For what can be worse than when a person dies, he feels nothing afterwards, like a lamp that has been put out? Before it was lit, it had no light, and after it is put out, it has no light, either. If I believed that, I would indeed be terrified of death. But I firmly believe in the truth which the great philosophers expounded, Christ the Saviour preached, and Mother Church teaches: when the souls leave the body, they pass on to another life where the good and the evil live separately, and the first have a blessed life and the others a miserable one according to how they lived while in the body.

To me, it is truly comforting that when you must leave this life, you can hope to join the assembly of saints, rise above the stars, gaze into Heaven, join the most blessed angels, understand the divine infinity, know the Trinity, and examine the causes of all those things that seem obscure to us when living on Earth. Thus, I am convinced there is no evil in death but much good. With such exhortations, I encourage those Christ calls to Him (for He calls all who come willingly) when they are ill. I prepare myself so that when I am called upon to depart from this world, I shall not leave as someone who has been thrown out but as someone who has been summoned. This is what I have to say about my illness.

But, to tell you all, I am alarmed not only because of my own health but also the health of my nephew, Pietro, who is suffering from severe fevers. He is somewhat better now and outside danger, but not yet safe. He will recover, but it will take time. Illnesses come by the pound and leave by the ounce. But this must stay hidden from his parents, who should only learn he has been ill after they hear he is safe and sound.

I now come to your vehement accusation that I have completely forgotten my country, my parents, and my friends since I do not want to return. Though you think so, I have not forgotten you, Goro, or my relatives and friends. Day and night, I have the sweet land of my country before my eyes. I think of my mother, my sisters, my nephews, and you, and I desire nothing more than to go back home. I am surprised that you can believe what you write about me, for where can I stay more pleasantly and sweetly than in the land that gave birth to me and raised me to manhood, where I have many friends and relatives, and where - most importantly - I can be among my own with authority and honour.

Do you really think I am not eager to return and resume those conversations we once had with friends? Where are Mariano Sozzini, Francesco Patrizi, and Giorgio Andrenzio conversing now? Will I not be delighted to hear Francesco Tolomei and Giovanni Campisio - now my equal in episcopal dignity? I pass over our other dear friends and relatives.

So, I am making haste and think of nothing more than returning to you. But I do take care lest I offend the emperor while endeavouring to fulfil my own and your desire. I have now served him for ten years; I have found favour before his eyes, grown in his shadow, and advanced greatly due to his benevolence. I wish to leave but to remain in his good grace, and I do not want the end to be bad when the beginning was good and the middle even better. It is important to consider how all things should end. Quite recently, I asked for a leave of absence to visit my home, and the emperor granted it, but not before judgement had been passed in the Prussian matter, which is to happen on 21 October. But it is not only the emperor's wish that forces me to wait, but also my illness. However, as soon as I am healed, I shall depart [sect. 1-10].

And in letter 367 to Pietro da Noceto of 18 September 1453, he wrote:

But to speak of home, I would not be tranquil in Siena at this time, you say. Still, the citizens, in frequent letters, urge me to return, and they appear to take my long hesitation badly. A messenger never arrives from Toscana without letters summoning me - some with prayers, some with threats – to return. I do not see how I can resist any longer. I know I am old and suffer from various illnesses. Therefore, I have decided to die in my country if it pleases God. I have asked the emperor to allow me to visit my home. He has given me permission to leave about 15 days after the Feast of Saint Martin on the condition that I return to the court. I say that I will return when the opportunity presents itself. But when I come home, I shall excuse myself by letter, for I do not want to always be an exile. I know I do not have many years left - not to say days - and it is reasonable that those I have, I spend among sweet relatives and friends, of whom I have a large and worthy group.

I think many will criticise my intentions, especially those who wish for my advancement. They will say that "if only Enea had stayed with the emperor, this and that would have happened to him." I admit, dearest Pietro, that my status is greater when I serve the emperor than when I am home. But what do men's erroneous opinions matter to me? I do not want to depend on someone else: I seek my firm place in myself. I do not want to always serve. I have decided to eventually live for myself. And, moreover, who knows if I would really be better off staying with the Germans? I see in myself what I see in others, and I am sure that worse things can still befall me, so I mentally prepare myself for all the hardships Fortune may send me if she will be angry with me, though until now, I have no complaints against Fortune. The honours and wealth and the other benefits of this world may, in general, be distributed evenly, but I know that I have gained more than I should. Thus, dear Pietro, I have no reason to be sad.

So, I shall return home as one who wishes to die among his own and who now considers himself as dead to the honours of this world. Everything that is better than my expectations, I'll - with our Terence - count as pure gain. Someone who sees me free of the trouble of this world may say, "O, Enea, you alone know how to live," which, according to Seneca, was said about Vatia, though he does not approve. This is what I wanted to tell you, lest you who bid me to be cheerful

> *(and thank you for that) think I am depressed. For I am cheerful, and I am even happy and overjoyed that I shall soon see you again, as I believe* [sect. 7-10].

Besides illnesses, old age, death, problems in his diocese, longing for Italy, friends and relatives, Piccolomini had two other potent motives to return to Italy – and the Papal Curia.

One was his promotion to the cardinalate, which the pope had promised the emperor and himself but not yet effected. In letter 367 to Pietro da Noceto of 18 September 1453, Piccolomini wrote:

> *So, I do as you say: I am glad; I am happy with what I have; I am happy with my friends; I am happy with myself. I wish that in the next world, I shall be as prosperous as in the present. How can anyone call me wretched when I have gained the favour of both the Supreme Pontiff and the Emperor? Thanks to your favour and the kindness of Our Most Holy Lord, I have obtained great things, and I have not given up hope of receiving even greater benefits [the cardinalate] through your benevolence. But I do not consider this a given thing: I know that the pope may change his mind and that many other things may happen to prove me wrong. To be honest, I tell myself that nothing of that will happen, which was loudly and clearly promised both to me and the emperor. It is not because I think the promise was empty, but because I know the ways of men* [sect. 9].

Another was a project for the settlement of the Hussite schism by papal confirmation of the Bohemians' right to communion under both species. This project may have been formed already during talks with the Governor of Bohemia, Georg Podiebrad, in Benesov in 1451.[1] It was such a sensitive matter that Piccolomini did not dare speak openly about it in his letters but only referred to it in veiled terms, as witnessed by three letters from the autumn of 1453:

In letter 397 to the Dean and Chapter of Prague of 11 October 1453, Piccolomini mentioned that King Ladislaus had sent representatives to the pope to discuss the Bohemian compacts, to which he had committed himself before being recognised by the Bohemians as their king:

> *But we know that envoys from the king have, these days, been in Rome to discuss the compacts[2] and that they received a response worthy of the Bishop of Rome. When it is made public, it will make many change their mind and considerably improve your situation* [sect. 5].

And in letter 412 to Prokop von Rabenstein of 15 November 1453, he ventilates the possibility of travelling to Prague to open direct negotiations with Governor Podiebrad:

> *[3] I received the greetings from His Magnificence, Lord Governor Georg, with great pleasure, for I am much impressed by the man's qualities and consider it a boon to be remembered by such a great man. Please commend me in turn to His Magnificence and assure him of my devotion. What you wrote about my travel there, which you said would please him, is certainly something I would consider, both because I want to see Prague and because our conversation would benefit the ecclesiastical affairs. But you know my situation: I could not come without*

[1] See Piccolomini's report on his travel to Bohemia in CRDM, 3

[2] The Bohemian Compacts, negotiated between the Council of Basel and the Hussites, granting them conditional use of communion under both species.

permission and financial support from the Supreme Pontiff unless His Imperial Majesty would send me there for some reason.

And, finally, in letter 423 to the same Prokop of 12 December 1453, he asks for information on the Bohemian requirements to bring with him to Rome:

I wish Your Magnificence to know that - with the emperor's permission - I shall leave after the Christmas festivities, during the Vigil of Epiphany, and return to my home and to the Roman Curia. Therefore, if you think that I may achieve anything with Our Most Holy Lord to the advantage of the Illustrious Kingdom of Bohemia, then write to me, and you shall certainly find me eager and prompt. Please communicate this to His Magnificent Lordship, Governor Georg, commend me to His Excellency, and inform me about everything before I leave. Though my intention is to have a peaceful time at home, I would not hesitate to return to Germany in this important matter if it would please His Apostolic Piety and your most glorious kingdom. But in that case, it would be necessary for His Royal Serenity to write to Our Most Holy Lord requesting that I be assigned this task. It would also be helpful if you could let me know what would finally be acceptable to the Bohemians, especially concerning the Compacts, the clerical properties, and the other contentious issues you know of. Thus, I would be better prepared to proceed with the matter [sect. 2].

2.2.6. Giovanni da Capistrano

Piccolomini sincerely admired the great Franciscan preacher, Giovanni da Capistrano, and had himself requested the pope to send him on a crusade preaching mission to Central Europe. Still, he may not have been greatly impressed by his saintly qualities, and he refused to support a Franciscan campaign for his future canonisation by confirming that he had personally seen him perform miracles.

In letter 382 to Leonardo Benvoglienti of 25 September 1453, he wrote:

Now I turn to what you mentioned about the holy man, Giovanni da Capistrano. I am glad you have written to excuse me, though an innocent does not need excuses. I have never spoken against this pious and excellent father. I have commended his character and life in many letters and conversations. It was at my request that the pope sent him to Germany, and I have praised him greatly to the emperor. When some people persecuted him in Vienna, the largest city in Austria, I vehemently defended him. I have said much about his excellent work in Bohemia. I have often written letters to the Roman Curia and your Sienese senate with commendations of him. I have extolled his name and praised him everywhere I came.

If this is my reward - as you write - then I am treated unfairly and receive what is bad for good. What reason could have compelled me to denigrate this great man who never did me any harm? Why should I envy a holy man who increases the glory of our nation? You should not believe bad things where you see good. You are the witness to my letters and my words. You have no reason to think I have vilified a man when you know I praised him.

I say nothing about the blessed and illustrious soul of Holy Bernardino da Siena, now in Heaven, for where have I not endeavoured to propagate his memory - though a man commended by divine testimony has no need of human praise? I would consider myself unfortunate and

miserable if I ever - under any circumstances - spoke or just dreamed of speaking against this white soul. For I am sure this exalted and illustrious spirit has been received in the assembly of gods and is right next to God. I am still happy and consider myself fortunate to have once met him.

So, Leonardo, best of men, it never occurred to me to try to darken these great and illustrious names, whose splendour is such that it cannot be increased by praise nor diminished by criticism. However, I do understand from where these spears are thrown against me, and I am not ashamed to tell it. When I was in Siena more than a year ago, two brothers from the so-called Observant [Franciscan Order] visited me. After the customary general remarks, they carefully asked me what Giovanni da Capistrano was doing, where he was staying, how many people came to hear him, and how popular he was with the German people. When they had heard all the good things [I had to say], they passed on to miracles, claiming they had heard many dead people in Germany had been resurrected through the prayers of this holy man. I answered that I did not know of such. Then they, not caring about truth but only about testimony, wrinkled their noses, bowed their heads, and - in the way of hypocrites - left me with lowered eyes. I am sure it is they who, in their impudence, have denounced me. But it does not affect me: I know what I said and am glad I have a [clean] conscience. If Brother Giovanni is angry with me, he acts unworthily, but I shall still respect him for his virtues. I shall treasure his name and fame as long as I live, and I shall not fear a good man, when - as Seneca believes - I ought not to fear God as long as I walk on the straight path.

To speak frankly with you: I have never heard of miracles performed by this father, and I have never seen him doing something supernatural. But I do not deny what others say about him, for I give my ears their due. One can only see a little, so therefore, one must trust what serious men say - but the words of common people have no importance. If Brother Giovanni hears me or talks plainly with me about this matter, he will find that he has nothing to reproach me for but much to approve of, and he will see that I not only love but even proclaim his integrity and decency. I shall not write to him about it, for I attach little importance to people's gossip. I know that one should live according to truth and not according to opinion, and a serious and holy man does not agree with all he is told. He is now staying in remote regions, and finding people who may reach him is difficult. He was in Poland and later fell ill in Wroclaw. Wherever he goes, he is received like an apostle of God. I do not know if he has recovered. May God send him back to the Italians safe and sound, but for a good man, the fatherland is everywhere [sect. 14-19].

3. Text

3.1. Manuscripts

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

- **Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)**
  Chis. J.V.175
  Chis. J.VI.212
  Ott. lat. 347 **(V6)**
  Ott. lat. 351 *
  Ott. lat. 1170
  Reg. Lat. 1878 **(V11)**
  Urb. lat. 401 **(V7)**
  Vat. lat. 1787 **(V5)**

- **Città del Vaticano / Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV)**
  401

- **Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana (BML)**
  Plut. 45, 19 **(F1)**

- **Göttweig / Benediktinerstift Göttweig (BSG)**
  390 *** (G1)**

- **Lublin / Katolycki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawla II / Bibliotheka**
  2625[1] **(K)**

- **Milano / Archivio Statale di Milano (ASM)**
  Arcivesvovi di Siena

- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB)**
  clm 70.[2] **(M3)**
  clm 5335 **(M5)**
  clm 6717[3]
  clm 12725.[4] (**M1**)

- **Olomouc / Studienbibliothek (OS)**
  159, f. 75r

- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF)**
  4154

- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana (BMA)**
  Lat. XIV, 252

- **Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)**
  3244

[1] Described by Modlinska. See also See Drzewiecka, pp. 80-84.
[2] 14. October 1460. Paper.
[3] https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00103338?page=,1
[4] 1443-1446. Paper. HE, p. 6; WO, 1: 1, p. ix-xiv.

3389[1] [2] **(W1)**

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  Weissenburg, 90 **(X1)**

3.2. Editions[3]

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[1] Web-ed.

[2] This mostly autograph manuscript has two sets of corrections, the first one made in continuous text by Piccolomini while writing the original text, the second one made as later marginal or interlinear additions. The corrections are indicated in the apparatus, the original ones with the text *seq.* and the later ones with the text *corr. ex. Changes in the ms. from the 2nd person plural to 2nd person singular are not indicated.*

[3] Selective list of incuabula editions. The Opera Omnia edition from 1551/1571 is not not listed here since it is based on KO. The editions are not collated unless specifically mentioned.

[4] https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00040473?page=,1

[5] With some letters from ms. W1.

[6] https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00043819/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00043819&seite=1

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3 http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/english/index.html

4 https://www.attalus.org/translate/justin8.html

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[1] https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/stefano-porcari_(Dizionario-Biografico)

[2] https://hal.science/hal-03337393v1

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    - 1, 1: Briefe aus der Laienzeit, 1431 - 1445: Privatbriefe
    - 1, 2: Briefe aus der Laienzeit, 1341.1445: Amtliche Briefe.
    - 2: Briefe als Priester und als Bischof von Triest 1447-1450.
    - 3, 1: Briefe von seiner Erhebung zum Bischof von Siena bis zum Ausgang der Regensburger Reichstages, 23. September 1450 - 1. Juni 1454.[3]

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Pius II SEE ALSO Piccolomini, Enea Silvio

[1] https://real-eod.mtak.hu/8748/

[2] Ten letters to János Vitéz from 1453 to 1457.

[3] To the end of the Diet in Regensburg 1454.

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[1] https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-pio-iii_(Dizionario-Biografico)/

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[1] Digital edition available in Latin Library

[2] https://archive.org/details/geschichteungar00szalgoog

[3] https://fnzinfo.hypotheses.org/1860#comment-7356

5. Sigla and abbreviations

F1 = Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana / Plut. 45, 19
G1 = Göttweig / Benediktinerstift Göttweig / 390
K = Lublin / Katolycki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawla II / Bibliotheka / 2625
M1 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 12725
M3 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70
M5 = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 5335
V3 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.287.
V4 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Urb. lat. 402.
V5 = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1787
V6 = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ott. lat. 347
V7 = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Urb. lat. 401
V9 = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Pal. Lat. 1583
V11 = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reg. Lat. 1878
W1 = Wien / Österreichische Nationabibliothek / 3389
X1 = Wolffenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek /Weissenburg, 90

CU = Aeneae Silvii Piccolomini Senensis qui postea fuit Pius II Pont. Max. *Opera inedita* descripsit ex codicibus Chisianis vulgavit notisque illustravit Josephus Cugnoni. 1883.

HO = *Epistolae. De laude poeticae. De differentia inter scientiam et prudentiam et de poetis. De laude litterarum. Cur libri cumulentur.* Köln: Arnold Ther Hoernen, 1470-1471. *[ISTC ip00723000]*.

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[1]].

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

Abbreviations

Libraries and Archives

AAV = Città del Vaticano / Archivio Apostolico Vaticano
ASM = Archivio Statale di Milano
BMA = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana
BNF = Paris /Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BRB = Firenze / Biblioteca Ricccardiana
GSB = Gottweih / Stiftsbibliothek
HAB = Wolfenbüttel / Herzog-August-Bibliothek

[1] https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00043819/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00043819&seite=1

MSB = Melk Stiftsbibliothek
ÖNB : Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
OS = Olomouc / Studienbibliothek
SBPK : Berlin / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Pressischer Kulturbesitz
TSB = Trier Stadtbibliothek

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 Liberorum 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]

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

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

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- Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Europe (c. 1400-1458).* Transl. by Robert Brown. Washington, DC, 2013.

HA = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austrialis*. 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 Historic. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24).

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

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

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

MPL = Migne. Patrologia Latina.

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

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 Sivio 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

****** Lead manuscript.

BCE = Before Common Era
CE = Common Era
DV = Digital version
HRE = Holy Roman Empire

Editions A: Editions from 15th to 19th c. (selective and mostly from the incunabula editions by Hoerner, Koberger, and Schuren, and the letters edited by Voigt (1856) and Weiss (1897).

Editions B: Editions from 20th and 21st c.

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

284. Letter from Johann Tröster (ca. 1453, Vienna).

Manuscripts: *Dietrichsteinische Bibliothek (Nikolsburg) / Kod. II, 122, f. 142r*[1].
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 57, p. 116 (on the basis of the Dietrischstein ms.)*

Reverendissimo Aeneae, episcopo Senensi ac poetae laureato, Johannes Tröster se commendat. Reverendissime pater.

[1] Venit mihi in mentem mos ille apud Persarum reges veterrimus, ut qui eos pro re quampiam adire instituissent, ad illos deferrent dona, quae offerentium pietatem declaratura essent. Cum et vestra reverendissima paternitas omnibus praestantior sit regibus, praesertim his honore ac dignitate et censeo et dico dignissimum, quid vero praestem prius quam poetam nescio, cum nihil mihi sit praeter iste universus animus, longe ante vestrae reverendissime paternitati deditus, ita ut proprietatis in se nihil continuit, quam iterum atque iterum do atque dedo.

[2] Quod peto, humanissime pater, est: venit nunc ex Italia doctus et illuminatus artium et medicinae licentiatus magister Georgius, domino Jacobo inter paucos notus, promisitque, ut moris est, doctoratus insignia in nullo praeter in eo loco, ubi licentiatum susceperit, petere et quia ob tremendum et horrendum Martis in Italia iram redire timet et hac in universitate insignia suscipere vellet, orat et una ego suppliciter, ut super eadem promissione vestra reverendissima paternitas dispensare velit cum in reliquis visum sit causa quietis potissima. Ideo, aequissime pater, consulite et cum eo misericorditer dispensate. Habebit enim paternitas vestra futurum fidelem physicum et memorem accepti beneficii hominem gratissimum.

Valete optime et, ut suestis me amate. Ex Wienna etc.

[1] *Acording to WO. Reproduced after WO*

284. Letter from Johann Tröster (ca. 1453, Vienna).

Context: *A friend of Tröster dared not return, as promised, to war-torn Italy to receive his doctorate at the university where he had received his licentiate.*
Subject: *Tröster asks Piccolomini, as apostolic legate, to dispense his friend from his promise.*

To Most Reverend Enea, Bishop of Siena and Poet Laureate, Johann Tröster[1] commends himself. Most Reverend Father.

[1] As I remember, the ancient custom at the Persian court was that those who intended to approach the kings in some matter would bring them gifts to show their respect. Your Most Reverend Paternity excels all kings, and I believe and declare that you are most worthy of such honours. But what can I give to such a poet since I have nothing but my soul, which has already been devoted to Your Most Reverend Paternity for a long time. So entirely has it surrendered itself that it retains nothing of its own. But what I have, I give again and again.[2]

[2] What I ask, kindest of fathers, is this: Magister Georg, learned and distinguished licentiate in the arts and medicine and a close friend of Jakob,[3] has come from Italy. As custom dictates, he has promised[4] to request the insignia of the doctorate in the same place[5] where he received the licentiate. Still, because of the terrible and horrible anger of Mars[6] in Italy, he fears to return and would prefer to receive the insignia at this university.[7] He - and I with him - therefore humbly asks Your Most Reverend Paternity to dispense him from his promise since peace is generally a most potent argument. Thus, most just Father, please favour him and mercifully grant him the dispensation. Thus, Your Paternity will have, in the future, a faithful physician and a man deeply grateful for the favour received.

Farewell, and love me as always. From Vienna etc.

[1] Johann Tröster (-1485): Secretary in the chancery. Assistant teacher of the young King Ladislaus. Involved in the Hungarian-Austrian plans to abduct Ladislaus during the emperor's coronation voyage to Rome, he fell into disgrace in the summer of 1453 and was dismissed from the court. See Heinig, p. 621, and *ad indicem.*

[2] The text of this passage is so complicated, not to say erroneous, that the translation has, of necessity, been very free.

[3] Jakob Wiederl?

[4] It must have been a most solemn promise to require a formal ecclesiastic dispensation.

[5] The name of the Italian university is not mentioned.

[6] War.

[7] The University of Vienna.

285. Letter from Nikolaus Wyle (ca. 1453, Essling).

Manuscripts: *BSB / clm, 6717, f. 279v **.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 58, pp. 116-117 (on the basis of the BSB ms.).*

[1] Anno praeterito in vestram amicitiam receptus et vestris elegantissimis scriptis protunc plus merito laudatus et Zeuxi aequatus spopondi, ut recolo, in praesentia N., scribae imperialis cancellariae, me aliquod picturae vobis velle conficere, quod hactenus aliis arduis ex parte officii incumbentibus negotiis praepeditus nequivi adimplere, licet vestra singularis praestantia, numquam meum excidens animum, quotidie me admonuerit pro confectione hujusce picturae, et ego ipse semper plus otio laetarem, esse in laboribus, obtemperationibus et mandatis vestrae paternitatis reverendae. Nunc vero imaginem hanc divi Christofori vobis duxi transmittendum, ut, cum eam inspexeritis, mei, vestri mancipii, recipiatis memoriam. Ut si quid ars mea hoc amplius possit efficere, imperatote et faciam. Obsignarem saepe ad vos litteras meas, cum causa singularis dilectionis et amoris, quibus vobis semper ob eminentes scientiam et humanitatem vestras afficior, cum quod viceversa rerer nonnumquam accipere responsa, quibus plus omnibus aliis oblectamentis me oblectaretis. Sed veritus sum hucusque multa proptereaque omisi, et nisi nuper in vestris epistulis legissem amicitiam non eloquentiam, sed rem expetere, numquam ausus fuissem haec mea scripta incompta ad vestram reverendam paternitatem ordinasse, cui me humiliter recommendo.

285. Letter from Nikolas Wyle (ca. 1453, Essling).

Context: *This letter is a reply to Piccolomini's letter to Nikolaus Wyle[1] from July 1452 (letter 275).*
Subject: *Nikolaus thanks Piccolomini for his friendship and sends him a painting of Saint Christopher.*

[1] Last year, you received me into your friendship and, in a most elegant letter, praised me more than I deserve, likening me even to Zeuxis.[2] In the presence of N.[3], a scribe in the imperial chancery, I promised to paint a picture for you. Due to the burdensome affairs of my office, I have, until now, been unable to fulfil this promise, though your exceptional qualities, always in my mind, daily urged me to paint this picture, and though I would enjoy to labour for, obey, and accommodate Your Reverend Paternity more than being at leisure. But now I can finally send you a picture of Saint Christopher so that you will be reminded of your devoted servant whenever you see it. If my art can achieve anything more, just command, and I shall obey. Since I love you dearly because of your eminent qualities of learning and kindness, I would often have written to you, hoping to sometime get an answer, which would delight me more than anything else. But until now, fear has kept me back, and if you had not recently written to me that friendship does not seek eloquence but substance, I should never have dared to send my crude letters to Your Reverend Paternity, to whom I humbly commend myself.

[1] Nikolaus von Wyle (c. 1410-1478/79): Town clerk of Esslingen (1449). Early humanist and translator. Later official of the counts of Württemberg. Prepared an early edition of Piccolomini's letters and translated his *De Duobus Amantibus.*

[2] Zeuxis: Greek painter from the 4th and 5th centuries BCE.

[3] "Wohl Ludwig Rad" (WO).

286. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (10 January 1453, Rome)

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 42v-44r*[1]*; V5, 60, ff. 74v-77r **; V6, 60, ff. 64r-66r; V7, 60, ff. 82v-85r.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 218, p. 406-409 (on the basis of the mss. listed above).*

{74v} Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, Johannes Campisius salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Ex iis[2], quae ad me scripsisti his diebus proximis, animadverti cupere te, ne sim tam constans in servanda lege nostra[3] taciturnitatis. Scribis enim, “etsi rarae sint ad te litterae meae rarioresque ad me tuae” et cetera, quae sequuntur. Ex quibus tacite jubes, immo et aperte sentis, ei[4] legi aliquando derogandum esse etsi negas abrogandum! Fateor, mi pater venerande, durior sum in servanda lege quam aequum esset, verum nimia licentia, quam facilitate in me tua capio, negligentiorem in scribendo facit, quamquam et infinitus ac nimis assiduus occupationum mearum pro hero meo reverendissimo labor, et quod animus fere a me, ut ita dicam, plerumque abest, non parvam occasionem praebent, ut rarior ad te per litteras veniam.

[2] Et ut ad litteras, quas dixi, ad me tuas redeam, animadverti ex illis quoque te aviditate quadam nimia teneri redeundi aliquando in patriam et patrio in solo manendi. Nihil equidem miror: satis enim ac super nimiumque exterus fuisti et jam tempus esset te Italum fieri, qui apud Germanos inter labores plurimos eosdemque maximos, ut ita dicam, quamquam non sine claritate senuisti. Quo fit, ut tibi sim aequior, cum ais te optare finire aliquando exilium istic tuum et vel mortuum Italico frui solo, putemque poetae illi, ut *pinguiore Minerva* agamus, vel facile {75r} concedendum, quem affers dicentem: *mollius ossa jacent manibus tumulata suorum.* Cupis tu[5] quidem patriae vel Italiae solum. Ego vero te non minus vellem, verum animo tranquilliore diuturnioreque tempore quam fueris, cum Romae postremo fuisti.

[1] DV, 90-93
[2] his V6, V7
[3] *omit.* WO
[4] et V7
[5] *omit.* V7

286. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (10 January 1453, Rome)

Context: *This is a reply to a lost letter, probably from autumn 1452.*
Subject: *Campisio veiledly mentions Piccolomini's hoped-for appointment as a cardinal and then gives a short account of Stefano Porcari's conjuration. See also the following letters.*

To Enea, Bishop of Siena, Giovanni Campisio[1] sends many greetings.

[1] Your recent letter[2] made me realise that you do not wish me to observe our "law of silence" so faithfully. Indeed, you write that "though my letters to you are rare and yours to me even rarer, etc." Thus, you implicitly, nay openly, state that we should sometimes set aside this law, though it should not be abolished! I admit, Venerable Father, that I have observed this law more strictly than reasonable, but your indulgence towards me has made me more negligent in writing since my unending strenuous and mind-consuming labour for My Most Reverend Lord[3] amply justifies that I rarely visit you by letter.

[2] But your letter made me see how avidly you wish to return to your country and stay in your fatherland. This is no surprise, for you have been abroad enough, nay more than enough, and it is time for you to become an Italian again, having grown old[4] while occupied in many most important affairs in Germany, in which you have acquired great distinction. So, to be fair to you, when you say you want to end your exile there and enjoy, even in death, being on Italian soil, I shall - imitating *fat Minerva*[5] - easily yield to the poet, whom you quote, saying that *more softly lie the bones entombed by the hands of relatives.*[6] You are longing [to return] to the soil of your country, Italy.[7] I wish it just as much as you, but [I hope] you will be more at peace and stay longer than the last time you were in Rome.[8]

---

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

[2] This letter appears not to be extant.

[3] Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo (1380-1449): Archbishop of Taranto, 1421 . Cardinal, 1439.

[4] Or: exhausted yourself.

[5] Proverbial expression meaning "lazy Minerva" in the present context.

[6] Unidentified quotation.

[7] Siena.

[8] In connection with the emperor's coronation in March the year before, which had been a most hectic period for Piccolomini.

[3] Et, si mihi indulseris, dicam tibi, quod vellem. Vellem te hic eum esse, quem fore rumor quidam praetulit, cum hic apud Caesarem esses. Nec de hoc plura dixerim. Credo memoria tenes, quid tibi de hoc rumore in aurem eo tempore apud aedem Sancti Petri dixerim. Credo etiam, credis, me tui causa pervigilem esse ac minime quiescere minimeque apud herum meum tacere ac apud quos puto posse aliquid in tui commendationem proficere, etsi neque tu mihi aliquid jubes, et ipse tibi nihil rerum significem, quas[1] ipse tui causa facio. Sic enim puto fieri oportere ac tibi magis placere, ut non omnia litteris credam, quamquam Senftleben habes, a quo de singulis edoceris, a quo puto, et de re accipies, quae hic novissime his diebus emersit, nova penitus et saeculis nostris haud audita, nam qui exteri Romae sumus in extrema mala paene incidimus.

[4] Stephanus enim cognomento Porcarius, aut, ut ipse appellari voluit[2], Porcius, eques Romanus, annum jam Bononiae summi pontificis imperio relegatus poena capitis adjecta, si ex ea urbe injussus abscederet, ubi et quasi stipendii loco 300 aureos ibi annuos ex aerario[3] summi pontificis {75v} sibi destinatos habebat, clam domino legato aufugiens, festino cursu, ne dicam volatu, urbem Romam quarto die mutata veste ingressus ac domi apud Angelum de Massa, cui illius soror uxor fuit, latens, magna deinde in ejus aedibus conjuratorum manu clam quoque apud eum coacta, Capitolium imprimis die Epiphanie, cum senator apud aedem Sancti Petri abesset, capere simulque dato signo[4] pontificem maximum una et sacros sacri senatus patres, ipsum quoque senatorem aggredi ac[5] vel ferro necare vel vinctos primum servare, quoad illi arx Sancti Angeli tradita esset et deinde curiales et exteros[6] omnes ac ex civibus nonnullos in praedam suis complicibus dare statuerat. Sunt, qui dicunt, et matres familias illorum civium et virgines violare.

[5] Verum divina pietas tam nefario ausui obsistens tam horrendum facinus aspicere non potuit. Itaque tam calamitosam pestem a nobis avertit, nam cum jam parata essent ad malum perficiendum omnia et fere ad summum usque perducta res omnis, pridie ejus[7] diei, cujus postridie omnis res, ut dixi, ferro et vinculis agenda erat, ad noctem patefacta est. Itaque die postera nonis Januariis nocte media, cum jam conjuratorum manus fusa et iidem metu perculsi fractis cum animo viribus latebras quaererent, Porcarius ille, caput et auctor mali, apud sororem via regulae latitans in arca quadam clausus, Deo ut creditur volente, repertus et captus {76r} est, captis tamen ante illum pluribus, e quorum numero fuere Angelus, quem supra dixi, pater et Clemens, filius adolescens, cui [sanctissimi[8]] patri medicus quidam Petrus de Monte Rotundo gener fuit, cui non parum timeo, nam hinc pavescens abiit.

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[1] quae V6, V7, WO
[2] maluit V6, V7
[3] errario V7
[4] *omit.* V7
[5] *omit.* V5
[6] ceteros V5, WO
[7] huius V7
[8] *em.*

[3] And, if you will permit me, I shall tell you what I would like. I would like you to be in Rome and in such circumstances as rumored when you were here with the emperor.[1] I will not say more about that. Presumably, you remember the rumour I whispered to you one day at Saint Peter's Basilica. I believe that you know me to be vigilant on your behalf: I do not rest, and I always speak to my master[2] and to those whom I think my recommendation of you may influence, even though you have not asked it. I do not tell you what I am doing in your cause, since I think it best - and you presumably agree - not to entrust all to a letter, and since you do have Senftleben to inform you about everything. I presume you will also hear from him about the recent events here, unprecedented in this age, for they gravely imperilled all us non-Romans present in the City.

[4] More than a year ago, the Roman knight Stefano Porcari[3] [4] or Porcio - as he preferred to be called - was exiled to Bologna by order of the Supreme Pontiff[5] and, on pain of death, forbidden to leave that city without permission. He had a yearly stipend of 300 gold ducats from the Supreme Pontiff's treasury. Unbeknownst to the lord legate,[6] he fled, and travelling swiftly - not to say flying - he reached Rome in three days, entered the City in disguise, and went into hiding in the house of Angelo di Maso, his sister's husband. He secretly gathered a large number of conspirators there. His plan was the following: early on the day of the Epiphany,[7] when the senator[8] had gone to Saint Peter's, they would seize the Capitol. Simultaneously, at a given signal, they would attack the Supreme Pontiff, the Fathers of the Sacred Senate[9], and the senator and either kill them or keep them in chains until Castel Sant'Angelo had been surrendered to them. Then they would deliver the curials, the non-Romans, and some citizens to the accomplices to be plundered, and - according to some - their wives and virgin daughters to be raped.

[5] But Pious God opposed this abominable venture. Not accepting such a horrible crime, He averted this ruinous curse from us. On the evening before the wicked plan was to be carried out with swords and chains and the goal had almost been reached, it was leaked. At midnight on 5 January, the conspirators had dispersed: terror-stricken, they lost both courage and strength and went into hiding. Porcari, the head and instigator of this evil plot, was concealed in a chest at his sister's in Via della Regola, but - God willing, as we believe - he was discovered and captured. Several others had already been arrested, including the aforementioned Angelo and his adolescent son Clemente. Angelo's son-in-law Pietro da Monterotondo was the [Most Holy] father's physician. I have some fears for him since he left in terror.[10]

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[1] Already then it was rumoured that Piccolomini would be appointed a cardinal. Pope Nicolaus had probably promised the emperor to make this appointment but did not proceed to an appointment of new cardinals before he died three years afterwards. According to Duane Henderson, the pope actually named Piccolomini cardinal in *petto* in 1453 (Henderson), but there is no trace of such an appointment in Piccolomini's letters or other works.

[2] Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo.

[3] Stefano Porcari (1390 - 9 Jan 1453): Roman politician and humanist, leader of a rebellion against Pope Nicolaus V and the Papal secular authority in Rome.

[4] On Stefano Porcari and his rebellion, see Modigliani; D'Elia.

[5] Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Master of Cardinal Albergati's house-hold. Bishop of Bologna 1444, cardinal 1446. Pope from 1447 to his death.

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

[7] 6 January 1453.

[8] Giacomo Lavagnoli or Nicola de' Porcinari (see Domenicis, p. 35). The highest secular official in Rome. He would normally attend the most important papal functions.

[9] The College of Cardinals.

[10] Presumably, thereby confirming his guilt. He was later arrested and executed.

[6] Credo res nostrae jam[1] in tuto sint, etsi magna adhibetur in urbe observatio. Consilium autem hujus Porcii omnino fuerat, postquam omnia, quae dixi, confecisset, universam urbem libertatis nomine ad rem publicam exemplo veterum capescendam concitare nec velle posthac Romanos cives sacerdotio parere. Fuit illi in hac conspiratione vel imprimis velut delendae, ut eis videbatur, tyrannidis socius Baptista quidam cognomento Sarra, civis quoque Romanus, vir audax et violento animo. Hic, cum aedes Porcii, quocum erat, obsideri et armis cingi videret, arrepto scuto et, ut vulgo, dicimus partesana, sex viris eum sequentibus per medios Sbardellati[2] et senatoris milites illaesus et penitus intactus, immo militibus illis viris, ut animadvertere potes, fortibus minitans[3] cedentibus evasit. De quo et alia quaedam non aliena penitus a laude viri fortis, si mens illi non nimium prava affuisset, dici certe possent[4].

[7] Post haec, cum jam tabellarium optarem, qui has litteras ad te perferret[5], sententia capta est, ut res tanta, tam execrabilis nequaquam[6] inulta maneret, nam nec Romanam sedem[7] hic salvam vel certe satis securam eo salvo esse posse, qui tantum attulit metum {76v} ac tantam[8] paene pestem invexit. Itaque heri Porcius ille miles, antequam illucesceret dies, furca supra turrim arcis erecta ad dextram, cum per pontem ad palatium apostolicum[9] itur, laqueo alte[10] suspensus interiit, qui et iterum pendere cernitur. Heri quoque tres juxta Capitolium ad publicas, quae ibi extant, furcas adducti, pari quoque poena vitam finiere: duos[11], quos dixi[12], Angelus pater et Clemens filius, ac quidam Sabbus e regione Campi Martii, quibus idem caedis et rapinae cum Porcio propositum fuit. Alii quoque restant ob eam causam simili quoque poena plectendi.

[8] Unum e multis, quae de tanta re dici possent, non possem tacitus praeterire. Hic miles vide quam firmum sibi consiliorum suorum exitum pollicebatur: vincula cuprea deaurata secum attulerat, quibus sanctissimum pontificem captum tantisper vinctum teneret, dum ejus jussu arcem quam dixi Sancti Angeli suam in potestatem traditam acciperet. Deinde fera illius ne[13] quidem hominis mens fuerat, recepta[14] arce, unicum ac summum vicarium Christi, numen nostrum mortale in terris, manibus ante oculos auratis manicis ad collum aurato laqueo cinctum, catena quoque aurata cupreaque vinctis[15], quod *horresco referens*, trucidato[16] sacro senatu orbis, tribus ut nonnulli ferunt dumtaxat eo ex numero exceptis, quod Romani sunt, omnino necare.

[9] Sed jam tempus adest epistole finem faciam, ne qui ineptus in re hac scribenda videri vel facile possum, fiam quoque verborum prolixitate[17] ineptior. Commendo tibi me semper, veniam orans, si minus apte ista scripsi, nam dum festino studeoque esse brevis remque paucis perstringere, non dubito videri possum tibi obscurior ac indoctior.

Romae, 4. Idus Januarii 1453.

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[1] tam WO
[2] bardellati F1, V5
[3] ramitans V7
[4] posset WO
[5] proferret V7
[6] nequicquam WO
[7] fidem WO
[8] tantum WO
[9] *omit.* V5
[10] alto F1, V5
[11] duo WO
[12] duxi V7
[13] ue V7
[14] accepta F1, V5
[15] uinctus F1; vinctum F5, WO
[16] *omit.* V7; trucidare WO
[17] prolipsitate V7

[6] I think we are safe now, though the City is still under strict watch. If Porcio had achieved all I have said, his plan was to rouse the entire City in the name of freedom and establish a republic after the example of the ancients. He wanted the Romans to no longer be ruled by the priesthood. In this plot to overthrow tyranny - as they thought - one of the principal accomplices was a certain Battista Sciarra, also a Roman citizen, a daring and violent man. When he saw the Porcari house, where he was, surrounded by armed men, he seized a shield and a halberd and, with six followers, passed, unhurt and unharmed, right between Sbardellato[1] and the senator. Threatening their strong soldiers (imagine!), he dispersed them and got away. He was a brave man, and one might praise this and similar feats of his had he not been quite vicious, too.[2]

[7] While I was searching for a messenger to carry this letter to you, it was decided that such a severe and terrible crime could not go unpunished. Indeed, the Roman See could not be secure or even sufficiently safe as long as the man who had caused such a fright and brought on such a plague remained alive. Therefore, the Knight Porcari was hanged yesterday[3] on the forked gallows atop the tower of the castle,[4] to the right as you cross the bridge towards the Apostolic Palace, and he is still seen hanging there.[5] Yesterday, too, three others were brought to the public gallows[6] at the Capitol and ended their lives with the same punishment. Two of them were Angelo and his son Clemente, whom I have mentioned previously. The third was a certain Sabbo from the quarter of Campo Marzio who had intended to murder and plunder with Porcari. Others still await punishment for their part in the plot.

[8] I have to mention one of the many things that can be said about this grave affair. The knight [Porcari] firmly promised to do this: he had brought a gilded bronze chain to hold the Most Holy Pontiff prisoner until he ordered the Castel Sant'Angelo to be surrendered. When he had taken over the fortress - *I shudder as I speak*[7] - this savage beast would first murder the Sacred Senate of the City[8] (except only three who were Romans[9]). Then he would execute the Supreme Vicar of Christ, our mortal God on Earth, bound with the golden chain, a golden noose around his neck, his hands also chained in gilded bronze.

[10] But now it is time to end this letter, lest I appear to be inept in writing this report - which I may easily be - or even more inept because of prolixity. As always, I commend myself to you and beg for forgiveness if I have written less this poorly, for in my haste to write and my effort to be brief and tell the matter in few words, I fear I may seem obscure and unlearned to you.

Rome, 10 January 1453.[10]

[1] Sbardellato da Narni: the officer sent to arrest Stefano.
[2] He was later arrested in Venice and executed at Città di Castello.
[3] 9 January.
[4] In Castel Sant'Angelo, in a most visible spot, designed to inspire fear in the Roman population.
[5] The body was left hanging for three days.
[6] On the *rupe Tarpea*, the place of execution of common criminals.
[7] Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2: 204.
[8] The College of Cardinals.
[9] Two of them were Prospero Colonna and Latino Orsini.
[10] Wolkan erroneously states that the year is given after the Roman calculus, i.e., 1454.

287. Letter to Giacomo Valperga di Masino (mid-March 1453) with a letter from Stefano Caccia de Fara (30 January 1453).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 44r-47v[1]; V5, 61, ff. 77r-82v **; V6, 61, ff. 66r-70v; V7, 61 ff. 85r-90v; (BAV / Chis., J.V.175, ff. 90 sqq.; BAV / Chis., J.VI.212, ff. 60 sqq.; not collated).*
Editions A: *HO, ff. 132v-136v[2]; CU, 38, pp. 410-425.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 59, pp. 117-124 (on the basis of F1, V5-V7).*

Accompanying letter from Piccolomini to Giacomo di Valperga

{77r} Ad magnificum dominum Jacobum ex comitibus Maxinium[3], cancellarium Sabaudie, virum integerrimum.[4]

[1] Arbitror grande nuper excogitatum ac praesumptum Romae facinus gravi etiam rumore ad vos usque pervenisse[5], sed vario quidem modo. Ne igitur in incerto sis, rem prout fertur communiter, accipe.[6]

Letter from Stefano Caccia di Fara to Piccolomini.

Stephanus Caccia Novariensis Aeneae, Senensi episcopo[7], salutem plurimam dicit.

[2] Stephanus Porcarius, eques Romanus, cum inter legendum Romanorum historias hos[8] reperisset fuisse[9] excellenti ingenio viros, qui ad rempublicam eorum augendam et conservandam, quosdam vero, qui ad eam evertendam et bonos quosque rebus spoliandos ac urbis dominium ambiendum sese accomodassent, tandem ad illorum imitationem, qui ambitiosi et cupidi habiti sunt, animum applicavit et existimans facile, quod praemeditatus fuerat, assequi, si copiosam sibi multitudinem adjungere posset, operam dedit, ut dicendi peritus fieret, non ignarus magnam esse[10] vim eloquentiae, et cum in[11] illa plurimum floreret, semper sibi maximae curae fuit, ut quosque perditos, lascivos, abjectos, {77v} pauperes, novarum rerum cupidos ac proscriptos sibi amicitia et familiaritate conjunctos haberet, tantumque effecit, quod multos hujusce generis viros sequaces habuit.

[2] Cum vero animus hominis pluribus indiciis innotescere jam coepisset, praesertim ex seditione per eum in populo concitata, res etiam ad sanctissimum Nicolaum papam[12] delata est, qui ut est omnium humanissimus, pro poena praemium tribuit. Constituit enim ei ex aerario[13] publico aureos trecentos in annos singulos, providit quoque pro sua sapientia futuris periculis, nam eum Bononiae relegavit[14] ea lege, ut quaque die legato apostolico ibidem existenti se exhiberet. Legatus vero, qua erat in omnes liberalitate, aureos centum annuos ex propriis adjecit, sicque quadringentorum ducatorum[15] stipendiis honoratus, mansit Bononie annos circiter tres legemque sibi indictam servavit.

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[1] DV, 93-100
[2] DV, 272-280. *Not collated*
[3] *em.* WO; maximum codd.
[4] Ad magnificum … integerrimum *omit.* F1
[5] praevenisse V5
[6] *V7 omits the accompanying note to Valperga.*
[7] Aeneae Senensi episcopo Chis. mss., CUG, WO; Iacobo Sabaudiae cancellario F1, V5-V7
[8] aliquos *corr.* V5
[9] *omit.* F1, V5
[10] magnam esse : esse magnam V5
[11] in Chis mss., CUG, WO; *omit.* F1, V5-V7
[12] *omit.* F1
[13] aerrario V6; errario V7
[14] legavit F1, V7; *corr. ex* legavit V5, V6
[15] quadringentorum ducatorum : ducatorum quadrigentorum V6, V7

287. Letter to Giacomo Valperga di Masino (mid-March 1453) with a letter from Stefano Caccia de Fara (30 January 1453).

Context: *See the preceding letters.*
Subject: *An account of Stefano Porcari's conjuration.*

Accompanying letter from Piccolomini to Jacopo di Valperga.

{77r} To His Magnificence, Lord Giacomo of the Counts di Masino,[1] Chancellor of Savoy, a most virtuous man.

[1] Presumably, insistent but inconsistent rumours have already reached you concerning the egregious crime recently devised and perpetrated in Rome. Lest you be uncertain, I am sending you this report on what is commonly said about the matter.

Letter from Stefano Caccia di Fara to Piccolomini.

Stefano Caccia[2] of Novara sends many greetings to Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[2] When the Roman Knight Stefano Porcari read the histories of Rome, he found that some men of excellent character endeavoured to enlarge and preserve their republic, whereas others desired to overturn it, rob the good men of their possessions, and become masters of the City. Eventually, he undertook to emulate the men regarded as ambitious and greedy. Believing it would be easy to carry out his designs if he gathered a large enough company [of followers], he, knowing the great power of eloquence, endeavoured to become an accomplished speaker. When he had become proficient in this art, he strove to draw desperate, lascivious, outcast, poor, rebellious, and proscribed men to him and make them his friends and associates. He did this so well that he acquired a large following such men.

[2] However, when several signs began to reveal his intentions, especially a sedition he had stirred up among the people, the matter was denounced to His Holiness, Pope Nicolaus. Being the kindest of men, he rewarded Porcari instead of punishing him: he awarded him 300 gold ducats a year from the public treasury and, wisely guarding against future perils, banished him to Bologna under the condition that he daily present himself to the apostolic legate[3] in residence there. The legate, with his customary generosity, added 100 gold ducats out of his own purse so that Porcari was honoured with a stipend of 400 gold ducats a year. He stayed in Bologna for about three years, obeying the conditions imposed upon him.

[1] Jacopo Valperga di Masino (d. 1462): chancellor of Savoy 1452 and later of France. Killed by a Philippe de Savoie in 1462.

[2] Stefano Caccia de Fara (d. 1457): 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).

[3] Cardinal Bessarion.

[3] Sed cum hanc suam conditionem durius forte ferret quam deberet, anxius semper ejus rei, quae jamdudum suo animo insederat, quosdam urbe pulsos recipit, a quibus de statu urbis multa audit et loquitur, omniaque tacitus mente revolvit. Post paucos dies ex suis, quibus maxime fidebat, duos ad se venire jubet. His proponit optare se ad urbem redire, uxorem aliquam ingenuam ducere et quietam deinceps vitam agere, detestans verbis eorum mores, qui seditiones ac tumultus in populo suscitant. Laudat praeterea pontificis regimen {78r} et singularem, quem ad urbem ostendit, affectum. Ponit quoque ante illorum oculos pacem, qua omnes ecclesiae subditi inter aliorum angustias potiuntur. Omnia tamen haec fingit et simulat, nam dum unum corde gerit, aliud verbis curat ostendere.

[4] Inter haec vero continuo sciscitatur, quid de his[1] omnibus cives sentiant, quid oneris subeant, quid senator agat, quam severus sit in facinorosos, quam mitis in bonos, quam multos proscripserit et urbe propulerit, quales armatorum copiae sint in urbe, ac quid agat serenissimi regis Aragonum exercitus. His respondetur bonos primariosque cives pontifici studere; urbem nihil oneris praeter solita subire; omnes divites factos otio marcescere; ex juventute, quae maxime copiosa est, plures bonis mulctatos, exigente demum justitia urbe pulsos; nullos in urbe armatos esse; regis exercitum per diversa loca sparsum longe a Roma intra aedes se continere.

[5] Cum haec[2] intelligit, quasi nactus occasionem, quod urbis et civium, quod nullum eis detur negotium, vices doleat, detestatur factum, antiqua urbis tempora et multorum illustria facta commemorans, spem quoque certam quasi concipiens, quod ex plebe multos novitate rerum avidos, ex affinibus egentes ac proscriptos spe lucri et redeundi sibi faventes habiturus sit, in hisque illorum duorum, qui ad eum venerant, verbis confirmatus, quod de uxore ducenda praedixerat, in aliud tempus differendum {78v} asserit et aliquid nunc gravius attentandum. Aperire igitur incipit, quod jamdudum animo gesserat, se videlicet illud desiderare, ut urbem pristinae libertatis decori restituat et se illius constituat tutorem vel potius perpetuum dictatorem, ejectis inde papa et cardinalibus ceterisque ecclesiasticis, et ubi aliter fieri non possit, eis omnibus ferro extinctis vel in Tiberim mersis, illorum spolia capiat, quodque ob eam rem Romam omnino venire decernit. His adjicit: si primo congressu paucos ex suis faventes habeat, nihil dubitare, quin omnia ei ad vota succedant, idque sibi tum ex fatis[3] tum ex favore populi repromittit.

[1] iis V5
[2] *omit.* V7
[3] *corr. ex* fatis V5; factis F1, V6, V7

[3] He may have resented these conditions more than he should, so - still intent on the matter that had been on his mind for so long - he received some men who had been banished from the City, and much was heard and said about its status, which he pondered in silence. After some days, he invited two associates whom he trusted completely. He told them he wished to return to the City in order to marry some well-born woman and afterwards live a quiet life since - as he said - he detested the ways of those who stir up rebellions and seditions in the people. Moreover, he praised the rule of the pope and the singular affection he showed for the City. He put before their eyes the peaceful conditions enjoyed by all the subjects of the Church, whereas others suffered hardships. But it was all feigned and simulated, and he said the opposite of what he thought.

[4] In between, he often asked what the citizens thought about these things; what burdens they bore; what the senator[1] did; how severe he was towards criminals and how mild towards good men; how many he had proscribed and exiled from the City; which troops of soldiers were in the City; and what the army of the Most Serene King of Aragon[2] was doing. They answered him that the good and leading citizens supported the pope; the city only bore the usual burdens; all had become rich and made placid by peace; several of the many young men had had their property confiscated and, at the demand of justice, been exiled from the City; that there were no soldiers in the City; and the king's army was dispersed in various places far from Rome and kept to their lodgings.

[5] Hearing this, Porcari seized upon the occasion. He was exasperated that the City and the citizens were given no responsibilities, and he disapproved of what had been done. Remembering the old times in the City and the illustrious deeds of many, he began to firmly hope that many of the people were thirsting for political change and that many of the needy and proscribed men in the environments of the City would support him in the hope of gain and return. Confirmed in his views by the words of his two visitors, he told them that the marriage he had spoken of would have to be postponed and that something more important would now be attempted. Then he began to reveal what he had pondered, viz. that he desired to restore the City to the splendour of its former liberty and appoint himself its guide or, rather, its perpetual dictator. He would do this after he had gotten rid of the pope, the cardinals and the other ecclesiastics and, if necessary, killed or drowned them all in the Tiber and then plundered their possessions. He had, therefore, firmly decided to go to Rome. He added that if, in the beginning, he had the support of just a few of his people, he would undoubtedly be successful since he expected to be favoured both by the fates and the people.

[1] Giacomo Lavagnoli or Nicola de' Porcinari.

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

[6] Ad obtinendum vero Castrum Sancti Angeli, quod suo voto plurimum obsistere videbatur, affirmat se illud cogitasse, ut papam ac[1] Petrum de Noxeto, primum pontificis secretarium, ad praesentiam castellani, qui Petri germanus est, vinctos adducat, ut sic[2] metu mortis instantis, quam his[3] comminabatur, castellanus ipse castrum restituat. Hujus autem sui cogitatus, ut majorem fidem astruat, certas illi[4] catenas deauratas ostendit, quibus eos ante castrum collo ac manibus vincire decrevit. Demum vero ab his duobus nil amplius exposcit, nisi ut Angelum Massa cognatum, Nicolaum Galli, Basilicae Sancti Petri canonicum, et Baptistam Sarram, nepotes, Jacobellum Lelli, civem, ac Petrum de Monte Rotundo, physicum et domus pontificis domesticum, hujus {79r} sui voti conscios faciant eosque suo nomine admoneant, ut ad rem perficiendam necessaria parent, ut[5] diem, qua haec commodius fieri possint, annuntient, offerens se Romae constituere ad explendum facinus, dummodo dies quattuor ad eundum sibi indulgeantur. Persuasi hi duo verbis hujusmodi et quasi de victoria certi mandata ad illos proferenda suscipiunt. Dum haec illi sic disposita intelligunt, consentiunt et alios quosdam in conjurationem trahunt, singula parant diemque Epiphaniae, qua existimant papam, cardinales ceterosque[6] curiae optimates apud Sanctum Petrum convenire, ad scelus hoc perpetrandum statuunt et haec omnia Porcario nuntiant.

[7] Interea hi, qui Romae erant, variis modis attentant, ut quamplurimos ad factionem inducant, sed dum haec apud multos quaerunt, facinus detegunt. Nam ex his, qui requisiti fuerant, ut quidam dicunt, aliqui Ludovicum, patriarcham Aquilegiensem, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalem, apostolicum camerarium, adeunt et quiddam[7] adversus statum ecclesiae tractari aperiunt. Alii vero non patriarchae, sed Firmano cardinali haec detecta referunt. Illud tamen communius[8] est, ambobus rem detectam fuisse, nam ambo sunt ad praecavenda hujusmodi pericula multum intenti et ipsorum quemlibet separatim pontifici intimasse[9]. Dum igitur papa haec intelligit, jubet omnia sepulta teneri, nullum omnino {79v} signum ostendit, quo res detecta cognosci possit. Exploratores tamen adhibet quasi aliquid aliud molliri veritus, ut quidquid tractari vel in urbe fieri contingeret[10], intelligat. Stephanus autem horum ignarus[11] in proposito perseverans Bononiae se fingit gravi morbo teneri proindeque apud legatum se excusans equum fortissimum ad id jamdudum paratum ascendit. Sequenti autem die unus ex servis domi relictis cedulam manu Porcarii obsignatam sub simili infirmitatis colore ad legatum defert sicque[12] duobus diebus Porcarius fugam celat. Vectus est igitur Porcarius equo illo, partim alio, uno tamen servo contentus, noctibus quattuor et[13] diebus totidem sicque Romam incognitus Jovis ante Epiphaniam sero applicuit et in domum propriam se recepit, sperans semper amicorum favore voti sui compos fieri.

[1] et F1, V5
[2] sit V7
[3] iis F1
[4] *omit.* V5
[5] et F1, V6
[6] ceteros V7
[7] quidam F1
[8] communis V7
[9] intinuasse V7
[10] continget V7
[11] horum ignarus : ignarus horum V7
[12] sic quoque F1
[13] diebus Porcarius … et *omit.* V7

[6] To get control of Castel Sant'Angelo, otherwise a major obstacle to his plan, he would bring the pope and Pietro da Noceto,[1] the pope's first secretary, in chains before the castellan, Pietro's brother,[2] threatening them with instant death. Fearing this, the castellan would surely surrender the castle. To inspire greater confidence in his plan, he showed them certain gilded chains to put around their necks and hands when he brought them before the castle. Finally, he only asked the two to inform his relative[3] Angelo di Maso, Niccolò Galli, a canon of Saint Peter's Basilica, Battista Sciarra, his nephews, Jacopo Lelli, a citizen, and Pietro da Monterotondo, the pope's physician and a member of his household, about his intentions. They should also, in his name, require them to make the necessary preparations and let him know what day would be the best to act. He finally said he would come to Rome to execute the plan, asking for four days to travel. Thus, he persuaded the two, and, sure of victory, they accepted to carry his instructions to the men in Rome. Having heard of his arrangements, they agreed to bring his demands to the men in Rome. They prepared everything as demanded, decided upon the day of Epiphany when the pope, the cardinals, and the optimates would gather at Saint Peter's as the best to carry out the criminous plot, and informed Porcari of everything.

[7] The accomplices in Rome tried in various ways to recruit more people into the conspiracy, but since they were asking many to join, news of the conjuration got out. Some of the men who had been approached reportedly went to Ludovico,[4] Patriarch of Aquileia, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and Apostolic Camerlengo, and told him that there was a plot afoot against the Church. Others say the matter was not revealed to the patriarch but to the Cardinal of Fermo.[5] More commonly, it is believed that it was revealed to both of them, for both are much concerned about guarding against such dangers and each, separately, warned the pontiff. When the pope heard it, he ordered strict secrecy to be maintained and gave not the slightest sign that might reveal the plot had been discovered. However, he did send out scouts as if fearing that something wholly different might be in the works and wanting to know what was planned or done about it in the City. Knowing nothing of this, Stefano in Bologna continued his course. Pretending to be gravely ill, he excused himself [from his daily visit] to the legate[6], and mounted a powerful horse kept in readiness, he left. The next day, one of the servants he had left behind brought the legate a note signed by himself, giving the same excuse for illness, and thus Porcari concealed his flight for two days. Having travelled for four days and nights, first with the horse mentioned and afterwards with another, and only accompanied by one servant, he reached Rome unrecognised on Thursday evening before Epiphany and went to his own home, still hoping to succeed with the help of his friends.

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[1] Pietro da Noceto (1397-1467): Master of the papal household under Pope Nicolaus V. One time fellow secretary and close friend of young Piccolomini. See article in DBI and VO, 2, pp. 296-297.

[2] Antonio da Noceto: later an official and diplomat of Pius II.

[3] Brother-in-law.

[4] Ludovico Scarampo [Trevisan] (1401-1465): Appointed patriarch of Aquileja in January 1440, somewhat later camerlengo of the Roman Church, and on 12 July 1440, cardinal.

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

[6] Cardinal Besssarion.

[8] Non fuit ea die notus pontifici Stephani adventus nec quis factionis caput haberetur, nam de Porcario non erat vehemens suspicio, quia omnes eum adhuc Bononie fore arbitrabantur. Praeterea[1] ipse Porcarius cum paucis admodum ex suis, rei magnitudinem ac pondus considerans, se apperuerat[2]. Incipiens totam fere *noctem duxit insomnem*. Sequenti autem die advocans ad se ex conjuratis plures, omnes fere pauperes et abjectos, omnem eis suum cogitatum apperit utensque multis antea ad haec cogitatis persuasionibus uberrimamque futuram praedam ostendens, illos priori[3] proposito confirmat. {80r} Dehinc aliquid sibi temporis ad naturam recreandam viresque corporis recuperandas postulat sicque ad[4] secreta cubiculi festinus se recipit.

[9] Fuerat interim papae nuntiatum Porcarium jam venisse et intra proprias aedes esse. Vix Porcarius sopori membra concesserat, cum Nicolaus Amidanus, episcopus Placentinus, vicecamerarius, equo sedens, stipatis quibusdam pedestribus circiter centum undecumque collectis, jussu pontificis Porcarii aedes obsidet curamque adhibet diligentissimam, ne quis ex congregatis domum exeat, ut sic auctorem facinoris et ceteros ad palatium vinctos perducat. Qui vero interius se continebant, dum sic omnia custodiri vident, quid acturi sint maxime dubitant. Sed Stephanus cujusdam secreti loci ad exeundum non ignarus, fingens se ob necessariam aliam causam ab eis paululum separari, ad abditum illum exitum se confert et per eum, ceteris domi relictis, in domunculam subterraneam vicinae cujusdam pauperculae se recipit.

[10] Ex his igitur, qui domi manserant[5], cum jam de Stephani reditu desperare inciperent, unus domum tutandam usque ad noctem persuadet, tunc hora quasi tertia post meridiem e contra Baptista magis ex expectatione periculum imminere judicat et propterea periculum periculo evadendum consulit et omnino per medios hostes exeundum. Placuit hoc quattuor, qui tantum ceteris audaces magis videbantur. Omnibus igitur animo titubantibus Baptista {80v} mortis intrepidus quattuor illos, ut se sequentur[6], invitat. Illis igitur eum sequentibus fores aperit et simul quinque irruunt in eos, qui ad Porcarii custodiam designati fuerant sicque ferro absque custodum vulneribus sibi per medios cuneos viam paraverunt. Aberat tunc vicecamerarius, nam eques cum aliis quibusdam domum circuibat. Sed cum haec audit, illico cum ceteris ad fores[7] accurrit. Reliqui vero, qui intra aedes manserant, partim per posticum exeunt, partim per fenestras dimissi ad latebras confugiunt sicque nemine eorum capto dissoluta est illa iniquorum congregatio.

[1] *corr.* V5; propterea F1, V6, V7
[2] apparuerat V7
[3] *omit.* F1
[4] *omit.* F1; in V5
[5] remanserant V5
[6] sequerentur V5, WO
[7] fore V7

[8] The pope was not informed about Stefano's arrival on that day nor about who was the leader of the [rebellious] faction; since all believed Porcari was still in Bologna, they did not much suspect him. Given the great importance of the matter, Porcari stayed in hiding with a very small group of followers. First, he *spent an* almost *sleepless night*,[1] but the next day he summoned many of the conspirators, nearly all poor and destitute, and told them about his whole plan with arguments prepared earlier. He strengthened their resolve by promising them abundant plunder. Then he asked for time to rest and recuperate and quickly removed himself to a private chamber.

[9] In the meantime, news reached the pope that Porcari had already arrived and was staying in his own house. Hardly had Porcari fallen asleep when Niccolò Amidano,[2] Bishop of Piacenza and Vice-Camerlengo,[3] on the orders of the pope, came by horse with about 100 men by foot hastily gathered from everywhere. Surrounding Porcari's house, he took great care to prevent those gathered in the house from leaving, intending to bring the ringleader and the others in chains to the palace.[4] When those in the house saw they were surrounded by guards, they did not know at all what to do. But Stefano knew of a secret exit. Pretending he had to leave them a little while for some urgent reason, he slipped away to the secret exit and, leaving the others in the house, hid in the basement of a poor neighbour woman.

[10] When those who remained in his house began to despair of Stefano's return, one of them urged them to stay in the house until night, but since it was already about three in the afternoon, Battista [Sciarra] argued for the opposite, judging that it was more dangerous to wait, and he counselled them to escape by meeting danger with danger and leaving through the ranks of the enemies. Four men agreed with him, but the others found them too reckless. So, while they were all trembling with fear, Battista, fearless of death, exhorted the four to follow him, which they did. He opened the door and, together with the four, rushed upon the men chosen to watch over Porcari, and thus - with their swords but without wounding any of the guards - they made their way through the midst of all the company and escaped. The Vice-Camerlengo was not there, for with some others he was riding around the house. When he heard the commotion, he rushed to the entrance, but then the others who had remained in the house left by the backdoor or through the windows and escaped to other hiding places. Thus, their criminal assembly was dispersed without anyone being captured.

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[1] Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 9: 166-167

[2] Niccolò Amidano (-1454): Papal official. Canon of Mantua. Bishop of Piacenza, 1448-1453. In 1453, vice-camerlengo and governor of Rome. Archbishop of Milan from 1453 to his death the following year. Friend of Piccolomini.

[3] By office, the vice-camerlengo was governor of Rome.

[4] The apostolic palace.

[11] Mansit Porcarius, factionis princeps, in ea domo, ad quam fugerat, usque ad noctem, sed postea quam nox jam advenerat, timore, fame et frigore pulsus in sororis domum divertit et sumpto cibo vires paulisper reassumit. Interea Clemens, Angeli Massa filius, capitur remque omnem apertius detegit. Porcarius vero dubitans, ne in sororis domo quaesitus inveniatur, quendam Franciscum Gabadeum, infimi generis virum, ad Cardinalem Ursinum transmittit, supplicans, ut sui misereatur eique in tanto periculo succurrens aliquem locum suae domus, in quo per aliquos dies latere possit, indulgeat. Audit cardinalis humanissime Gabadeum, sed postquam intelligit Porcarium in sororis domum se recepisse[1], nuntium vinctum ad pontificem mittit. Reliqua vero, quae de factionis principe audivit, per secretum ex suis intimat. Porcario igitur intra {81r} aedes sororis responsum expectante, unus ex capitibus regionum urbis quidamque ex marescallis et una secum satellites senatoris domum, qua latere Porcarium dicebant, ingrediuntur, relictisque circa eam undequaque custodibus, omnia, quae in ea erant evertenda, decernunt, donec hunc nepharium vinctum habeant. Stephanus haec sentiens arcam ingressu intras vestes sororis se recludi passus est, in qua parumper[2] latuit. Sed venientes, qui domum inquirebant, illum in ea latentem extrahunt.

[12] Captus est igitur Porcarius, tam gravis patrandi sceleris inventor, hora quasi septima noctis, antequam apparitionis dies illucesceret, indeque ad palatium ductus in camera nobilis Nelli aliquamdiu custoditus est, ubi[3] plerisque ex iis, qui eum custodiebant, interrogantibus, sponte multa confessus est et illud maxime, quod nulli parcere, sed omnes ferro, igne vel aquis extinguere decreverat, ut sic tandem victor evaderet. Post paululum temporis Nellus et alii quidam pontificem adeunt et captum Porcarium jam in palatio esse significant, quod papa audiens humanamque et fortunae conditionem[4] considerans, vices ejus doluit. Interrogatus vero papa, quid de eo fieri juberet, nihil aliud respondisse fertur nisi, quod de eo agerent, quod eis videretur. Intelligens hoc Nellus illum saltem in custodia tenendum, donec plenior deliberatio super eo haberetur, ad Castrum Sancti {81v} Angeli perduci jussit et castellano praesentavit. Impletum est brevi momento cujusdam auguris responsum, qui ab eo consultus, an palatium et Castrum Sancti Angeli obtinere[5] posset, respondisse fertur, si attentaret, facile intraturum.

[13] Sequenti die captus est Angelus[6] Massa[7], Clementis adolescentis jam detenti pater. Post biduum captus est Paulus de Alba doctor, qui ex seditione urbis senator fieri debebat. Sed Nicolaus Galli, olim canonicus, et Jacobus Lelli, audita aliorum captura, illico fugam petierunt. Petrus autem de Monte Rotundo, cui papa ducentos aureos in annos singulos, ut familiae suae curam haberet, constituerat et nondum viginti diebus elapsis alios centum dono dederat, tot beneficiorum omnino immemor et ingratus tanti facinoris conscius, etiam post biduum fugam arripuit. Ad quem vero locum isti se contulerint, incertum est. Praemium tamen pecuniarum et id quidem magnum his edicto publico propositum est, qui aliquem ex illis[8], qui fugam dederunt, vivos praesentaverint; illis vero, qui eos mortuos tradiderint, paulo minus. Contra eorum autem receptatores[9] et defensores, aut qui eos sciverint et[10] non revelaverint, vel ipsorum bona detinuerint, poenae diversae comminatae sunt pendetque adhuc edictum hujusmodi.

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[1] recepisset F1
[2] parum V7
[3] ibi WO
[4] *add. in marg.* V6
[5] obtineri F1
[6] de *add.* V7
[7] *omit.* V5
[8] eis V6
[9] receptores
[10] aut F1

[11] Porcari, the leader of the rebellious faction, stayed in the house where he had sought refuge until nightfall, but when night had come, he was forced by fear, hunger, and cold to go to his sister's home, where he had something to eat and recovered somewhat. In the meantime, Clemente, the son of Angelo de Maso, was captured and revealed everything. But Porcari, fearing to be found in his sister's home, sent a certain Francesco Gabadeo, a man of the lowest extraction, to Cardinal Orsini,[1] begging him to have mercy upon him and help in his great peril by allowing him to hide for some days somewhere in his house. The cardinal listened kindly to Gabadeo, but when he heard that Porcari had gone to his sister's house, he sent the messenger bound to the pope. What else he heard about the leader of the faction, he secretly passed on via his own men. While Porcari was awaiting the cardinal's answer in his sister's house, one of the leaders of the city districts[2], along with a marshal and an escort from the senator, entered the house, where Porcari was said to be hiding. Hearing this, Porcari hid in a trunk and let himself be covered with his sister's clothes. But he only stayed in the trunk for a little while until those who searched the house pulled him out of his hiding place. Surrounding it with guards on all sides, they ordered everything in the house to be searched and overturned until they found the wretched conspirator. Hearing what was happening, Stefano let himself be hidden in a chest under his sister's clothing, where he lay concealed for a short while. But when those searching the house arrived, they discovered him and dragged him out of hiding.

[12] Porcari, the author of this enormous crime, was captured around the 7th hour of the night, before daybreak. He was taken to the palace and placed under guard in the chamber of Nelli, a nobleman. Questioned by the several men guarding him, he freely confessed many things, especially that he had decided to spare no one but kill them all by sword, fire, or water, to achieve final victory. After a short while, Nelli and others went to the pontiff and reported that Porcari had been arrested and was in the palace. When the pope heard it, he reflected on the condition of human life and fortune, and said he was sorry for Porcari. But when the pope was asked what he wanted to be done with him, he only said that they should do with him as they wished. When Nelli heard it, he ordered Porcari to be kept under guard until a full discussion about him could be had and ordered that he be brought to Castel Sant'Angelo, where he entrusted him to the castellan.[3] Thus, in a short while, the response of some seer was fulfilled: when Porcari asked him whether he would be able to take the palace and Castel Sant'Angelo, the seer reportedly answered that if he tried it, he would enter easily.

[13] The next day, they caught Angelo de Maso, father of the adolescent Clemente, already in custody. And two days later, they captured Doctor Paolo da Alba, who, after the rebellion, was to be appointed senator of the City. But when Niccolò Galli, former canon, and Jacopo Lelli heard the others had been arrested, they immediately fled. Pietro da Monterotondo received 200 gold ducats a year to suitably care for his family, and no more than twenty days before he had been given 100 more. But ungrateful and forgetful of these great benefits, he too was guilty of this great crime and fled after two days. It is uncertain where they went. But an edict was published that a large sum would be awarded to those who delivered up the fugitives alive, and a somewhat smaller award to those who delivered them up dead. Various punishments were announced against those who received or defended them, knew about them without revealing it, or held their possessions. This edict is still in force.

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[1] Latino Orsini (1411-1477): Of the Roman branch of the Orsini family. Archbishop of Trani 1439. Cardinal 1448.

[2] Rioni.

[3] Antonio da Noceto.

[14] Domus Porcarii et Petri physici mille et amplius foraminibus apertae sunt et ad eas cuique aditus patet. Angeli domus {82r} publicata est et per fiscum in alium translata, sed pretium ejus ad reparationem Basilicae Sanctorum Apostolorum restaurationemque palatii eidem cohaerentis[1], quod nuper igne combustum erat, deputatum est. Fysici et Angeli quondam uxores primo in monasterium detrusae, dehinc sunt in[2] insulam relegatae. Audivit tamen ipsa Angeli uxor Stephanum fratrem[3] ad Castrum Sancti Angeli, maritum vero et Clementem filium ac alium quendam ignobilem apud Capitolium affixos furca, nam Martis post apparitionem hi omnes patibulo et ultra per[4] triduum pendere visi sunt. Postridie vero doctor et Gabadeus sartor, quos supra designavi, tribus secus capitolium una pendentibus adjuncti sunt et postremo quidam re et nomine peccator, qui ceteris omnibus deterior habebatur, simili capitali sententia punitus est.

[15] Et sic tam grande nefandumque facinus paucorum supplicio sopitum est. Expectabant plures majorem etiam vindictam publicam de plerisque aliis sumi, sed sive aliorum certitudo habita non sit, sive eorum magna fuerit multitudo, sive hoc egerit pontificis humanitas, fertur ipsum pontificem omnes, qui post hac hujus facinoris conscii fuisse reperientur, ab omni prorsus culpa liberasse. Illud vero certum est publico edicto mandatum esse, ne cortesanus vel alius quisquam alicui Romano hujus facinoris crimen pro convitio improperet vel deinceps {82v} ascribat. Omnem rei gestae seriem intelligis.

Jam vale, nam tuus Stephanus Caccia de Novaria optime valet et se tibi commissum facit. Ex urbe, 3. Kalendas Februarii[5].

[1] cohaerenti F1, V5
[2] ad F1, V5
[3] vero V7
[4] *omit.* V5
[5] 1453 *add.* WO

[14] The houses of Porcari and Pietro, the physician, were opened up to the public after more than a thousand holes had been bored in the walls. Angelo's house was confiscated and sold by the treasury to someone else. The revenue went to repair the Basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli and restore the adjacent palace, which had recently burnt down. The wives of the physician and Angelo were first placed in a monastery but afterwards banished to an island.[1] Angelo's wife heard that her brother Stefano had been hanged at Castel Sant'Angelo and her husband and son Clemente and some other obscure person at the Capitol, for on Tuesday after Epiphany[2] and for three days afterwards they were all seen hanging on the gibbet. The next day, the abovementioned doctor[3] and Gabadeo, the tailor, were hanged at the Capitol alongside the other three, and finally, another person, a sinner both in fact and in name, considered worse than all the others, suffered a similar punishment.

[15] And thus this great and heinous crime was laid to rest with the punishment of only a few. Some expected a greater public revenge against many others. But due to the lack of sure knowledge of who the others were, or because they were too many, or because of the pontiff's humanity, the pope reportedly pardoned all who were afterwards found to have been involved in this criminal venture. And this is certain that by public decree it was forbidden any member of the papal court and anyone else to later blame or accuse any Roman of complicity in this crime. So, now you have an account of the whole affair.

Farewell, for your Stefano Caccia of Novara is well and commends himself to you. From the City, 30 January.

[1] Possibly the island (Isola) in the Tiber running through Rome.

[2] "apparitio"

[3] Paolo de Alba.

288. Letter from Juan Carvajal (13 February 1453, Rome)

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 42r-42v[1]; V5, 59, ff. 73r-74r **; V6, 59, ff. 63r-63v; V7, 59, ff. 81v-82v.*
Editions A: *HO, ff. 130v-131r[2].*
Editions B: *WO, 3:1, 292, pp. 564-565 (on the basis of the mss. listed above).*

{73r} Johannes, cardinalis Sancti Angeli, Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Stephanum Porcarium nosti, qui se Porcium, ut nobilior haberetur, vocari curabat. Is fecit seditionem Eugenio mortuo: turbasset electionem {73v} libenter et contra collegium movisset populum. Nicolaus papa, mox ut assumptus fuit, eum gubernatorem Campaniae ordinavit et alios, postquam in Campania ei successorem dedit, honores praebuit. Tandem non contentus alia procuravit scandala, ob quae dominus noster sanctissimus, ut Bononiae[3] moraretur, Roma dimissa jussit. Annuos trecentos aureos assignavit. Hic Stephanus pauperrimus Romae praeter domum et vineam nihil possidebat. Boni impatiens, quod temporibus Catonis Catilina disposuit, exequi ipse putavit. Clam Bononia[4] recedens quinque diebus Romam venit ibique latuit, ut in die Epiphaniae cogitatum facinus perpetraret.

[2] Habebat autem multos socios, quales Sallustius Catilinam habuisse scribit. Stephanus ille vilis, dissimilis Catalinae, ignavus et pavidus, sed magnarum et impossibilium cogitationum homo, putaverat papam et totum collegium simul capere aut gladio ferire et quorundam civium domibus praedae expositis urbis dominio potiri[5]. Adduxerat secum doctorem quemdam, qui senatoris officium exerceret, qui non in capitolio sed in furca Tarpeia officium tenet.

[3] Cumque domino nostro sanctissimo adventus Stephani nuntiaretur, incredulus, non improvidus cives vocavit et rem detexit, qui assistere et mori cum sanctitate sua asserentes omnia capessere[6] jussa polliciti cum senatore et bardelato[7] ad domum Stephani iverunt. Inde fugatus Stephanus, dispersis {74r} sociis, timore illato eis, qui nondum convenerant, Stephanus latibula petiit. Cum ista fierent, papa solemniter vesperum pacifice ac si de alterius negotio ageretur, cantavit. Media autem nocte Romanorum diligentia Stephanus in domo sororis in una capsa in duploide captus est atque in castro Sancti Angeli data notitia eorum, que satagabat, laqueo suspensus spiritum irreverentem emisit. Duos ex sociis cum vano senatore Tarpeia furca tenet, alii quaeruntur.

[1] DV, 89-90
[2] DV, 268-269. *Not collated.*
[3] Bohemiae V7
[4] Bononiam V6, V7
[5] potiti V7
[6] capescere V6, V7
[7] Bardelato V6, V7

288. Letter from Juan Carvajal (13 February 1453, Rome)

Context: *In the beginning of January 1453, Stefano Porcari rebelled against Pope Nicolaus V and the priestly government of Rome.*
Subject: *Carvajal gives a short account of Stefano Porcari's rebellion (see also the preceding and the following letters).*

Juan,[1] Cardinal of Sant'Angelo sends many greetings to Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] You know Stefano Porcari, who assumed the name Porcio, pretending to be of greater nobility.[2] When Eugenius[3] died, he plotted a rebellion, intending to disturb the election[4] and mobilise the people against the College [of Cardinals]. Soon after his election, Pope Nicolaus[5] appointed him governor of Campagna, and when he later replaced him with a successor, he granted him other honours. But not content with these, he caused other scandals, wherefore Our Most Holy Lord ordered him to leave Rome and stay in Bologna with a yearly stipend of 300 gold ducats. In Rome, Stefano was poor and only possessed a house and vineyard. Impatient to improve his fortune, he planned to do the same as Catilina[6] did in Cato's[7] time. Secretly leaving Bologna, he came to Rome in five days, where he stayed, waiting to execute the planned crime on the day of the Epiphany.[8]

[2] Stefano had many accomplices, like Sallust[9] writes about Catilina, but unlike Catilina, he, a man of lowly origins, was a cowardly and timid nobody. Full of great and impossible designs, he planned to seize or kill the pope with the entire College [of Cardinals], to deliver up the houses of some citizens to plunder, and thus become master of the City. He had brought with him some doctor[10] to perform the senator's office. He now holds office not in the Capitol but on the Tarpeian gibbet.

[1] Carvajal, Juan: (ca. 1400-1469): Spanish papal official and diplomat. See VO, 1: 2, p. 299-300. Appointed a cardinal in 1446.
[2] The Porcari family actually did belong to the Roman municipal nobility (patriciate).
[3] Pope Eugenius IV
[4] The conclave to elect Eugenius' successor in 1447 (see CRDM, 1: 43).
[5] Pope Nicolaus V.
[6] Catilina, Lucius Sergius (108-62 BCE): Roman politician and soldier. Instigated a rebellion against the Roman Republic and the senate.
[7] Cato, Marcus Porcius (the Younger) (95-46 BCE): Roman senator.
[8] 6 January.
[9] Sallustius Crispus, Gajus (86-34 BC): Roman historian.
[10] Paolo da Alba.

[4] Expurgata itaque civitate malis, in maxima a civibus reverentia habetur pontifex maximus, ipseque eos ut Deus angelos, qui manserant dejecto dracone, majori caritate complectitur et merito. Ipsi enim Romani aedes Porcias[1] expugnarunt, ipsi captivaverunt Stephanum et socios et, ut acrius punirentur, acclamarunt. Nullus in urbe aut extra inventus est istius sceleris conscius[2], nisi, quos senator propter sua crimina condemnarat, nepotes sui. Omnia itaque ac si nihil actum esset pace quiescunt. Erubescentes Romani, quod Stephanus Romano nomine gloriaretur, gratias Deo agunt, quod tam facile cogitatio illa sacrilega elisa fuerit et in favillam[3] conversa.

[5] Legit dominus noster sanctissimus tractatum contra Australes et laudat publice et commendat[4] omnia tua, et certe omnes, qui scripta ex te habere possunt, exemplaria faciunt et servant. Omnipotens Deus te conservare dignetur. Ex Roma, 13. Februarii[5].

[1] *omit.* V7
[2] consenis V7
[3] farulam V7
[4] et *add.* V6
[5] 1453 *add.* WO

[4] Now that the City has been cleansed of evildoers, the citizens greatly revere the Supreme Pontiff, and he himself cherishes them as God cherished the angels who remained with him when the dragon[1] was cast down - with even greater love and rightly so. For it was the citizens who stormed the Porcia house, caught Stefano and his accomplices, and loudly demanded the harshest punishments. No one else within the City or outside was found guilty of this crime except two nephews of his whom the senator[2] sentenced for their crimes. Thus complete peace reigns as if nothing has happened.[3] The Romans are ashamed that Stefano usurped the Roman name and give thanks to God that this sacrilegious plan was so easily destroyed and reduced to ashes.

[5] Our Most Holy Lord is reading and publicly praises your treatise against the Austrians[4] and commends all your writings.[5] All who can get hold of them have copies made and keep them. May the Almighty God deign to preserve you.

From Rome, 13 February.

[1] Lucifer.
[2] Lavagnoli, Giacomo.
[3] The situation in Rome was actually quite tense, and many accomplices of Porcari were left in peace to not aggravate the tensions, see the preceding letter, sect. 15. Carvajal's list of condemned is less comprehensive than the list in the preceding letter.
[4] The oration/treatise *"Sentio"* against the Austrian rebels against the emperor in 1452 (COR, 4: 20).
[5] Or "activities".

289. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (23 March 1453, Rome).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 47v-48r*[1]*; V5, 62, ff. 82v-83v**; V6, 62, ff. 70v-71v*[2]*; V7, 62, ff. 90v-91v.*
Editions A: *HO, ff. 137r-138r*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 60, pp. 124-125 (on the basis of the mss. listed above).*

{82v} Johannes Campisius, electus Placentinus, Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Dixit illa, ut aliquando legisti: *Gratulor Oetoliam titulis accedere nostris*. Ego, mi pater Aenea, sine, ut tuo te appellem nomine - dum cogito me his[4] litteris novo usurum esse titulo, qui tibi primo aspectu vel admirationem vel stuporem pariet, vix prae laetitia lacrimas contineo, quas mihi excutit ipsa de tua, quam mei causa capies, voluptate cogitatio[5]. Cum enim has leges, re tibi nova et fortassis insperata vel verius inexpectata, perculsus fies[6]. Non me latet, quanta animo pii patris Aeneae gaudia erumpent, quanta erit stabitque vultus hilaritas, quanta domum vel claritas animi vel consolatio implebit. Videre videor, quibus[7] oculis has ipsas[8] aspicies, quam tibi hae jucundae erunt. Vellem coram esse, sed haec missa faciamus, ne dum mihi indulgeo, nimis ineptus fiam.

[2] Nimis hodie, mi pater suavissime, viribus et pugna heri mei Noxetanique nostri studio conatuque hoc tempore acerrimo pietate eximia summi pontificis perfracta fuere illius herae arma fusaeque[9] ejus acies. Nec est, ut amplius fortunae oppugnationem verear, {83r} sed ut bene adversus eam sperem. Confido enim fore, ut habeam adjutorem dominum, qui nequaquam pati voluit, ut, quae me oppressum usque tenuit, ea me tandem ad necem usque perduxerit.

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[1] DV, 100-101
[2] DV, 72v-73v
[3] DV, 281-283. *Not collated.*
[4] iis F1, V5
[5] excogitatio V5
[6] fiet V7
[7] *omit.* V5
[8] cum *add. interlin.* V5
[9] fuisseque V7

289. Letter from Giovanni Campisio (23 March 1453, Rome).

Context: *Campisio's employer, Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo, died in 1449. Afterwards, Campisio apparently took employment with the Vice-chancellor, Cardinal Francesco Condulmer. When Vice-camerlengo Niccolò Amidano, Bishop of Piacenza, was appointed archbishop of Milan, the cardinal, in conjunction with Pietro da Noceto, first secretary and close collaborator of Pope Nicolaus V, managed to get Campisio appointed to the vacant see of Piacenza.*

Subject: *Campisio jubilantly informs Piccolomini about his appointment as Bishop of Piacenza.*

Giovanni Campisio, Elect of Piacenza, sends many greetings to Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] As you have read, a woman once[1] said, *I render thanks that Oechalia has been added to the list of our honours.*[2] While I, my Father Enea[3] (allow me to call you by your name[4]), consider that in this letter I shall be using a new title[5] which will, at first sight, cause you wonder or stupefaction, I can barely hold back tears of joy at the thought of the pleasure you will feel on my behalf. Indeed, when you read this letter, you will be overwhelmed by this unhoped-for or rather unexpected news. I am quite aware of the delight Pious Father Aeneas[6] will feel, how his face will light up with joy, and how his home will be filled with brightness and comfort. I can see before me how you will look at this letter and how greatly it will please you. I should like to stand before you, but let us leave it at that, lest I indulge myself to the point of foolishness.

[2] Today, my dearest Father, the strength and pugnacity of my master,[7] the zeal and strenuous exertions of our da Noceto, and the outstanding piety of the Supreme Pontiff vanquished the arms of Mistress [Fortune] and broke through her ranks. No more shall I fear Fortune's attacks[8] but hope to best her. For I trust I shall have *the Lord* as my *helper*[9] who would not allow her who had oppressed me until now to finally kill me.

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[1] Deianiha to Hercules.

[2] Ovidius: *Heroides*, 9: 1.

[3] Pater Aeneas, a Virgilian expression.

[4] And not by his episcopal title.

[5] As Bishop-Elect of Piacenza.

[6] Pius Aeneas, another Virgilian expression.

[7] Francesco Condulmer (1390 – 30. October 1453: Nephew of Pope Eugenius IV. Appointed cardinal in 1431 and Vice Chancellor in 1437. Campisio's service to Condulmer is mentioned in Piccolomini's *Dialogus* (Henderson): *Nicolaus [Amidano] ad Mediolanensem ecclesiam domum perrexit, plebi et sibi victurus. Johannes ei successor in Placentia suffectus, novus episcopus novis urgetur curis e amisso domino, cui diu famulatus est, Francisco vicecancellario, quem nosti, episcopo cardinali - nam is nuper obiit aere pressus alieno - neque Musis ex more operam praebet neque venaticae, quam numquam dilexit, intendit animum (p. 35-36).* See also letter 318.

[8] The two friends, Campisio and Piccolomini, had discussed Campisio's ill fortune in several letters (EPI, 3 / 134: 9; 151: 5; 4 / 183: 4-6; 197: 3; 5 / 240: 1, and it had also partly inspired Piccolomini's dream-treatise on Fortune (letter 152).

[9] Psalms, 51: 9.

[3] Sed nimis diu expectationen tuam moror, en te nunc gaudio inexplebili repleo. Hodie sanctissimus dominus noster in sacro reverendissimorum patrum senatu magno omnium in me assensu me ad ecclesiam Placentinam promovit. In hac re facile fuit videre, quam aperte amorem suum erga me[1] effuderit Noxetanus: dum res in dubio erat, is - mirum est - quam quiescere non poterat, nisi rem mei causa perficeret, qua[2] nihil illi fuit optatius. Quid opus est verbis: eo animo, eo affectu, eo studio, eo conatu, iis[3] viribus[4] rem aggressus et persecutus est, ut is ipse omnia perfecisse videri possit, et ut clarius exprimam, non aliter se totum in ea re perficienda exhibuit, quam mei causa susceperat, quam idem ipse fecisset Aeneas adeo, ut nimis dolore me affeceris, nisi tu pro hac re illi gratias non parvas tuis ad illum litteris egeris, idemque hero meo reverendissimo feceris. De summo pontifice, qui me immeritum[5] tanto munere donavit, non ausim dicere, ne nimium oneris tuis humeris imponam neve impudentius faciam. Si tamen prudentiae tuae videbitur, ut sanctitati ejus gratias pro hac ipsa re agas, fortassis non erit inutile. Sed, ut finem faciam ineptiis, ista scripsi, {83v} ut officio satisfacerem, ut litteras aliquando ad te laetas darem, et ut de me laeta legens magis indigeres[6], qui voluptati tuae tibi mei causa parte congratularetur[7], quam qui[8] litteras tuas ad me ferret, quibus mihi congratulareris.

Vale, domine mi suavissime et me tuum serva. Romae, die Veneris 23. Martii 1453[9].

[1] erga me *omit.* WO
[2] quia F1; corr. ex quia V5
[3] is V7
[4] verbis WO
[5] immerito WO
[6] indigens V7
[7] congratularentur V7
[8] *omit.* F1
[9] 1456 V5

[3] But I have abused your patience enough and shall now fill you with unsatiable joy. Today, Our Most Holy Lord, in the Sacred Senate of our Most Reverend Fathers[1] and with their unanimous agreement, appointed me to the Church of Piacenza. In this affair, it was easy to see how openly da Noceto showed his love for me: while the matter was uncertain, he - astonishingly - could not rest before he brought my affair to completion, wishing nothing more than that. There is no need for many words: he undertook and pursued the matter with such courage, devotion, zeal, effort, and strength that it is as if he alone brought it all about, and, to put it more clearly, he devoted himself to this matter as much as Enea would have done - and to such an extent that it would pain me if you did not send him great thanks for his achievement. And please do the same to my Most Reverend master. I would not dare mention the Supreme Pontiff who bestowed this great and undeserved office upon me lest I place too great a burden upon your shoulders or act impudently. But if you find it appropriate to thank His Holiness for it, it might be useful. But, putting an end to my awkward remarks, I have written this to fulfil my duty and - for once! – to send you a happy letter so that, reading happy things about me, you will take even greater pleasure by being congratulated on my part than by sending me congratulations.[2]

Farewell, my dearest lord, and continue to regard me as your own. Rome, Friday, 23 March 1453.

[1] The College of Cardinals, i.e. in a papal consistory.

[2] A very free translation of a difficult passage / MCS.

290. Letter to Juan Carvajal (6 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 100r-102r*[1] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 1.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 61, pp. 125-131 (on the basis of W1).*

{100r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, domino suo colendissimo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit.[2]

[1] Liceret mihi nihil scribere ad tuam dignationem, nam et mihi nihil ex urbe scribitur, sed non expedit pari jure cum majori certare. Eapropter, etsi jam mensibus tribus nullas tuarum acceperim litterarum, ego vero crebro scripserim, continuabo meum morem et quae sunt apud nos innovata tuae dignationi significabo. Nam qui bellum in diem expectabamus, jam metu soluti pacem habemus. Id quo pacto factum sit, paucis absolvam.

[2] Scis Ludovicum, Bavariae ducem, Albertum Brandeburgensem pluresque principes ad festum Martini praeteritum venisse Viennam conatosque res componere, frustra trivisse tempus, deinde neque magistrum camerae neque Waltherum Zebhinger, qui apud Balneas cum gubernatore Hungariae et comite Ciliae pacem tractarunt, quidquam profuisse, nam haec omnia a me prius conscripta sunt. At postquam incassum ire tractatus omnes Albertus, dux Austriae, cognovit remque festinare ad bellum, timens suae domui ne intestinis contentionibus attereretur, cum venia Caesaris Wiennam se contulit ac regis Ladislai rectores allocutus, cum diu de pace tractatus habuisset, ad extremum conditiones aliquas attulit, quae Caesari nullo pacto placuerunt.

[1] DV, 205-209

[2] Reverendissimo… dicit *corr. ex* Johanni cardinali sancti angeli. Reverendissime pater et domine mi colendissime post humilem recommendationem cod.

290. Letter to Juan Carvajal (6 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *After difficult negotiations, the emperor's brother, Duke Albrecht VI, had managed to conclude a peace with the Austrians and King Ladislaus the Posthumous.*

Subject: *Picolomini informs Carvajal about the peace negotiations and continues to the appointment of bishops to the sees of Freising and Passau and to various ecclesiastical benefices.*[1]

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship Juan, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, his worshipful lord, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] It would only be fair if I wrote nothing to Your Grace, since nothing has been written to me from the City. But it is not wise to insist on equal rights when dealing with a superior. Therefore, although I have not had letters from you for three months now, while I myself have written often to you, I shall continue my custom and inform Your Grace of the news from here. For although we were expecting war to come any day, we now have peace and are free of fear. How that was achieved, I shall explain briefly.

[2] Since I have already written to you about it,[2] you know that Duke Ludwig of Bavaria,[3] Albrecht of Brandenburg[4], and several other princes came to Vienna at the Feast of Saint Martin[5] and endeavoured to settle matters[6] but in vain. Subsequently, the *Kammermeister*[7] and Walther Zöbing[8] had peace negotiations in Baden with the Governor of Hungary[9] and the Count of Celje,[10] but they, too, failed. When Duke Albrecht of Austria[11] heard that the negotiations were failing and war was coming, he feared his House would be harmed by internal strife. So, with the emperor's permission, he went to Vienna and spoke with the governors of Ladislaus.[12] After lengthy peace negotiations, he finally returned with conditions that proved entirely unacceptable to the emperor.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 515.

[2] Letter not extant.

[3] Ludwig IX [Wittelsbach] (1417-1479): Duke of Bavaria-Landhut from 1450 to his death. See Piccolomini's description of him in his *Historia de Ratisponensi Dieta* (CRDM, pp. 373-377).

[4] Albrecht III Achilles (Hohenzollern) (1414-1486): Margrave of Brandenburg. Later prince elector.

[5] 11. November 1452.

[6] The conflict between the emperor and the Austrians concerning Prince Ladislaus.

[7] Ungnad, Hans (bef. 1429-1461): Kammermeister and councillor of Friedrich III.

[8] Zöbing, Walther von [Zebinger] (ca. 1456): See Heinig 1: p. 69.

[9] János Hunyadi [Hunyad] (c. 1406-1456): Hungarian statesman and general. Later (1456) governor of Hungary.

[10] Ulrich II of Celje [Cilly] (1406-1456): Count of Celje. Cousin of Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (Luxembourg) and uncle of her son King Ladislaus the Posthumous. The Celje family were longstanding opponents of the Habsburgs.

[11] Albrecht VI (Habsburg) (1418-1463): Duke (later Archduke) of Austria. On Piccolomini and Albrecht, see Langmeier, 122-125.

[12] King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

[3] Eam ob causam, nescio qua ratione inducti, Australes pacem avidius quaerere coeperunt, petitisque litteris securitatis praestantes oratores et suos et Hungaros ad Caesarem transmitti curaverunt, qui, ut audientiam obtinuerunt, ad pacem se missos dicentes, coronam regni Hungarie, castra quoque et possessiones quasvis Ladislao regi pertinentes restitui petiverunt, de bono pacis et justitiae cultu plura locuti. Ad quae cum Caesar pauca pro tempore me respondere jussisset, quae pacis fuerunt, super coronae castrorumque repetitione deliberationis tempus accepit. Interim Albertus, dux Austriae, rursus paci se medium obtulit diebusque pluribus et cum legatis et cum consiliariis Caesaris, quos domi apud se habuit, de pace tractavit et nunc spem bonam habuit, nunc malam, quod horatim novae res emergebant discussionis egentes.

[4] Ad extremum, cum omnia plana viderentur, nova contentio insurrexit, quae nullo pacto poterat extricari, nam castra, quae in manu Caesaris erant principatus Austriae, nonnullis impignorata nobilibus in administratione Caesaris, Australes libera repetebant. Caesar vero ea pignora se ut tutorem fecisse pro necessitate patriae dicebat, neque passurum se, quae fecisset tutorio nomine, rescindi, quod sibi dedecori esset et alienum consuetudini Austriae. Rursus illi: tutelam Caesari eo modo commissam fuisse ajebant, cum {100v} consilio terrigenarum ut administraret, ideoque 24 viros ei coadjunctos atque, illis magistratu se abdicantibus, 12. Velle igitur se, quae pignora cum illorum consilio Caesar inscripsisset, regis sui aere reluere, reliqua Caesaris oneri relinquere. Ad ea Caesar: fateri adjunctos nunc 24 nunc 12, sed tandem cum 24 et 12 deposuissent officium, solum se in administratione tutelae remansisse, annis fortasse 9 aut 10. Indignum esse, quae tunc a sese gesta fuissent, ruere. Magna hic contentio fuit: pignora 20 milium aestimabantur, quae neque a Caesare neque ab Australibus extorqueri poterant. At Albertus, concordiae cupidus, “Sinite,” inquit, “mihi, onus hujus summae 10 milia, Ladislao totidem, imperatori adimam. Id nisi ratum habuerint, argentum ipse dabo.” Acceperunt Australes conditionem. Caesar vero, “Neque aurum,” inquit, “dabo neque alium meo nomine dare sinam, quod utroque modo meus honor laeditur et a me gesta ruunt.” Neque flecti Caesar quavis suasione potuit.

[5] Consiliarii omnes territi erant neque Caesari verbum audebant facere, quem turbatum et ferocientem videbant. Tunc me rogant omnes hortari Caesarem meis verbis vellem, nam me illum benigne auditurum putabant mihique maxime id onus incumbere dicebant, qui et nuntius apostolicus et episcopus essem. Id ego diutius recusavi, satis intelligens inter mures esse contentionem: Quisnam muscipolae nolam appenderet? At ubi me omnes recusantem acrius incusabant, accersito Ulrico in hac sententia Caesarem allocutus sum:

[3] Then, the Austrians - I know not why - began to avidly seek peace. Having requested letters of safe conduct, they sent eminent orators from themselves and the Hungarians to the emperor. During their audience with him, they declared they had been sent on a peace mission and requested the return of the crown of the Kingdom of Hungary[1] and some castles and properties belonging to Ladislaus as king. They also spoke at length about the blessings of peace and the observance of justice. The emperor asked me to deliver a provisory response about the matter of peace, the crown, and the return of the castles, and then we broke off for deliberations. In the meantime, Duke Albrecht of Austria again offered to mediate and consulted with the legates and the emperor's councillors in his own home. Sometimes prospects seemed good, sometimes bad, for new matters requiring discussion cropped up every day.

[4] In the end, just when all seemed clear, a new, insoluble conflict arose: the Austrians asked for the free return of those castles belonging to the Duchy of Austria[2] that were in the emperor's hands and had been pledged to several nobles in the imperial administration. But the emperor replied that he had pledged them in his capacity as [Ladislaus'] guardian for the needs of the country, and he would not allow his acts as a guardian to be rescinded since that would be to his dishonour and against the custom of Austria. They replied that the guardianship had been entrusted to the emperor on the condition that he would administer [his duchy Austria] on the advice of the inhabitants. Therefore, he had been joined by 24 men and when they resigned from their office, 12 others. The properties pledged by the emperor on their advice they would redeem with their king's[3] money, whereas the emperor would have to pay for the others. The emperor replied that first 24 men had been joined with him (in the exercise of the guardianship), later 12, but when both the 24 and the 12 had resigned, he had continued to administer the guardianship alone for 9 to 10 years. It would be disgraceful to invalidate his acts from that period. A great quarrel ensued: the pledged properties were valued at 20,000 (florins), a sum that could be wrested from neither the emperor nor the Austrians. At this point, Albrecht,[4] eager for concord, said, "Leave it to me—I will assume half the burden, 10,000; let Ladislaus take the other half; I shall relieve the Emperor of the cost. And if they do not approve of this arrangement, I will pay the full amount myself." The Austrians accepted the proposal, but the emperor said, "I shall not pay nor allow anyone else to pay in my name, for in both ways my honour is compromised and my acts (as a guardian) are invalidated." The emperor could not be moved by any argument whatsoever.

[5] All the [imperial] councillors were terrified and dared not say anything to the emperor, seeing him deeply disturbed and angry. So they all asked me to address the emperor, believing he would hear me benignly. and insisting that this task was incumbent upon me in my capacity as apostolic nuncio and bishop. I refused for a long time, fully aware that the mice were arguing about who was to bell the mouse-catcher.[5] But when they saw me refusing, they rebuked me severely. Ulrich[6] was summoned, and [in the end] I addressed the emperor thus:

[1] Saint Stephen's Crown.
[2] Belonging to Ladislaus the Post-humous.
[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[4] Duke Albrecht VI, the emperor's brother.
[5] The cat. The meaning was: who would risk addressing the enraged emperor on this sensitive matter. The fable is from Aesop (Perry Index, 613).
[6] Ulrich Sonnenberger (d. 1469): Secretary of Friedrich III: Bishop of Gurk 1453-1469. Colleague and friend of Piccolomini. See Heinig, *ad Indicem.* (Or Ulrich Riederer?).

[6] “Quae tibi nune dicam, invicte Caesar, ut apostolicus nuntius et ut consiliarius tuus compellor tuae serenitati proponere. Mihi enim, dum sanctae sedis apostolicae legationem gero, nihil magis occumbit quam lites adimere, pacem procurare, maxime inter principes sanguine proximantes. Dum tuus consiliarius sum, quae tibi honori et commodo sint, aperire suadereque debeo. De pace nunc agitur, quae te tuumque patruelem Ladislaum concernit, quae si tuae pietati placuerit, mox concludetur. Ea res sanctissimo domino nostro papae jucundissima et acceptissima erit, qui nihil magis cupit, quam principum concordiam et unitatem, teque potissimum frui pace et fortunatissimum esse desiderat. Pax vero, quae tractata est, omnium judicio et honori tuo et utilitati conducit, namque ut detestabile est inter consanguineos esse bellum, sic honorificum esse putant proximum proximo bene velle. Praeterea in tua domo pax quaeritur. {101r} Germanus tuus pacis capitula dictat, quem omnes sciunt non dicturum, quod tibi non sit gloriae. Adversarii tui, quasi errarint, gratiam petunt. Quod per te gestum est tutorio nomine ratum manet. Quae pignore castra tenes, non restitues nisi reddito auro. In Hungaria meliora castra tibi tuisque dimittuntur. Poenae nomine adversarii 80 milia auri florenorum pendent. Si parva delicti poena est, magna erit indulgentiae tuae laus.

[7] Quid de utilitate dicam? Liberatus Australibus curis res tuas geres; Styriae Carinthiaeque negotia dispones; inde ad imperium te conferes, pacem inter principes communitatesque statues. Dilaceratam rem publicam reformabis; pecuniam, quam in bello consumpsisses, retinebis et alias novas recipies; parces tuis subditis. Scis belli dubios exitus esse; cum potentibus et magnis regionibus litem esse tibi, raro pauciores vincere cernimus. Quod si demus te victorem, cui nocebit tuus exercitus, nisi patrueli tuo domusque tuae subditis? Bellum hujusmodi hoc est, cujus victoria nihil emolumenti possit afferre, nam praeda militibus distribuenda est, oppida, si qua expugnari contingat, reddere tandem patrueli oportebit. Quis non videt declinandum bellum esse, quod cum periculo geritur et cum damna minetur lucri nihil promittit. Ego equidem, Caesar, quocumque me verto in civitate, clamantes cives rusticosque video, pacem optantes, quibus, ut miserearis, etiam tempus exposcit sacrum. Quod, si Deum petimus, ut nobis ignoscat, et nos aliis parcere convenit, ne cum servo nequam damnemur, qui, misericordiam consecutus a domino, conservum *suffocabat*.

[6] “What I shall say now, Unvanquished Emperor, I am compelled to lay before Your Serenity in my capacity as an apostolic envoy and as your councillor. As a legate of the Holy Apostolic See, my most important task is to settle conflicts and promote peace, especially between princes bound by blood. And as your councillor, I must advise and argue for that which is to your honour and advantage. We are now dealing with the peace between you and your cousin Ladislaus, which will soon be concluded if it pleases Your Piety. It will be a great joy and most welcome to Our Most Holy Lord Pope, who desires nothing more than concord and unity among princes and especially wishes you to enjoy peace and good fortune. All judge that the peace being negotiated now will be both to your honour and advantage, for just as war between relatives is abhorrent, they find it honourable for relatives to be well disposed towards each other. Peace is now being sought in your own House. Your brother has proposed articles of peace – and all know that he would propose nothing that is not to your glory. Your adversaries now ask for your favour, as if they had been in error. What you have done in your capacity as a guardian stays valid. You will only return the castles you hold in pledge if you are given payment. The good Hungarian castles are left to you. The adversaries will pay a fine of 80,000 florins. It may be a small fine for their crime,[1] but the praise for your leniency will be great.

[7] What shall I say about your advantage? Freed from the Austrian problems, you can take care of your own interests: you will settle the affairs of Steiermark and Kärnten, and afterwards, you will turn to the Empire and make peace between the princes and the cities.[2] You will reform the state that has been torn apart; you will keep the money [otherwise] spent on war and acquire new funds; and you will spare your subjects. You know well that the outcomes of battle are dubious: in conflicts with powerful and vast regions, the fewer rarely win. But let us assume that you win: whom will your army harm but your own cousin and the subjects of your own House? In this kind of war, victory will bring you no profit, for the spoils must be distributed among the soldiers, and you will ultimately have to return such cities as you may conquer to your cousin.[3] Who does not see that war must be declined when it is waged at great risk and only threatens loss while not promising gains? Wherever, Emperor, I turn in the city, I see citizens and peasants shouting and wishing for peace. Even this holy season[4] demands that you take pity on them. If we ask God to forgive us, we ourselves should show mercy to others, lest we be condemned like the wicked servant who, having obtained God’s forgiveness, *throttled*[5] a fellow servant.

[1] The rebellion.
[2] ”communitates”.
[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[4] Easter was approaching.
[5] Matthew, 18: 28.

[8] Nunc injurias oblivisci decet et vindictam remittere Deo. Nunc bellum horrere debemus, quod rapinas, incendia, caedes, adulteria nutrit, agros, urbes, templa devastat, neque jus neque fas locum habere sinit. Miserere, Caesar, miserere inopum rusticorum, quos sine culpa gladius belli solet absumere. Cogita, quot mala in proelio sunt. Pone ante oculos Bohemorum et Hungarorum statum. Illi haereticos adversantes habent, isti infideles. At si tecum litem habent, et infidelibus et haereticis favorem impendes. Quod si pacem recipis, utrosque jugulas, occasionemque Turco auferes expugnandae Constantinopolis, nam liberi Hungari non sinent alterum Europae oculum in manus infidelium devenire. Deinde - ut serenitati tuae plane loquar, omnes consiliarii tui hanc pacem commendant et, ut amplectaris eam, suadent. Si consilium recipis, nec bene succedat, quod minime putaverim, nemo te arguet, qui consiliariis auscultaveris. {101v} At si bellum gerens sinistram fortunam inveneris, quae saepe melioribus adversatur, omnes te unum culpabunt, qui plus te sapere credideris quam ceteri omnes. Haec ego pro mea in te fide locutus sum et ut officio satisfaciam. Tua nunc prudentia, quod in rem fuerit, accipiat."

[9] Haec cum dixissem, turbato vultu me cesar aspiciens verbis Teutonicis, quod mecum insolitum est, "Credebam," inquit, te mecum sapere meique honoris cupidum. Nunc video, omnes adversum me estis, neque mea vobis curae sunt. Idque adversantes sciunt atque idcirco duriores sunt. Nec mirum, quando meos omnes sibi faventes habent. At quoniam vos me negligitis, geram solus ego mei curam meoque honori solus consulam."

[10] Ad ea pauca respondens supplicabam, ne Caesar putaret vel me vel alios sui honoris prodigos, qui sine suo honore inhonorati omnes essemus. Sed numquam verbum exculpere bonum potui, ob quam causam reversus ad alios consiliarios arguebam eos, qui me verba impulissent facere, quae non putassem profutura. Illi contra utile me locutum esse dicebant noctuque Caesarem mea verba ad sese repetiturum.

[11] At nocte, quae secuta est, Albertus dux multa cum legatis verba fecit eosque ad majora conduxit. Itaque mane summo ad Caesarem veniens rem omnem composuit et accersitis legatis pacem sub spe ratihabitionis publicavit. Quomodo autem et quibus legibus pax dicta sit, quia sanctissimo domino nostro ex ordine scribo, non puto necessarium repetere. Albertus Viennam ivit et Australes haud invitos ad pacem animavit, exinde in Sueviam iter fecit. Ad festum Georgii ratificatio expectatur. Forsitan quia Hungari Turcum timent et Australes variare Bohemos sentiunt, libentius pacem accipient.

[8] Now is the time to forget wrongs and *leave revenge to God*.[1] Now is the time to reject war that breeds plunder, burning, murder, and adultery, devastates fields, cities, and temples, and leaves no peace for justice and right. Have mercy, Emperor, have mercy upon the poor peasants, whom the sword of war so often consumes, though they are innocent. Consider all the evils of a battle. Look at the situation of the Bohemians and the Hungarians. The first contend with heretics[2], the second with infidels.[3] If you make war against them, you will serve both the infidels and the heretics. But if you embrace peace, you defeat them both and deprive the Turks of the opportunity to conquer Constantinople, for if the Hungarians are left free to act, they will not allow Europe's[4] second eye to fall to the infidels.[5] Therefore - to speak plainly to Your Serenity - all your councillors recommend this peace and urge you to accept it. If you take their advice [to accept peace] and the matter turns out badly - which I do not believe it will - then nobody will blame you for heeding your councillors. But if you make war and it turns out badly, which often happens even to the better side, all will blame you for believing yourself wiser than all others. This I have spoken out of loyalty to you and to fulfil my office. It now rests with your wisdom to decide what is appropriate."

[9] When I finished speaking, the emperor looked at me furiously and said - in German, which he usually does not use with me[6] - "I thought you supported me and cared for my honour. I see now that you are all against me and have no concern for me. My adversaries know this, and therefore they have become more intractable, which is no surprise since all my men side with them. But since you have all abandoned me, I will take care of my affairs and defend my honour alone."

[10] I answered this with only a few words, begging the Emperor not to consider me or the others as betraying his honour, for without his honour, none of us would have any. But I could not find suitable words of excuse, so when we left, I rebuked the other councillors who had pressured me into speaking what I did not believe would be helpful. But they, on the contrary, said that I had spoken well and that the emperor would reflect on my words during the night.

[11] During the following night, Duke Albrecht spoke at length with the [Austrian] legates and induced them to make greater concessions. Early in the morning, he came to the emperor and settled the whole matter. The legates were summoned, and the articles of peace were publicly proclaimed in the expectation of their ratification. Since I am writing an account[7] to Our Most Holy Lord[8] on how and under what conditions the peace was concluded, I think it is unnecessary to repeat it here.[9] Albrecht then went to Vienna and urged the Austrians, who were not unwilling, to [accept] the peace.[10] Afterwards, he continued to Schwaben. The ratification [of the peace] is expected to happen on the Feast of Saint George.[11] Since the Hungarians fear the Turks and the Austrians hear the Bohemians are vacillating, they will be more inclined to accept peace

[1] Romans, 12: 19.
[2] The Hussites.
[3] The Turks.
[4] Constantinople. The other "eye" was Rome.
[5] Constantinople actually fell to the Turks 2 months afterwards.
[6] The emperor apparently had enough Latin to speak with Piccolomini in that language, and Piccolomini apparently had enough German to understand the emperor speaking in that language.
[7] The letter not is extant.
[8] The pope.
[9] The peace is published in Chmel: *Materialien*, 2, nr. 43.
[10] 23 March 1453. On this peace and Albecht's role in the negotiations, see Langmeier, pp. 346-352. See also HA, 1, p. 807-811; RTA, 19/1, p. 511.
[11] 23 April.

[12] Jam haec scripseram, cum Thomas, capellanus imperatoris, triplices litteras tuas ad me detulit, in quibus de re Frisingensi et Pataviensi facis mentionem jubesque me Caesarem alloqui. Feci, quod imperavisti. Caesar, etsi molestissime fert confirmationem electi Frisingensis, tamen gratias agit dignationi tuae pro litteris ad se missis. Et quia non putat tuam reverendissimam paternitatem in eo consilio fuisse, ut ejus petitio sperneretur, qui semper ejus votis morem gerere studuisti, satis quoque intelligit dominum nostrum sanctissimum non suo motu sed cardinalium suasu inductum confirmasse Frisingensem electum. Utcumque sit res {102r} ista, placabitur, postquam facta est.

[13] De Pataviensi ecclesia oro et supplico, ne quid ordinetur, priusquam litterae Caesaris veniant, ne adversarii se jactent imperatorem apud papam nihil posse. Spero autem imperatorem scripturum pro electo, postquam pax firmata fuerit, ad quam rem vehementer laboro, et sentio jam Caesarem inclinatum non tantum meis quam aliorum verbis. Itaque non sit grave parum expectare. Sic enim beneficio tolletis injurias, si tamen injuria est, quod actum in Frisingensi ecclesia diximus.

[14] De praepositura electi Pataviensis, si quid pium bonumque valet, oro, ut magistro Ulrico Sonnenberger provideatur, qui nunc in facto Frisingensi magnas expensas subiit, hortante Caesare, nam ipse per se nullo pacto de hac ecclesia intromittere se volebat. Ideo digneris compati sibi, qui potest adhuc Romane ecclesie multum prodesse et in tua dignatione plurimum confidit. Per promotionem quoque suam ad hanc praeposituram, si fiet, vacabit praepositura ejus Ratisponensis modici valoris. Eam precor impetrare Johanni Hinderbachio, doctori et bono viro, certe fideli et sincero, qui hodie imperatori et imperatrici admodum gratus est et apostolicae sedi puro corde affectus. Scis, quia alias Caesar dignationi tuae scripsit et hanc praeposituram sibi conferri petivit.

[12] I had already written this when Thomas, the emperor's chaplain, brought me triple letters from you in which you mention the matters of Freising and Passau and ask me to speak to the emperor about them. I have done as you requested. Though the emperor is most upset at the confirmation of the Elect of Freising,[1] he thanks Your Grace for the letters sent to him. He does not believe that Your Most Reverend Paternity - who has always endeavoured to accommodate him - would have advised rejecting his petition, and he understands that Our Most Holy Lord did not confirm the Elect of Freising of his own accord but under pressure from the cardinals. Whatever the case, he will agree to the confirmation now that it has been made.

[13] However, concerning the Church of Passau,[2] I ask and beg that nothing be decided before the emperor's letter arrives, lest the adversaries boast that the emperor has no influence with the pope. I hope that the emperor will write in favour of the elect[3] once peace has been confirmed. I am working strenuously on this matter, and I hear that the emperor is so inclined not just because of my words but also because of others'. So, it is not grave to wait a little while. Thus, you will compensate for the injury - if indeed it is one - that we say has been made in [the matter of the] Church of Freising.[4] [5]

[14] Concerning the provostship [previously held by] the Elect of Passau,[6] I ask - if what is pious and good counts for something - that Magister Ulrich Sonnenberger be provided with it. Though he himself did not wish in any way to intrude himself in the Church of Freising, he has - at the emperor's instigation - spent a large sum on the Freising matter. Please deign to have compassion with him, for he can benefit the Roman Church in many ways, and he has great confidence in Your Grace. If he is promoted to the provostship in Freising, his present provostship (of lesser value) in Regensburg will become vacant. I ask you to obtain it for Johann Hinderbach,[7] [8] a doctor and a good man, most loyal and sincere, most dear to the emperor and the empress, and sincerely devoted to the Apostolic See. You know the emperor has already written to Your Grace, requesting that this provostship be conferred upon him.

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[1] After the death of Heinrich Grünwalder on 2 December 1452, Johann Thulbeck had been appointed bishop of Freising on 9 March 1453. The emperor had apparently preferred another candidate.

[2] Bishop Leonhard Laiming of Passau had died on 24 June 1451. The emperor had asked the chapter to elect the provost of Vienna, Albrecht von Schaumberg, but - at the instigation of the Bavarian dukes Ludwig and Albrecht - the chapter instead elected the provost of Freising, Ulrich von Nussdorf. Because of the emperor's opposition, he was first confirmed by the pope on 4 November 1454.

[3] Nussdorf, Ulrich von (1451-1479): Former provost of Freising. Elected Bishop of Passau in 1451. After he paid a sum of 6000 gold ducats to the emperor, the emperor issued a provisory recognition of him as Bishop of Passau in March 1453. Confirmed by the pope on 4 November 1454, consecrated as bishop in May 1455, and granted the regalia by the emperor on 2 August 1455. Austrian chancellor of King Ladislaus (1454). In 1457, he was appointed imperial chancellor. See Heinig, 1: pp. 102, 455, 653-658 and *ad indicem.* See also Erken.

[4] For Rome to grant the emperor's wish in the matter of Passau would compensate for its neglect of his wish in the matter of Freising.

[5] On the connection between the appointments to Freising and Passau and the peace between the Austrians and the emperor, see RTA, 19/1, pp. 513-515, 517.

[6] The provostship of Freising.

[7] Hinderbach, Johann (1418-1483): At the time a secretary of Friedrich III. After a distinguished career at Friedrich's court, he became Bishop of Trient in 1465. Friend of Piccolomini

[8] This did not happen.

[15] De me puto etiam sine precibus memoriam geres, ne sperata cadam ecclesia, ne Metensis quamvis dominus meus me excludat, ne bis cum cardinalibus succumbere cogar, ne patientia in furorem vertatur. At tantum de hoc.

[16] In facto Johannis Gers, quamvis maligna natura non mereatur auxilium, tamen Caesari tuo nomine verbum feci, qui subrisit, non dedit responsum. At quia remissae injuriae sunt omnibus, non puto illi aliquid imminere periculum.

[17] Misi dignationi tuae pridem tractatum quendam adversus Australes habitum et historiam de Gothis a me factam breviorem. Timeo, ne sim deceptus, ne in via perierint. Latores fuere Johannes de Lysura et quidam doctor Nürembergensis. Miror, si me decepere, nam tua dignatio nullam de his rebus in suis litteris mentionem facit.

[18] De absolutione quoque familiaris mei ab homicidii reatu numquam habui responsum. Sed facio finem meque vestrae dignationi commendo.

Ex Nova Civitate, die 6. Aprilis 1453.

[15] Regarding my own affairs, I believe you will remember me even without being asked and ensure that I do not miss the hoped-for church,[1] lest the Cardinal of Metz[2] deprive me of it as if he were my superior, and I am forced to succumb twice to cardinals, and patience becomes fury. But enough of that.

[16] Though Johann Gers[3] is an obnoxious fellow who does not deserve any help, I did speak to the emperor in your name, but he just smiled and gave no answer. But since all injuries have been forgiven, I do not think he is in any danger.

[17] I have previously sent Your Grace a treatise *Against the Austrians*[4] and an abbreviation of [Jordanes'] *History of the Goths*.[5] But I fear that I have been disappointed and that they have gone lost during travel. They were carried by Johann of Lieser[6] and a doctor from Nürnberg. I wonder if they somehow failed me, for Your Grace makes no mention of the works in your letters.[7]

[18] Concerning the absolution of one of my familiars, guilty of homicide, I have not yet had an answer. But I finish here and commend myself to Your Grace.

From Neustadt, 6 April 1453.

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[1] In Windischgretz, cf. Brosius. pp. 279-280.

[2] Estaing, Guillaume-Hugues d' (d. 1445): Archdeacon of Metz. Created cardinal by Nicolaus V 19 December 1449. Piccolomini knew him from Basel.

[3] Gers, Johann [Gersse]: proto-notary in the imperial chancery. See Heinig, 1: p. 704-705. In his *Commentarii*, Piccolomini called him *a very jealous and sharp-tongued person (mordacem et invidae mentis hominem)* (COM, 1: 14). And in his letter 290 and his *Commentarius de dictis et factis Alphonsi regis*, he called him a *maligna natura* (WO, 1: 1, p. 435).

[4] The oration *"Sentio"* (COR, 4: 20).

[5] See letter to Juan Carvajal of December 1452 (EPI, 5: 283, 2).

[6] Johann von Lieser (-1459): At the time, counsellor of the Archbishop of Trier. (WO, 3: 1, pp. 139-140, n. a).

[7] Apparently, Piccolomini had not yet received Carvajal's letter of 13 February, in which he explicitly mentions the oration against the Austrians (see letter 288: 5).

291. Letter to Nicolaus V (10 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 102v*[1] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 2.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 62, pp. 132-133 (on the basis of the W1).*

{102v} Papae Nicolao V. Beatissimo et clementissimo domino nostro, domino Nicolao papae quinto, summo pontifici, Aeneas humilis episcopus Senensis commendatum se facit[2].

[1] Per tabellarium sanctitati tuae scripsi, quae ad eam usque diem occurrerant. Deinde fui cum Caesare saepius nec de re Frisingensi tacui. Sua serenitas satis intelligit rationes, quae sanctitatem tuam moverunt, jamque omnia aequiori fert animo ac tuae pietati ex suo more devotionem affectionemque gerit. In facto Pataviensi expectatur ratificatio pacis, deinde ad sanctitatem tuam scribetur.

[2] Australes pro pace facta his diebus processiones fecerunt egeruntque Deo grates ingentes. Hic quoque ob eam rem Deo sacrificatum est. De Hungaris tamen certitudinem nondum habemus. In festo Sancti Georgii omnia clarescent.

[3] Bohemi jam retrocedere incipiunt neque ratum videntur habere, quod sui oratores Viennae promiserunt. Cum Saxonibus quoque bellum parant, vim regiminis apud haereticos dimittunt. Catholicorum parva inter eos est auctoritas.

[4] Ladislaus a rege Franciae requisitus ad congregationem generalis concilii operam dare, unum doctorem ad illum misit, qui cum eo rem transigat. Atque hoc clam Hungaris factum est, ut Varadiensis episcopus jurejurando mihi affirmavit. Haec scribo, ut tua sanctitas, quod ex usu sit apostolicae sedi, consulat.

[5] Ulrius Riederer, insignis juris consultus, ex praebendis electi Pataviensis alteram cupit. Id si est factu facile, bonum esse arbitror, sibi annuere, qui apud Caesarem non ultimum locum tenet. Commendo me tuae beatitudini ad ejus mandata paratum. Maxime vero cupio et suadere non ab re praesumo, ut electi praepositura Ulrico Sonnenberger conferatur, integerrimo et nulla in re ficto viro.

Ex Nova Civitate Austriae, die 10. Aprilis 1453.

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[1] DV, 210.

[2] Papae … facit *corr. ex* Papae Nicolao V. Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Post devota pedum oscula beatorum et humilem mei recommendationem cod.

291. Letter to Nicolaus V (10 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *The peace between the Austrians and the emperor was to be ratified on 23 April. In the meantime, the emperor would withhold his confirmation of the new bishop of Passau, which meant that the bishop's former benefices could not be distributed, even to the emperor's own officials.*

Subject: *Piccolomini reports to the pope on developments in Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia as well as the emperor's refusal to approve the episcopal nomination to Passau before the ratification of the peace.*

To Pope Nicolaus V. Enea, humble Bishop of Siena, commends himself to his Most Holy and Clement Lord, Our Lord Pope Nicolaus V, Supreme Pontiff.

[1] By messenger, I have written to Your Holiness what has happened until now.[1] Later, I have been with the emperor several times to speak about the Freising matter. His Serenity understands Your Holiness' motives. He now takes it all more calmly and maintains his usual devotion and affection toward Your Piety. In the matter of Passau,[2] He will await the ratification of the peace[3] and then write to Your Holiness.

[2] The Austrians are now holding processions and giving immense thanks to God that peace has been made. Here, too, masses of thanksgiving have been celebrated. Regarding the Hungarians, we have no certain news. Everything will become clear by the Feast of Saint George,[4]

[3] The Bohemians have begun to withdraw and appear not to approve of what their ambassadors promised in Vienna. They are also preparing for war with the Saxons and let the heretics[5] govern. The Catholics have little authority there.

[4] Ladislaus has been invited by the King of France[6] to support holding a general council[7] and has sent a doctor to him to negotiate the matter. The Hungarians have not been informed about this, as the Bishop of Varad[8] has only told me under oath. I write this so Your Holiness may consider what is best for the Apostolic See.

[5] Ulrich Riederer, a distinguished jurist, wishes to have one of the prebends belonging to the Elect of Passau.[9] If this is easy to do, I think it would be good to accept it, for the emperor estimates him greatly[10].

I commend myself to Your Beatitude and am ready to obey Your wishes. I fervently wish and urge - with reason - that the provostship of the Elect[11] be conferred upon Ulrich Sonnenberger, a most honest and completely sincere man. From Neustadt in Austria, 10 April 1453.

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[1] The letter is not extant.

[2] Concerning the affairs of Freising and Passau, see letter 290: 12-13.

[3] Between the Austrians and the emperor, see letter 290: 11.

[4] 23 April, the appointed date for the ratification of the peace treaty.

[5] The Hussites.

[6] Charles VII (1403-1461): Ruler of France from 1422 to his death.

[7] France was still holding open the threat against the pope of a new ecumenical council.

[8] János Vitéz (c. 1408-1472): Hungarian humanist. Bishop of Varad 1445, Archbishop of Esztergom from 1465 to his death.

[9] Ulrich von Nussdorf, Bishop-Elect of Passau.

[10] On this passage, see Reinle, pp. 486, 488.

[11] The provostship of Freising. See letter 290: 14.

292. Letter to Juan Carvajal (10 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 102v-103r*[1] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 3.*
Edition B: *WO, 3: 1, 63, pp. 133-134 (on the basis of the W1).*

{102v} Cardinali Sancti Angeli. Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino Johanni cardinali Sancti Angeli, domino suo primario, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[2].

[1] Tabellarius apostolicus meas litteras de rebus, quae tunc[3] occurrebant, satis, ut arbitror, plenas ad tuam dignationen attulit. Post ejus recessum fui saepe cum Caesare locutusque de re Frisingensi. Non invenio perseverare molestiam inde acceptam, {103r} quoniam causas intelligit, quibus apostolica sedes mota est. Cupit, ne similem in Pataviensi cogatur habere sufferentiam. Pacis ratificationem ad festum sancti Georii praestolamur Viennae magnifice, et hic pro loco supplicatum est Deo, ut pacem confirmet. De Hungaris nondum certitudo est. Bohemi cum Saxonibus bellum struunt ireque cum rege Ladislao satis consonant. Is ad regem Franciae quendam doctorem misit de convocatione generalis concilii, quam ille petiverat responsurum. Hungari, ut Varadiensis episcopus mihi affirmavit, ejus rei non fuerunt conscii. In litteris, quas ad me dedisti, neque de tractatu meo adversus Australes edito neque de Historia Gothorum ad tuam dignationem missa mentio facta est. Cupio scire, an receperis an ego deceptus sum.

Commendo me reverendissimae paternitati tuae, cujus sum perpetuus servus. Ex Nova Civitate, 10. die Aprilis 1453[4].

[1] DV, 210-211
[2] Cardinali … dicit *corr. ex* Cardinali Sancti Angeli. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[3] nunc WO
[4] Ex Nova … 1453 *in Piccolmini's own hand* cod.

292. Letter to Juan Carvajal (10 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *As the preceding letter.*

To the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo. Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Juan, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, his particular lord.

[1] The apostolic messenger has presumably delivered the letter[1] to Your Grace where I reported at length what was happening then. After he left, I spoke several times with the emperor on the matter of Freising. He is no longer as indignant as he was at first, for he understands the motives of the Apostolic See. But he does not wish to experience the same in the matter of Passau. We are awaiting the ratification of the peace to be celebrated solemnly in Vienna on the Feast of Saint George, and here[2], as well, we have held prayers to God for the confirmation of the peace. We do not yet have certain news about the Hungarians. The Bohemians are preparing for war with the Saxons and seem to accept King Ladislaus. He has sent a certain doctor to the king of France with an answer concerning the convocation of a general council that the king had requested. The Bishop of Varad[3] has told me under oath that the Hungarians did not know about this matter. In your letter, you do not mention my *Treatise against the Austrians* or the *History of the Goths* that I sent to Your Grace. I should like to know if you have received them or if I have been deceived.[4]

.

I commend myself to Your Most Reverend Paternity, whose servant I am forever. From Neustadt, 10 April 1453.

[1] Letter 290.
[2] In Wiener Neustadt.
[3] János Vitez.
[4] See letters 288:5 and 290:17.

293. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (10 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 103r-103v*[1] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 4.*
Editions B: *AC, vol. 2/1, nr. 3371; WO, 3: 1, 64, pp. 134-135 (on the basis of W1).*

{103r} Cardinali sancti Petri. Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino Nicolao, Sancti Petri ad Vincula cardinali ac pontifici Brixinensi, domino suo colendissimo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[2].

[1] Quae per hos dies apud nos gesta sunt, scripsi nudiustertius. Postea fui cum[3] Caesare[4], qui omnem molestiam jam deposuit, quam de Frisingensi negotio acceperat. Intelligit enim apostolicam sedem non sine magna causa motam. At in re Pataviensi melius sperat, quam brevi compositum iri existimo. Pacis ratificatio ad Festum Sancti Georgii proximum expectatur, pro qua re et hic devote et Wiennae magnifice sacrificatum est. Bohemi adversus Saxones bellum ingens apparant. Sunt qui jam congressos eos conflictosque dicant. Rumor tamen incertus est. In Bohemia multi sunt, qui regnum nobile oblatum regi Ladislao sine pecunia vituperant resque novas moliuntur. Haeretici apud eos plurimum possunt. Civitates, ut ajunt, omnes praeter duas ad haereticos defecerunt neque tributum solvere volunt, quod jam regis nomine petebatur, nisi rex coronetur et nobiles suum regi debitum jus reddant. Res erit non plana, ut existimatum est. Rex Franciae exhortatus est regem Ladislaum, una secum ad petitionem concilii concurrat. Ad respondendum ei missus est Balthasar doctor, tuae dignationi non incognitus.

[2] Dominus de Puchaim, {103v} qui bello superiori Caesaris partes defendit, ut vidit pacem spretam, ad regem Ladislaum se contulit. Deinde litteras ad Caesarem misit magnam pecuniam petens loco damnorum, quae sui causa tulerat. Caesar ei, quod justum esset, daturum se respondit. Ille non contentus in consilio regis questus auxilia contra Caesarem[5] efflagitavit nihilque obtinuit, dicentibus, qui consilium regunt, satis esse Caesarem sibi jus offerre. Ille tamen militem conducit quasi privatis viribus bellum gesturus. Id, quamvis nocivum sit, nihil tamen amplius quam latrocinium dici poterit neque nos afficiet et gerenti quam ferenti noxium erit. De ecclesia electi Pataviensis expecto, quod scripsisti, meque dignationi tuae commendo.

Ex Novacivitate, die 10. Aprilis 1453.

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[1] DV, 211-212
[2] Cardinali … dicit *corr. ex* Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[3] ad WO
[4] Caesarem WO
[5] *em.;* regem cod.,WO

293. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (10 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *See the previous letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini sends the cardinal news from the imperial court, including the problems with the Count of Puchheim.*[1]

To the Cardinal of San Pietro.[2] Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to his Most Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Nikolaus, Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli and Bishop of Brixen, his Worshipful Lord.

[1] Two days ago, I wrote to you about what has happened here. Afterwards, I was with the emperor, who has now overcome his indignation concerning the matter of Freising. He understands that the Apostolic See had acted for cogent reasons. But in the matter of Passau, he expects a better result: I believe it will be resolved soon. The ratification of the peace is expected to happen on the Feast of Saint George. Solemn masses of thanksgiving have been held both here and in Vienna. The Bohemians are preparing for a major war against the Saxons. Some say they have already clashed and fought, but the rumour is uncertain. In Bohemia, many criticise that the crown was offered to King Ladislaus[3] without money, and they are plotting political disturbances. The heretics[4] have the upper hand there. All but two cities have reportedly defected to the heretics and refuse to pay the taxes demanded in the king's name unless the king is crowned and the nobles, too, pay their due to him as king. The matter is believed to be complicated. The King of France[5] has exhorted King Ladislaus to join him in a request for a general council. Balthasar, a doctor known to Your Grace, has been sent to him with a reply.

[2] Lord Puchheim[6] supported the emperor in the previous war, but when he saw that peace was rejected, he went over to King Ladislaus. Then he sent a letter to the emperor demanding a large sum for damages suffered in his cause. The emperor said he would give him what was just, but Puchheim was not content. He raised complaints before the king's[7] council and begged for help against the emperor but obtained nothing since those who rule the council said the emperor's offer of a just sum was sufficient. But he has hired soldiers as if he would fight with private means.[8] It is, of course, quite preposterous and simple robbery, but it will not affect us, and it will be worse for the one who does it[9] than the one who suffers it[10]. Regarding the Church of Passau, I await what you write and commend myself to Your Grace.

From Neustadt, 10 April 1453.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1, p. 515.
[2] Kues, Nikolaus of (1401-1464): Cardinal 1448. Prince-bishop of Brixen 1450. Friend of Piccolomini.
[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[4] The Hussites.
[5] Charles VII.
[6] Puchheim, Georg II von (-1458): Noble. Councillor of Friedrich III.
[7] King Ladislaus.
[8] See Heinig, 1: p. 158. See Heinig, 1: pp. 256-257 and *ad indicem*.
[9] Georg II von Puchheim.
[10] The emperor.

294. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (10 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 103v*[1] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 5.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 63, pp. 135-136 (on the basis of W1).*

{103v} Comiti magnifico et alto, domino Petro de Noxeto, amico suo veraci, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[2].

[1] Non esset, quod scribam, post tabellarium ad te missum, nisi pauca sese[3] offerrent. Caesar quieto animo fert rem Frisingensem petitque Pataviensem ad scripta sua differri, quae brevi mittentur. Scit te sibi affectum resque suas solerter curare. Cupit hoc sibi gestum des, amat te et maximi facit. Pax nondum firmata est, ad Festum Georgii ratificatio expectatur. In Bohemia novae res parantur neque Ladislao regi, quod promissum est, futurum stabile creditur. Hungari quoque non tantum faciunt, quantum spondent. Jiskra receptus in gratiam regis militiaeque praefectus aliquantum offendere Johannem vaivodam existimatur, cujus potestas in regno regis voluntati praefertur.

Vale et maximo pontifici commendatum me facito, et ut ecclesiam speratam obtineam cura. Ex Novacivitate Austriae, die 10. aprilis.

[1] DV, 212

[2] Comiti … dicit *corr. ex* Petro de Noxeto. Magnifice et generose comes, amice primarie cod.

[3] se WO

294. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (10 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Like the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini reiterates the news from the previous letters and asks for da Noceto's help to acquire a benefice.*[1]

{103v} To the Magnificent and Exalted Count, Lord Pietro da Noceto, his true friend, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] There should not have been much to write after the messenger was dispatched to you. However, a few things have come up. The emperor takes the matter of Freising tranquilly but requests that the matter of Passau be postponed until you receive his letter, which will soon be sent. He knows that you are devoted to him and handle his affairs skilfully. He wishes you to see to this. He treasures you and estimates you highly.

[2] The peace has yet to be confirmed: the ratification is expected on the Feast of [Saint] George. In Bohemia, new political disturbances are brewing, and it is believed that the promises made to King Ladislaus will not stand firm. The Hungarians, too, do not fulfil their promises. Jiskra[2] has been restored to the king's favour and appointed commander, which is believed to offend Voivode János,[3] whose will counts for more in the kingdom than the king's.

Farewell and recommend me to the Supreme Pontiff, and please arrange that I get the church I hope for.[4] From Neustadt in Austria, 10 April.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1, p. 515.
[2] Jiskra, Jan [z Brandýsa] (ca. 1400 - ca. 1470): Moravian noble and military commander. See DVI, ch. 43, and HB, p. 478-482.
[3] János Hunyadi.
[4] The church in Irdning (WO, 3: 1, p. 139, n. a).

295. Letter to Ulrich von Nussdorf (15 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 104r-104v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 7.*
Editions B: *RTA, 19/1, p. 515 (extract); WO, 3: 1, 67, pp. 137-138 (on the basis of W1).*

{104r} Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis et apostolicae sedis legatus, reverendo patri, domino Ulrico electo Pataviensi salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Quo sim animo erga[4] dignitatem tuam quantumque tuae sim promotioni affectus, vir bonus et doctus, cancellarius tuus ex me nuper {104v} accepit, nam tui mores, nobilitati conformes, nulli non sunt amandi. Id facit, ut, quae mihi per hos dies ex Roma scripta sunt de re tua[5], te minime celem. Ea hujusmodi sunt: scribunt mihi non parvi judicii patres rem tuam bonum exitum habituram, quamprimum Caesar pro te[6] supplicaverit, quia in eum et summus pontifex et sacer senatus inspiciat. Caesarem autem ad hoc jam pronum intelligo, si pax hoc in loco conclusa ex condicto ratificetur. Da igitur operam, ut, quae promissa sunt, quantocius compleantur. Sic navis tua incolumis portum applicabit[7]. Unum autem ex fide bonaque mente commoneo, censurarum, quae in adversarios Caesaris fulminatae sunt, ut memineris, ne quid illinc rei tuae insurgat impedimentum. Procuratoribus tuis mandatum, quod ex usu fuerit, committendum erit. Ego exinde quaecumque potuero pro tua dignatione etiam non rogatus curabo libens[8], neque alium me geram erga dominationem tuam reverendam, quam tuo antecessori me praestiti.

Vale in Christo optime atque inter benevolentes unum me credito non vulgarem. Ex Nova Civitate, die 15. Aprilis 1453. Vester[9] Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, apostolicae sedis orator.

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[1] DV, 213-214
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas ,.. dicit corr. ex Domino Pataviensi. Reverende pater, domine honorande cod.
[4] ~~personam vestram~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~te~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~pro vobis scripserit in vestram favorem~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~ego~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~et qui erga vestrum antecessorem~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~servitor~~ *seq.* cod.

295. Letter to Ulrich von Nussdorf (15 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *The emperor had made his recognition of the election of Ulrich von Nussdorf to the See of Passau dependent on the ratification of the peace between himself and the Austrians (see preceding letter).*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs von Nussdorf that the emperor will confirm his election when the peace is ratified and assures him of his goodwill and support.*

Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena and Legate of the Apostolic See, sends many greetings to the Reverend Father, His Lordship Ulrich, Elect of Passau.

[1] Your chancellor, a good and learned man, recently heard how I am disposed towards Your Grace and how greatly I support your promotion, for your character, befitting your nobility, deserves to be loved by all. Therefore, I shall inform you about letters from Rome concerning your matter that I have just received. This is their purport: Fathers of excellent judgement write that your affair will succeed as soon as the emperor sends his petition for you, for the Supreme Pontiff and the Holy Senate respect his wishes. I understand that the emperor is ready to do this if the peace made here[1] is ratified as stipulated. So, please do what you can to ensure the fulfilment of the promises. Thus, your own ship will reach the port safely. In good faith, I warn you of one thing, however: be mindful of the [ecclesiastical] censures fulminated[2] against the emperor's adversaries, lest they cause an impediment to your promotion.[3] You will have to provide your procurators with a mandate in the usual form[4]. I shall then gladly and even unasked do what I can for Your Grace and act towards Your Reverend Lordship in the same way as towards your predecessor.[5]

Farewell in Christ, and believe me to have particular benevolence towards you. From Neustadt, 15 April 1453. Enea, Bishop of Siena, and Orator of the Apostolic See.

[1] See letter 290: 11.
[2] By the pope.
[3] If the bishop-elect ignored the censures (interdict, excommunication etc.) against the Austrian rebels, he might incur such himself.
[4] I.e., a petition to Piccolomini as apostolic legate to be freed of the ecclesiastical censures.
[5] Leonhard Laiming (1381-1451): Prince-bishop of Pas-sau from 1424 to his death.

296. Letter to Siegmund von Volkersdorf (c. 17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 104r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 6.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 66, pp. 136-137 (on the basis of W1).*

{104r} Domino Salzburgensi. Reverendissimo in Christo patri[3] domino Sigismundo, archiepiscopo Salzburgensi, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, apostolicae sedis legatus, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Redditae sunt mihi litterae tuae, quibus queris tamquam tuae jurisdictioni praejudicium faciam, idque declaras, quia causas assumam fori tui contentiosi, quia parrochiales ecclesias conferam, rectores instituens, quia nonnullis absentiam ab ecclesia indulgeam.

[2] Respondebo breviter. Equidem in tua diocesi, quamvis annus est postquam ab urbe veni, solum duas causas audivi, rogatus et interpellatus admodum. Alteram composui, in altera nondum lis contestata est. Non est mihi voluptas neque otium audiendi causas, quamvis si audirem libenter, non putarem, id tuae paternitati ingratum esse, nam id est onus auferre non damnum inferre.

[3] Ecclesias quoque fateor Grezensem et Novae hujus Civitatis ad instantiam Caesaris patroni me commisisse neque alias plures, ni forsitan aliquas minimae existimationis[4], quamvis mihi potestas latissima sit ab ea sede, a qua tua dignatio auctoritatem habet. Sed utor illa parce et cum causa.

[4] Credo etiam admodum paucos esse, quibus absentiam indulserim, neque id factum esse sine maxima ratione.

[5] In his si tua paternitas reverendissima reputat se offensam, non est mihi gratum, qui libenter tuae dignationi complacerem. Quod si aliorum legatorum facta cum meis compensabis, invenies[5] et illos fuisse modestos et me minime superbum, qui etsi pluries interpellatus sum, appellationes a tua sede interpositas accipere, omnes tamen in hanc usque diem respui. Utcumque tamen sit[6], quia dubitare videris de mea legatione, dico et assero me potestatem habere legati de latere et alias facultates speciales, a tuis etiam officialibus visas[7], in quibus omnibus non est mens mea tuam dignationem offendere, sed illi potius complacere, nam etsi possim in omni collatione unum reservare beneficium in provinciis mihi decretis, id tamen hactenus nolui facere. Atque tantum ad litteras tuas respondisse sufficiat, quas etsi aliquantulum duras[8] tamen aequo animo fero et in partem recipio meliorem humanitatis et benevolentiae tuae veteris non immemor[9].

Datum.

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[1] DV, 213
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~et domino colendissimo~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ni forsitan … existimationis *corr. ex* estque mihi super hoc inde potestas unde et vestre paternitati cod.
[5] ~~non fuisse illos me~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~certiore~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] a tuis … visas *add. in marg.* cod.
[8] aliquantulum duras *corr. ex* duriores fuere quam decuit ad oratorem apostolicum cod.
[9] humanitatis et … immemor *add. in marg.* cod.

296. Letter to Siegmund von Volkersdorf (c. 17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *In a (non-extant) letter, the Archbishop of Salzburg had complained that Piccolomini abused his legatine powers to intervene unduly in the affairs of his diocese.*
Subject: *Piccolomini politely defends himself against the archbishop's criticisms.*

To His Lordship of Salzburg. To The Most Reverend Father in Christ, Lord Sigismund, [1]Archbishop of Salzburg, Enea, Bishop of Siena, Legate of the Apostolic See, sends many greetings.

[1] I have received a letter, in which you complain that I prejudice your jurisdiction by taking on cases belonging to your court, by conferring parish churches, by appointing rectors to parish churches, and by allowing priests to be absent from their church.

[2] I shall reply briefly. I arrived from the City[2] a year ago, and since then, I have only heard two cases pertaining to your diocese, having been petitioned and urgently requested to do so. One I have settled, and in the other litigation has not yet begun. I have neither the inclination nor time to hear cases, though if I did, it should be welcome to Your Paternity since it would free you of a burden with no harm to you.

[3] I concede that I have, in fact, conferred a church in Graz and one in Neustadt, but this happened at the demand of the emperor as their patron. I have not conferred other churches except some of little importance, even though I have broad powers from that see[3], from which your own authority derives. But I use these powers sparingly and only for good cause.

[4] I believe, too, that I have allowed absence only in very few cases, and only for cogent reasons.

[5] I much regret if Your Most Reverend Paternity considers that I have given offence in these matters, for I should only be too glad to accommodate Your Grace. But if you compare my acts with those of other legates, you will find that they have been moderate and that I have not been presumptuous, for though I have received many appeals of judgements made by your see, I have, until now, refused them all. However that may be, since you appear to have doubts concerning my legatine mission, I state and declare that I have the powers of a *legate de latere*[4] and other, special, powers that have been documented to your officials. In all this, however, it is not my intention to offend Your Grace but to accommodate you, for though, in the collation of benefices, I could reserve one in each of the provinces allocated to me, I have not done so yet.

Let this suffice as a reply to your letter, which I - remembering your former kindness and benevolence - accept as written with the best of intentions (although it was somewhat harsh[5]).

Given.

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[1] Siegmund von Volkersdorf (-1461): Archbishop of Salzburg from 1452 to his death.
[2] Rome.
[3] The Apostolic See.
[4] A papal legate with extended powers.
[5] The original version had: "harsher than suitable for a letter addressed to an apostolic envoy".

297. Letter to Nicolaus V (17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 104r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 8.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 68, pp. 138-139 (on the basis of W1).*

{104r} Papae. Beatissimo papae Nicolao quinto, summo pontifici ac domino nostro, Aeneas, humilis episcopus Senensis, sese commendatum facit[3].

[1] Per tabellarium, qui novissime hic fuit, scripsi de pace inter Caesarem et Ladislaum regem recepta, non tamen confirmata[4], quia ratificatio ad tempus dilata fuit, quod jam instat. Non scimus adhuc, quid acturi sint Hungari. Speramus tamen paci locum futurum, nisi Deus nos magis ac magis punire voluerit.

[2] De re Frisingensi pacatus est Caesaris animus, qui omnia in meliorem accipit partem, quae tua sanctitas agit. In facto Pataviensi recipietur conclusio pace ratificata scribeturque in electi favorem. Ecclesiam ejus ex tuo munere commendari mihi expecto neque timeo praticas multorum adversas, dum pietatem tuam mihi affectam vel non merenti sentio.

[] Res Bohemiae nonnihil mutationis habent. In Festo divi Georgii ex more gentis conventus indictus est Pragae. Sunt, qui mutare conclusiones Viennae[5] factas vellent, quidam eas manutenere student. Expectabimus, si Deus dabit, rei eventum. Mens Caesaris est[6] solidata pace hac aestate ad imperii partes, ut ajunt, proficisci, quod electores expostulant, ut rei publicae labenti consulatur. Ego, si pacem domi esse audirem, in eo tempore Senis me reciperem. Sed audio sic res se habere, ut necessarium mihi sit exilium diutius ferre. Commendo me tuae beatitudini, cui parere praesto sum.

Ex Nova Civitate, 17. Aprilis 1453[7].

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[1] DV, 214
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Papae … facit *corr. ex* Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Post devota pedum oscula beatorum et humilem mei recommendationem cod.
[4] ~~nam~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] *corr. ex* Bohemie cod.
[6] ~~facta p~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~E.S. / Minimus servulus Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

297. Letter to Nicolaus V (17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As letter 294.*
Editions: *Piccolomini informs the pope of the emperor's stance on the matter of new bishops in Freising and Passau, of the situation in Bohemia and Hungary, and of the expected ratification of the peace between the emperor and the Austrians.*

To the pope. To His Holiness Pope Nicolaus V, Supreme Pontiff and Our Lord, Enea, humble Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

[1] Through the messenger, who was recently here, I sent a letter informing you of the peace between the Emperor and King Ladislaus. It has not yet been confirmed, for the ratification was postponed to a date that is fast approaching.[1] We do not know what the Hungarians will do but hope there will be peace - unless God wants to punish us further.

[2] Concerning the matter of Freising, the Emperor has calmed down and accepts what Your Holiness has done. In the matter of Passau, he will make his decision when the peace has been ratified and then write [to You] in favour of the Elect.[2] I expect to receive his church[3] *in commendam* and do not fear the manoeuvrings of others as long as I feel that Your Piety favours me, though I have not deserved it.

[3] The situation in Bohemia has changed. On the Feast of Saint George[4] an assembly will be held in Prague - after the manner of that people. Some want to revise the decisions made in Vienna, whereas others fervently wish to keep them. We shall see the outcome God will give. When the peace has been ratified, the emperor intends, at the demand of the electors,[5] to travel to the regions of the Empire - as they say - in the summer to provide for the vacillating state. If I hear there is peace at home,[6] I shall return to Siena. But, in fact, I hear that matters are developing in such a way that I must suffer to be in exile for a while longer.

I commend myself to Your Holiness and am always ready to obey You. From Neustadt, 17 April 1453.

[1] 23 April, four days after the letter was dated.
[2] Ulrich von Nussdorf.
[3] The church in Irdning (WO, 3: 1, p. 139, n. a)
[4] 23 April 1453.
[5] The German prince-electors.
[6] Italy.

298. Letter to Juan Carvajal (17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 105r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 9.*
Eciions B: *WO, 3: 1, 69, pp. 139-140 (on the basis of W1).*

{105r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, domino suo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Satis - ut arbitror - his diebus dignationi tuae a me scriptum est, cum tabellarius apostolicus hic fuit, nam et pacem conclusam inter Caesarem et Ladislaum regem significavi et ad res Frisingenses Pataviensesque respondi. Nunc pauca ex more meo addam, ne quis sit, qui meis litteris vacuus ex his regionibus ad tuam dignationem proficiscatur[4]. Quod scribere volo hoc est: Expectamus in dies ratificationem pacis, nam Festum Sancti Georgii datus est terminus. Speramus quietem, nisi Deo aliter visum fuerit. In Bohemia conventus ad dictum festum haberi debet. Sunt, qui nutare datum ordinem vellent. Mihi non est exploratum, quid sit rei publicae Christianae melius, regem admitti per Bohemos, ut est condictum, an excludi. Deus, quod sibi melius videbitur, efficiet. Hungari quiescunt expectantes rebus Bohemicis terminatis suum regem habere.

[2] De Turco nihil audimus: utinam numquam aliquid audiremus, neque enim rumor de ipso est, nisi cum nocet. Ego, etsi optarem subveniri Graecis, plus tamen pacari Italiam cuperem, et amore patriae et ut domum reverti possem atque inter meos mori.

[3] Misi ad te pridem tractatum adversus Australes editum et historiam Gothorum breviatatam[5], nec scio, an receperis, nam litterae tuae nullam efficiunt mentionem. Comiti Troiae, viro nobili et virtute praestanti, non remotius caelum fuit in agro Senensi morienti, quam si eum Hispania occumbentem recepisset, neque rustica manus mortem reddidit turpiorem.

Recommendo me tuae dignationi, cui servire cupio. Ex Nova Civitate, die 17. Aprilis 1453[6]. YYY

[1] DV, 215
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Reverendissimo … dicit corr. ex Cardinali Sancti Angeli. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[4] ~~expecta~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] brevitatam WO
[6] ~~Servulus vester Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

298. Letter to Juan Carvajal (17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *The same as the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini reiterates the news in the previous letters.*[1]

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Lord Juan, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, his lord, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Profiting from the presence of the apostolic messenger, I have - some days ago - written sufficiently to Your Grace, informing you of the peace concluded[2] between the Emperor and King Ladislaus as well as responding concerning the matters of Freising and Passau. Now I shall - as is my custom - add a few things, for I wish nobody from these regions to travel to Your Grace without a letter from me. What I want to write is this: we expect the ratification of the peace in a few days since the Feast of Saint George was the appointed term. We now hope for peace and quiet unless God wills otherwise. In Bohemia, an assembly [of the estates] will reportedly take place on the same feast. Some would like to change the previous decisions.[3] I honestly do not know what is better for the Christian commonwealth: that the Bohemians admit the king,[4] as stipulated, or refuse him. God will do what He deems best. The Hungarians stay calm, waiting to have their king with them when the Bohemian affairs are finished.

[2] We hear nothing about the Turk. Would that we might never hear anything, for there is no word of him unless he is up to some harm![5] I do wish for help for the Greeks, but love for my country and my desire to go home and die among my own make me desire even more that peace be brought to Italy.

[3] I have previously sent you my *Treatise against the Austrians* and my abridged *History of the Goths,* but I do not know if you have received them, for you do not mention them in your letters. But when the Count of Troia,[6] a noble person of great courage, died in Sienese territory[7], he was not farther from Heaven than if he had died in Spain, and the fact that he was killed by peasants did really not make his death more disgraceful.[8]

I commend myself to Your Grace and want to serve you. From Neustadt, 17 April 1453.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1, p. 515.
[2] But still to be ratified.
[3] "datus ordo"
[4] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[5] On this passage, see Setton, 2: p. 149.
[6] Garzia I Cavaniglia (c. 1393-1453): Count of Troia etc.
[7] He died in Southern Italy (see DBI, 23 (1979).
[8] In the same way, if Piccolomini died among barbarians in Germany, he would be just as close to Heaven as in Italy.

299. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 105r[1] [2] **.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 20.*
Editions B: *AC, vol. 2/1, nr. 3389; WO, 3: 1, 70, pp. 140-141 (on the basis of W1).*

{105r} Cardinali sancti Petri. Nicolao cardinali Sancti Petri ac pontifici Brixinensi, domino suo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Pacem inter Caesarem et regem Ladislaum factam per tabellarium apostolicum tuae dignationi notam feci, si modo tabellarius ad te venit. Pendere tamen ratificationem significavi. Ea nunc expectatur, nam Divi Georgii Festum termino praefixum fuit. Speramus bene, nihil adversi audimus. Utinam non fallat nos opinio. In Bohemia novae res in dies oriuntur. Conventus jam Pragae haberi debet, ut de rege recipiendo concludatur. Sunt, qui malignantur et qui datum ordinem effringere cupiunt. Quid in rem sit fidei Christianae non plane intelligo. Deus ipse, quae[4] meliora erunt, apparabit. De Turco neque audio quidquam neque audire cupio, quando rumor ab eo veniens mali Christianitati portendit. Caesar, si pacem habebimus, aestate proxima Sueviam petere avet et rei publicae consulere. Ego, si nostra Italia pacaretur, domum magis peterem, quam eum sequerer. Supplico, suadeas apostolico culmini omni conatu pacem Italiae quaerat. Frustra enim obsistere Turci conatibus studebit, nisi domum quietam habuerit. Res Pataviensis ecclesiae bene terminabitur, si pax hic habita rata[5] erit. Expecto tuo auxilio[6] electi ecclesiam mihi committi.

Sum tuus ubique. Ex Nova Civitate, die 17. Aprilis 1453[7].

[1] DV, 215
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Cardinali … dicit *corr. ex* Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[4] qui WO
[5] habita rata *corr. ex* rata cod.
[6] ~~suam~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~Servulus vester Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

299. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *See previous letters.*
Subject: *As the previous letter.*

To the Cardinal of San Pietro. To Nikolaus, Cardinal of San Pietro and Bishop of Brixen, his lord, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Through the apostolic messenger, I have informed Your Grace of the peace concluded between the Emperor and King Ladislaus - if only the messenger has reached you. I also told you that the ratification is still pending. It is expected to happen soon since the term stipulated was the Feast of Saint Georg. We hope all is well and hear nothing contrary. Hopefully, we are not mistaken. In Bohemia, new developments occur daily. An assembly should now be held in Prague to decide on the acceptance of the king[1]. Some people criticise the decisions previously made and want to annul them. I do not see clearly what this means for the Christian Faith. God Himself will arrange matters for the best. Concerning the Turk, I do not hear anything nor want to, for whenever word comes of him, it portends evil for Christendom.[2] If the peace is ratified, the emperor will, next summer, go to Schwaben to provide for the state. If Italy gets peace, I would rather return home than follow him. I beg you to urge His Apostolic Highness[3] to seek peace for Italy with all his might, for in vain will he soppose the Turkish designs unless he has peace at home. The affair of the Church of Passau will end well if the peace is ratified here. I expect to be given the church[4] of the Elect - with your help.[5]

I am yours always and everywhere. From Neustadt, 17 April 1453.

[1] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[2] On this passage, see Setton, 2: pp. 149-150.
[3] Pope Nicolaus V.
[4] Church of Irdning.
[5] Ulrich von Nussdorf.

300. Letter to Johann Lieser (17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 105v*[1] [2] ***.
Editions A: *Weiss, 11.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 71, pp. 141-142 (on the basis of W1).*

{105v} Aeneas episcopus Senensis Johanni de Lysura, optimo juris interpreti et amico singulari salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Accepi ex Romana curia litteras tuas cognovique uti de me verba fecisti. Ago tuae humanitati, quas possum, gratias. Dixi Caesari, quae jussisti. Is adhuc est in proposito fixus, si pacem habebimus (nam promissa pax ad festum sancti Georgii ratificari debet). Est animus ejus cito ad imperium ascendere ac reipublicae consulere, et si facultas erit, illi rei dabit operam, quam tu hic aperuisti. In facto palatini nihil est innovatum, res est in primis terminis, culpa quorundam, quibus et honesta et inhonesta venalia sunt. Tua tamen prudentia huic vulneri medebitur. Imperator cum ascenderit, principum consilio, non privatorum ducitur, et illius domini melior erit conditio.

Rogo, me domino meo Treverensi reverendissimo commissum facias, cui servire maxime cupio, eique saepe scriberem, si tabellarios haberem frequentes. Vale optime et me ut soles ama. Ex Nova Civitate, die 17. Aprilis 1453[4].

[1] DV, 216
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Reverende pater, amice honorande cod.
[4] ~~Vester Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

300. Letter to Johann Lieser (17 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Johann Lieser, an official of the Archbishop of Trier, had written to Piccolomini that he had spoken for him with officials of the Curia, adding some proposals (probably) concerning the much-needed reform of the Empire and some affair of the Count Palatine.*

Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Lieser for having taken up his cause in Rome, assures him that the emperor will confirm the elections to the sees of Passau and Freising when the peace with the Austrians is ratified, and informs him of the emperor's intentions to travel (up) to the Empire to settle urgent affairs.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Johann Lieser, eminent jurist and particular friend.

[1] I have received the letter[1] you sent from the Roman Curia and saw that you have spoken about me. I thank you as much as I can for your kindness. I have told the emperor what you requested. He firmly maintains his position if only we have peace (for the promised peace should be ratified on the Feast of Saint George).[2] He intends, if possible, to soon ascend[3] to the Empire and provide for the commonwealth, pursuing the course you have mentioned in your letter.[4] In the matter of the [Count] Palatine,[5] there are no new developments, and [the procedure] is still in its beginning due to the fault of some for whom both honest and dishonest things are for sale. But this wound will be healed thanks to your wisdom. When the emperor goes to the Empire, he will be advised by the princes, not by private people, and the situation of that lord[6] will improve.

I ask you to commend me to My Most Reverend Lord of Trier.[7] I greatly wish to be of service to him and would write to him often if I had frequent messengers. Live well, and love me as ever. From Neustadt, 17 April 1453.

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[1] Not extant.

[2] The emperor had linked his acceptance of the election to the See of Passau with the ratification of the peace with the Austrians (and Hungarians) (see previous letters).

[3] The Empire, here = Germany, was to the North (up) of Austria.

[4] Lieser would take up the reform of the Empire at the Diet of Regensburg, May 1454 (CRDM, 4: 6).

[5] Friedrich I von der Pfalz (der Siegreiche) (1425-1476): In 1451, he had assumed the title of prince-elector, against the rights of his nephew and ward and against the will of the emperor. It is possibly this affair Piccolomini refers to.

[6] The Archbishop of Trier?

[7] Sierck, Jakob von (ca. 1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and German prince-elector from 1339 to his death.

301. Letter to Stephan Sloth (18 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 105v* [1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 13.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 72, pp. 142-143 (on the basis of W1).*

{105v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, viro docto et venerabili Stephano, cancellario Austriae, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Scribimus aliqua pro nostra[4] benevolenti consuetudine reverendo patri[5] episcopo Varadiensi, regni Hungariae cancellario sed, quia nescimus, ubi locorum is nunc sit, confisi de tua humanitate litteras ipsas ad te dirigere praesumpsimus[6], neque enim dubium nobis est, quin ad eum nuntios frequentes habeas. Rogamus igitur, scripta nostra ad eum quam celeriter transmittere velis. Id nobis singularis gratiae[7] loco erit[8], et quoniam curias non ignoramus aliena scripta semper habere suspecta, ut liberius amico servire possis, non erit nobis molestum, si litteras nostras aperueris legerisque[9]. Nihil enim de rebus a nobis scribitur[10], quae nunc aguntur. Tantum velis lectis omnibus epistolam claudere et itineri suo committere.

Nos, si quibus in rebus gerere tibi morem possumus, admoniti[11] non erimus desides[12]. Vale et nos illustri principi comiti Ciliae atque, si fas est, inclyto regi Ladislao commissum facito. Ex Novacivitate, die[13] 18. Aprilis 1453.

[1] DV, 216
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Venerabilis vir, amice carissime cod.
[4] ~~consue~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~domino~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *corr. ex* decrevimus cod.
[7] gratis WO
[8] ~~et ne quid~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~dum quia~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~que nunc occurrunt~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] *supralin.* cod.
[12] ~~admo~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] ~~XX~~ *seq.* cod.

301. Letter to Stephan Sloth (18 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Piccolomini wishes to send an innocuous letter to King Ladislaus' Hungarian chancellor but does not know his whereabouts.*
Subject: *He asks the Austrian chancellor of King Ladislaus to forward the letter.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the learned and venerable Stephan,[1] Chancellor of Austria.

[1] We[2] have written,[3] in our usual amicable fashion, to the Reverend Father, the Bishop of Varad,[4] Chancellor of the Kingdom of Hungary, but since we do not know where he is now, we have - trusting in your kindness - presumed to send the letter to you, for we are sure that you frequently send messengers to him. So, we ask you to forward our letter to him as soon as possible and shall regard it as a special favour. And since we know that courts always consider letters to foreigners as suspect, we shall not be offended if you, to serve me, your friend, more easily, open and read our letter, for we write nothing in it concerning current affairs.[5] When you have read it, please close it again and send it on its journey.

If we can do anything for you, just let us know, and we shall not fail you. Farewell, and commend us to the Illustrious Prince, the Count of Celje,[6] and, if proper, to the Illustrious King Ladislaus.[7] From Neustadt, 18 April 1453.

[1] Sloth, Stephan [Aloch]: Austrian chancellor of King Ladislaus the Posthumous. See Heinig *ad indicem.*

[2] Note that in the original version of the letter, Piccolomini uses the plural form both of himself and the addressee, whereas in the corrected version, he uses the plural of himself and the singular of the addressee. Is this an oversight or a calculated (retrospective) indication of a difference in rank?

[3] The letter is not extant.

[4] János Vitéz.

[5] Due to the hostile relationship between King Ladislaus and the emperor, the king's chancellor might justifiably be suspicious of letters from Piccolomini, the emperor's trusted councillor, to the king's Hungarian chancellor.

[6] Ulrich II of Celje.

[7] These greetings show that Piccolomini is eager to maintain positive relations with King Ladislaus and his court.

302. Letter to Nikolaus, Secretary of King Ladislaus (24 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 106r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 12.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 73, pp. 143-144 (on the basis of W1).*

{106r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Nicolao Hungaro, inclyti regis Ladislai secretario, amico probo, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Nimis me atque iterum nimis venerandus pater, episcopus Varadiensis, suis muneribus et quidem magnificis cumulat. Sufficiebat egregius equus[4], rursus me pellibus honorat, quibus uti reges decet. Oro meo nomine gratias suae dignationi dicas meque sibi commendatum efficias. Ego illi optimam fortunam cupio successusque omnes felicissimos et honores, qui suae virtuti conveniunt. Non possum non amare tantum patrem. Quis est adeo ferox atque immanis, qui benefacientes non diligat? Virtus tanti domini, non munera ejus ut apud me pignus amoris[5] solidi aeternique sit faxo. Tua quoque probitas inter nos erit media. Rogo Deum supplexque peto, ut coeptum pacis negotium inter magnos reges, principes nostros, ad calcem ducatur. Sic liberius saepe et sine ulla suspicione inter nos litterae currere poterunt.

[2] Quod scripsisti de Florentino mercatore curabo apud Caesarem absolvere. Si sua majestas annuet, geram tuo desiderio morem. Quod sequetur, ex voluntate ejus pendet. Id brevi faciam tibi notum. Scripsi nuper[6] episcopo non breves epistolas misique cancellario Austriae illas ad eum dirigendas. Petebam commodari mihi historiam Hungaricam. Nescio an meis litteris iter suum datum sit. Rogo id scisciteris ex cancellario ipso et, si nondum missae sunt, cura, ut mittantur.

Vale et me ama tui amantem. Ex Nova Civitate, die 24[7]. Aprilis 1453[8].

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[1] DV, 217
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Venerabilis amice honorande cod.
[4] ~~iter~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~eterni~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~domino~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] *corr. ex* 27. cod. *(WO noted the inverse correction)*
[8] ~~Eneas episcopus Senensis, imperialis consiliarius~~ *seq.* cod.

302. Letter to Nikolaus, Secretary of King Ladislaus (24[1] April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *King Ladislaus' secretary had asked for a favour from the emperor.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs him that his request is under consideration and takes the opportunity to communicate with the king's chancellor, János Vitéz, via the secretary.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Nikolaus of Hungary, secretary to The Illustrious King Ladislaus and a worthy friend.

[1] The Venerable Father, the Bishop of Varad,[2] overwhelms me with truly magnificent gifts. The splendid horse was quite sufficient, but now he also honours me with a fur coat fit for kings. Please thank His Grace on my behalf and commend me to him. I wish him the best of fortunes and all the happy success and honours that his virtue merits. I cannot but love this great Father, for who is so arrogant and inhuman that he does not love his benefactors? This great lord's virtue, not just his gifts, is a pledge of his firm and enduring love. Your good self will be an intermediary between us.[3] I ask and humbly beg God that the peace negotiations between the great kings, our princes, reach a happy conclusion. Then, letters may pass between us more freely and without suspicion.

[2] I shall present your request concerning the Florentine merchant to the emperor. If His Majesty agrees, I shall gladly carry out your request. What follows depends on his will. I shall inform you of the result soon. I recently wrote a lengthy letter to the Lord Bishop[4] and sent it to the Austrian chancellor,[5] asking him to forward it to the bishop. In the letter, I asked him for a history of Hungary,[6] but I do not know if the letter was delivered. Please ask the chancellor, and if it has not yet been sent, please ensure that it is.

Farewell, and love me as I love you. From Neustadt, 24 April 1453.

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[1] On the date, see WO, 3: 1, p. 143, n. a.
[2] János Vitéz.
[3] Since King Ladislaus and the emperor were still, technically, at war, direct communication between a councillor of the emperor and the Hungarian chancellor of King Ladislaus was risky. Therefore, Piccolomini asks the king's secretary to act as a go-between.
[4] Janos Vitez.
[5] Stephan Sloth. See letter 301.
[6] Piccolomini might be considering writing a history of Hungary and therefore required source material such as he later used in his histories of Bohemia and Austria.

303. Letter to Nicolaus V (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 106r-106v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 18.*
Editions B: *RTA, 19/1: p. 517; WO, 3: 1, 74, pp. 144-146; (on the basis of W1).*

{106r} Beatissimo domino nostro papae Nicolao Aeneas Senensis sese commendatum facit[3].

[1] Quibus[4] conditionibus inter dominum Caeesarem et Ladislaum, Hungariae regem, pax nuper condicta fuerit, superioribus litteris meis apud sanctitatem tuam satis testatum est. Illud autem inter alia scripsisse me sum memor, quod ratihabitio ex parte Ladislai regis ad tempus expectari debuit. Id[5] termini ad Festum Sancti Georgii praefixum fuit. Nunc mei officii est, quid secutum sit exponere.

[2] Expectatum est tempus ratihabitionis. Interea Viennenses et Australes ceteri summa ope nixi sunt, ut pacis leges approbarentur. Sed Hungari et comes Ciliae non sunt visi ad rem bene animati. Contentiones multae intercesserunt, adeo ut Azingher, qui maximae auctoritatis inter Australes habetur, dicere auditus sit[6]: "Magnum est, quod imperatori promisimus, retrocedere indecorum est et alienum consuetudini nostrae, qui tenere promissa solemus. Si qui sunt, quibus fidem fallere pronum est, agant ipsi ex more suo. Nos, quod diximus, ratum habere decet." Sed nec sic obtinere potuit. Itaque[7], cum terminus appropinquaret[8], neque ipsi {106v} Australes cum Hungaris et comite Ciliae convenire possent, misit rex Ladislaus legatos ad caesarem[9], qui dicerent rem adhuc pendere, quoniam comes Ciliae[10] diu absens fuisset, neque in ejus reditu[11] expediri negotium potuisset, quia idem comes in Moraviam de magnis rebus acturus processisset, peterentque terminum Sancti Georgii ad Sanctum Johannem Baptistam prorogari.

[1] DV, 217-218
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Beatissimo … facit *corr. ex* Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Post devota pedum oscula beatorum et humilem mei recommendationem cod.
[4] ~~modi~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~tempus~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] est WO
[7] ~~uenit terminus~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] cum terminus appropinquaret *corr. ex* venit terminus cod.
[9] ~~qui peti / qui tarditatem~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~non~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~componi de li~~ *seq.* cod.

303. Letter to Nicolaus V (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Instead of ratifying the peace between the Emperor and the Austrians on 23 April, King Ladislaus requested a postponement to 24 June and asked for a resumption of the peace negotiations.*[1]

Subject: *Piccolomini informs the pope of the postponement and reports on the political situation in Ladislaus' three realms where Ulrich von Cilly wants to govern Austria, Huniad Hungary, and Podiebrad Bohemia.*

To Our Most Holy Lord, Pope Nicolaus, Enea of Siena commends himself.

[1] In my previous letter to Your Holiness, I gave a comprehensive account of the peace terms recently agreed upon between the Lord Emperor and King Ladislaus of Hungary. I remember that, among other things, I wrote that King Ladislaus' ratification [of the peace] was expected to be made at a later date, i.e., the Feast of Saint George. Now I must relate what happened afterwards.

[2] While we were awaiting the date of the ratification, the Viennese and the other Austrians worked strenuously for the ratification of the peace terms, but the Hungarians and the Count of Celje[2] opposed it. There was much controversy on this account, and at one point, Eitzinger,[3] a man of great authority among the Austrians, was heard to say, "We promised the Emperor much, and it would be dishonourable and contrary to our custom not to keep our promises. Others who would rather break them must do as they will, but we should ratify what we have said." However, he did not succeed. As the deadline approached and the Austrians were unable to reach agreement with the Hungarians and the Count of Celje, King Ladislaus sent legates to the Emperor to say that the ratification was still pending, as the Count of Celje had been absent for a long time, and even upon his return, the issue could not be resolved, because the same count had gone to Moravia[4] to deal with important matters. The legates therefore requested a postponement to [the Feast of] Saint John.

[1] The peace was never ratified, and the absence of a treaty between emperor and king continued until Ladislaus' death in 1457 (RTA, 19/1: p. 512).

[2] Ulrich II von Cilly.

[3] Eitzinger, Ulrich (1398-1460): *Hubmeister* of Austria. Instigator of the Austrian rebellion (1452) against the emperor but now embroiled in a bitter conflict with the count of Celje who - in the name of his nephew, King Ladislaus - had taken over the effective government of Austria.

[4] To the city of Znaim (WO)

[3] Id quoque addicerent, si placeret caesari reverso ex Moravia comite velle regem Ladislaum[1] apud Balnea cum sua majestate convenire, ducere secum comitem Ciliae, gubernatorem Hungariae et alios, qui ad pacis tractatum idonei viderentur, eoque modo[2] compositionem optimam esse sperandam. Quod si caesar hanc conventionem abnueret, ut[3] legatos suos ad Viennam mitteret, in eodem tempore peterent, de Pataviensi quoque electo facerent verbum, ut pro eo tuae sanctitati[4] scriberetur. Ad haec caesar, postquam deliberationem habuit, in hune modum respondit. Ait se speravisse in tempus, ut condictum erat, emitti ratificationem; mirari, cur sit neglectum. Mutationes[5] de conventu ad Balnea faciendo[6] vel de mittendis[7] ad Viennam legatis non videri necessarias. Ad complacentiam tamen patruelis datum terminum cum suis conditionibus ad festum Sancti Johannis prorogare se non invitum[8]. Rem quoque Pataviensem[9] eodem modo differendam esse. Sic legati recesserunt. Nos in expectatione sumus.

[4] Possum ego nunc aliquantulum reprehendi, qui superioribus meis scriptis spem quodammodo certam pacis feci. Sed fateor, me non esse prophetam neque prophetae filium. Nescio ventura: *prudens futuri temporis exitum caliginosa nocte premit deus.*[10] Non debui tamen nimis polliceri. Confiteor erratum, sed fuerunt rationes aliquae me moventes, quas tunc exposui, neque illae nunc cessant. Australes magnopere servare cupiunt promissa, idemque dicunt velle plebes Hungarorum, sed ajunt comitem Ciliae et gubernatorem Hungariae adversos esse. Id putant, qui plus sapiunt, ea ratione fieri, quoniam non sit illis duobus pax utilis. Stante enim bello alterHungariam, alter Austriam gubernabit et tonsis alienis ovibus bene sese vestient. Quod si quieta sunt omnia, timent {107r} quietos populos jugum deponere.

[5] Interim quoque id student, ut Georgius de Poggiebrat secum sentiat et Bohemiam ipse dispilet, sicque tres viri tria imperia devorent. Rex puer, nobilis pupillus, nomine sit contentus. Nescio autem, quo pacto res Bohemicae terminari poterunt. Dominus de Rosis Georgio est adversus, qui unum allicit alterum avertit. Ibi quoque res fidei multas difficultates habet. Non puto, quod tractatum est, locum habere de transitu regis in Bohemiam ad Festum Sancti Johannis, sed stulte ago, qui futura praedicere audeo. Deus haec sibi reservata retinet. Satis est mihi de praeteritis loqui, neque ista exacte scribi possunt, si quid ex auditu referendum est, raro enim duo consonant.

Recommendo me tuae beatitudini, ad cujus mandata promptissimus est animus. Ex Novacivitate, die 28. Aprilis 1453. E.S.[11].

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[1] ~~ad baln~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~sperandum esse~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] *supralin.* cod.
[4] ~~Caesar quamprimum~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~quoque~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *supralin.* cod.
[7] ~~legatis~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~de Pata~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~ad~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~insulse egi qui volui de~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~Minimus servulus, Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

[3] They were to add that if it pleased the Emperor to meet with King Ladislaus in Baden after the Count of Celje's return from Moravia, the king would bring with him the Count, the Governor of Hungary,[1] and other persons suitable for negotiating peace.[2] In that way, the best settlement [of the conflict] was to be hoped for. If the emperor refused such a meeting, they should request him to send his legates to Vienna. Furthermore, they should take up the matter of the Elect of Passau[3] and exhort the Emperor to write to Your Holiness in his favour. After discussion in his council, the emperor replied as follows: he had hoped that the ratification would occur at the appointed time and wondered why it had not been done. He did not see the necessity for a meeting in Baden or sending legates to Vienna to change the agreement, but to please his cousin, he was willing to postpone the deadline [for the ratification of the peace] terms to the Feast of Saint John.[4] The matter of Passau was to be similarly postponed.[5] With this, the legates departed, and we are now waiting.

[4] I may now be blamed for writing, in my previous letter, that there was sure hope of peace. I admit it, but I am neither a prophet nor the son of one. I do not know what will happen. *God, in His providence, hides future events in murky darkness*.[6] So, I should not have promised too much. I confess my error, but as I explained then, I had reasons, and they apply. The Austrians strongly wish to honour their promises, and they claim that the Hungarian people want the same, whereas the Count of Celje and the Governor of Hungary oppose it. Well-informed persons believe the reason is that peace is not advantageous to the two men, for as long as the war continues, one will rule Hungary and the other Austria: fleecing others' sheep, they will be well dressed. They fear that if all is at peace, the peaceful peoples will throw off their yoke.

[5] Meanwhile, they endeavour to come to an understanding with Georg Podiebrad[7] and to let him take over Bohemia, and thus the three men will devour the three realms. The boy king, the noble orphan, will have to be content with the name [of king] alone. I do not know how the Bohemian affairs will turn out. Lord Rosenberg[8] opposes Georg, who attracts some and repells others. So, there[9] too, the Faith has many problems. I do not think that the king will arrive in Bohemia for the Feast of Saint John, as stipulated, but it would be foolish of me to dare to predict the future. God keeps it to himself. It is enough for me to write about past events, and even those I cannot describe exactly when I report something I have only heard, for fact and report are rarely in agreement.

I commend myself to Your Holiness, whom I am always willing to serve. From Neustadt, 28 April 1453.

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[1] János Hunyadi.

[2] In other words, Ladislaus requested a renegotiation of the peace with the Count of Celje and János Hunyadi as partners, two enemies of the emperor.

[3] Ulrich von Nussdorf.

[4] The emperor was not interested in a new negotiation on Celje's and the Hungarians' terms.

[5] The emperor had linked the confirmation of the elect of Passau with the ratification of the peace (see preceding letters).

[6] Horatius: *Carmina*, 3: 28, 29-30.

[7] Podiebrad, Georg (1420-1471): Hussite leader. Governor of Bohemia 1451 to 1457 when he became King of Bohemia after Ladislaus' death.

[8] Rožmberka, Oldřich *II*. z [Ulrich II von Rosenberg] (1403 -1462): Bohemian magnate, one of the leaders of the Catholic party. Governor of Bohemia from 1438 to 1444.

[9] Bohemia.

304. Letter to Juan Carvajal (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 107r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 19.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 75, p. 147 (on the basis of W1).*

{107r} Cardinali Sancti Angeli[3]. Domino Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, patri doctissimo et optimo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Intellexisti ex meis litteris superioribus pacem inter regem Hungariae et nostrum Caesarem ex ratificatione ad Festum Georgi pendere. Nunc secutum quid sit, accipe. Comes Ciliae, qui cum patre fuerat, dum res tractata est, reversus non videtur paci affectus[5] neque ratam eam habere voluit. Fertur et gubernatorem Hungarie secum sentire. Australes in sententia perseverant optantque pacem. Ideo rex Ladislaus missis ad Caesarem legatis prorogationem termini ad ratificandum petiit usque ad Festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste proximum, idque concessum est. Petivit etiam rex idem, ut Caesar pro electo Pataviensi ad dominum nostrum scriberet, qui rem hanc cum alia suspendit. Dignetur tua reverendissima paternitas dare operam, ne quid medio tempore in ea causa innovetur, quod bonum puto pro sancta sede apostolica. Bohemi sunt in novo tractatu cum rege Ladislao, ad quos missi sunt in Moraviam comes Ciliae et Ulricus Azingher. Alia non occurrunt digna notatu.

Commendo me tuae reverendissimae paternitati. Ex Nova Civitate, die 28. Aprilis 1453[6].

[1] DV, 219
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Cardinali … Angeli *add. in marg*. cod.
[4] Domino … dicit *corr. ex* Reuerendissime in Christi pater et domine. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[5] effectus WO
[6] ~~Servulus uester, Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

304. Letter to Juan Carvajal (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *As the preceding letter.*

To Juan, Lord Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, most learned and excellent Father, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings

[1] In my previous letter, I informed you of the peace between the King of Hungary[1] and our Emperor and that it awaited ratification on the Feast of Saint George. Hear now what happened afterwards. The Count of Celje,[2] who was with his father[3] during the negotiations, has returned and does not appear to support the peace nor want it to be ratified. The Governor of Hungary[4] reportedly agrees with him.[5] The Austrians, however, stand firm and desire peace. Therefore, King Ladislaus has sent legates to the Emperor requesting a postponement of the ratification until the Feast of Saint John, which was granted. The King also asked the Emperor to write to Our Lord[6] in favour of the Bishop-Elect of Passau,[7] but the emperor postponed this matter together with the other. May Your Reverend Paternity deign to endeavour that in the meantime nothing new is done in this matter; that, I think, will be advantageous to the Apostolic See.[8] The Bohemians have entered upon fresh negotiations with King Ladislaus, who has sent the Count of Celje and Ulrich Eitzinger to them in Moravia. There are no other matters worthy of mention.

I commend myself to Your Reverend Paternity. From Neustadt, 28 April 1453.

[1] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[2] Ulrich II
[3] Friedrich II (Celje) (1379-1454): Count of Celje (1445) and Ban of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia.
[4] János Hunyadi.
[5] HA, 2: pp. 811-812.
[6] Pope Nicolaus V.
[7] Ulrich von Nussdorf.
[8] Meaning that the emperor would take it very badly if the pope proceeded to a confirmation of the election of the Bishop of Passau without his agreement.

305. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 107v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 20.*
Editions B: *AC, vol. 2/1, nr. 3406; WO, 3: 1, 76, pp. 147-148 (on the basis of W1).*

{107v} Colendissimo patri, domino Nicolao, cardinali Sancti Petri ac pontifici Brixinensi, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Ut scias, quae geruntur apud nos, suscipe haec pauca: comes Ciliae, qui non fuit in tractatu pacis inter regem Ladislaum et Caesarem nostrum habito, nunc a patre reversus nititur omnia solvere, idemque fertur gubernator Hungarie quaerere. Australes servare promissa cupiunt; non potuit tamen ratihabitio in tempore fieri. Petita est dilatio ad Festum Sancti Johanis Baptistae et concessa est. Bohemi cum rege Ladislao conventum habent in Moravia, ad quem missi sunt comes Ciliae et Azingher. Dicuntur Bohemi novas res quaerere. Comes Ciliae, ut docti rerum ajunt, quaerit Georgiconem in regno Bohemiae gubernatorem confirmare, ut sic tres viri tria magna dominia gubernent: Johannes Hungariam, Georgius Bohemiam, comes ipse Austriam, quod difficile factu est stante pace. Ideo bellum quaeritur. Sed illi hoc, alii aliud student facere. Superior Deus, quae sibi ex usu visa fuerint, admittet. Res Pataviensis apud nos ut res pacis dilata est. Tua dignatio studeat, ne Caesareo voto molestum aliquid fiat, cum modica dilatione poterit dominus noster sanctissimus et ecclesiae prodesse et imperatori morem gerere.

Commendo me tuae reverendissimae paternitati, cui servire cupio. Rogo, ut studeas Italiae nostrae pacem dare, quamvis id nostris Italicis magis incumbat. Datum in Novacivitate, 18. Aprilis 1453[4].

[1] DV, 220
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Colendissimo … dicit *corr. ex* Cardinali Sancti Petri. Reuerendissime etc. cod.
[4] die 18 … 1453 *corr. ex* ut supra cod.

305. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *As the preceding letter.*

To his Worshipful Lord, Nikolaus, Cardinal of San Pietro and Bishop of Brixen, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] I am sending you some news to let you know what is happening here: the Count of Celje[1] did not participate in the peace negotiations between King Ladislaus and the Emperor. Now that he has returned from his father,[2] he strives to undo everything, and the Governor of Hungary reportedly seeks the same. The Austrians are eager to keep their promises. However, the ratification could not be achieved in time, so a postponement until the Feast of Saint John the Baptist was requested and granted. The Bohemians are having a meeting with [representatives of] King Ladislaus in Moravia, to which the Count of Celje and Ulrich Eitzinger[3] have been sent.[4] The Bohemians are rumoured to seek political change: informed persons claim the Count of Celje seeks to have Georg[5] confirmed as governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia, so that three men may rule three great dominions: János [Hunyadi] Hungary, Georg [Podiebrad] Bohemia, and the Count himself Austria. That, however, is difficult to achieve if there is peace, which is the reason they seek war. But while they want war, others want peace. God on high will let happen what he finds best. The matter of Passau has been postponed together with the matter of peace. Your Grace should work to prevent that anything is done[6] against the wish of the Emperor, since, with just a small postponement, Our Most Holy Lord[7] could both profit the Church and accommodate the emperor.

I commend myself to Your Most Reverend Paternity whom I wish to serve. I ask you to work for peace in Italy, though that truly is a matter for our Italians.[8] Given in Neustadt, 18 April 1453.[9]

[1] Ulrich II von Celje.
[2] Friedrich II of Celje.
[3] Ulrich Eitzinger.
[4] 23-27 April in Znaim. See RTA, 19/1, p. 523.
[5] Georg Podiebrad.
[6] By Rome, in the matter of the appointment of the new bishop of Passau.
[7] Pope Nicolaus V.
[8] The cardinal being a German.
[9] Erroneous date, see WO , 3: 1, p. 148, n. 8.

306. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 107v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 21.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 77, pp. 148-149 (on the basis of W1).*

{107v} Domino Petro de Noxeto. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Petro de Noxeto, comiti palatino, amico magno, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Accepisti nuper ex me pacem inter Caesarem et regem Ladislaum tractatum ad Festum Divi Georgii pendere. Nunc scito protractam rem ad Festum Sancti Johannis Baptistae. In causa est comes Ciliae, cui bellum pace videtur antiquius et fortasse sibi ita usu evenit, qui propter inimicitias Australium et imperatoris gubernationem regis Ladislai et Austriae adeptus est, quod numquam in pace nactus fuisset. Scit *imperia hisdem teneri artibus, quibus ab initio parta sunt*, studetque turbida esse omnia. Sed unum ipse, aliud alii cogitant. Rex hominum et superum Deus ex arbitrio suo cuncta disponit, nos futura praevidere non possumus. Ille, quod factu optimum duxerit, id amplectetur et nos, quo voluerit, ducet. Oro te domino nostro sanctissimo assidue instilles, Italiae paci operam det, ne hortus mundi dissipetur. Id ego maxime timeo, tanta est nostrorum hominum rabies. Opto pacem patriae, tum quia bene illi cupio, tum ne semper exulem, qui pace facta domum redirem.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 18. Aprilis 1453[4] [5]

[1] DV, 220.
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Domino … dicit *corr. ex* Magnifice et generose comes, amice honorande cod.
[4] die 18 … 1453 *corr. ex* ut supra cod.
[5] ~~Tuus Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

306. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *As the preceding letter.*

To His Lordship, Pietro da Noceto. Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Pietro da Noceto, Count Palatine and a great friend.

[1] Recently, you heard from me that the peace negotiated between the Emperor and King Ladislaus was to be ratified on the Feast of Saint George. Now you should know that the ratification has been postponed until the Feast of Saint John the Baptist. The reason lies with the Count of Celje[1] who prefers war to peace and, in this case, possibly rightly so since he became governor of King Ladislaus and Austria because of the enmity between the Austrians and the emperor, something that would never have happened in times of peace. He knows that *empires are held with the same arts with which they were originally acquired*,[2] and so he strives to keep everything in turmoil. But while he wants one thing, others want something different. The God of men and heavenly beings disposes all according to His will, and we cannot foresee the future. God embraces the course that He deems the best and leads us where He wills. I ask you to assiduously urge Our Most Holy Lord[3] to work for peace in Italy, lest the garden of the world be laid waste. For that is what I fear most of all - such is the madness of our people! I wish for peace in our country both because I desire what is good for it and so that I, who would return after peace has been made, must stay in exile forever.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 18 April 1453.

[1] Ulrich II of Celje.

[2] Sallustius: *Bellum Catilinae,* 2: 5

[3] Pope Nicolaus V.

307. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 108r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Wiss, 22.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 78, pp. 149-150 (on the basis of W1).*

{108r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, probatissimo amico Henrico Senfleben, decano Vratislaviensi, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Scripsi tibi superioribus meis litteris, pacem conclusam fuisse inter Caesarem et regem Ladislaum, sed pendere ratihabitionem ad Festum Sancti Georgii. Verum id fuit, sed intervenientibus difficultatibus, quas comes Ciliae ingessit, iterum[4] ratificatio ad Festum Sancti Johannis Baptistae prorogata est. Nescio, quid sequetur, quamvis Deo magis pacem quam bellum placere sciam. Alioquin tamen peccata nostra quietem non merentur. Ille, quod melius erit, nobis dabit. Australes maxime pacem optant, qui vident in sese omne belli pondus redundare. Ex Hungaria parum regi datur, minus ex Bohemia. Nunc dieta est cum Bohemis in Moravia, ad quam comes Ciliae et Azingher missi sunt. Dicuntur Bohemi novas res quaerere. Alia non occurrunt. Commendo tibi negotia mea, maxime de annata remittenda. Si pax esset in Tuscia, redirem domum.

Vale, et si Ernestus inde non recessit, dicito ei, ut quantocius redeat. Ex Novacivitate, die 19. Aprilis 1453[5] [6].

[1] DV, 221
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Senfleben. Venerabilis amice carissime cod.
[4] ~~ratih~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] Die 19. … 1453 *corr. ex* ut supra cod.
[6] ~~Uester Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

307. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (28 April 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *As the preceding letter.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to his proven friend, Heinrich Senftleben,[2] Dean of Wroclav.

[1] In my previous letter,[3] I wrote that peace had been concluded between the Emperor and King Ladislaus, to be ratified on the Feast of Saint George. It was true then, but in the meantime, the Count of Celje[4] has raised a number of difficulties, wherefore the ratification has been postponed until the Feast of Saint John the Baptist. I do not know what will happen now, but God prefers peace to war unless our sins do not deserve peace. He will give us what is best. The Austrians are eager for peace, seeing that the whole burden of the war falls upon them. The king[5] gets little from Hungary and even less from Bohemia. The Bohemians now hold a diet in Moravia, to which the Count of Celje and Eitzinger have been sent. The Bohemians are said to seek political change. There is nothing further to write.

I commend my affairs to you, especially the remission of the annates. If there were peace in Toscana, I would come home. Farewell. If Ernest[6] has not left there, then tell him to do so as soon as possible. From Neustadt, 19 April 1453.[7]

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 517
[2] Heinrich Senftleben: Official of Friedrich III and, for years, his procurator in Rome. See Heinig, 1: pp. 526-527, 809 and *ad indicem.*
[3] Not extant.
[4] Ulrich II of Celje.
[5] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[6] A clerical imperial envoy, see the following letter.
[7] Erroneous date, see WO , 3: 1, p. 148, n. 8.

308. Letter from Heinrich Senftleben (29 April 1453, Rome).

Manuscripts: *G1, f. 108v[1]; M3, f. 349r[2] **.*
Editions A: *Voigt: Briefe, 214 (p. 401 / 81).*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 79, p. 150 (on the basis of the mss. listed above).*

{349r} Reverende pater.

[1] Abscedit a nobis venerabilis Ernestus, imperialis nuntius, qui nihil potuit in Frisingensi ecclesia obtinere, quia erat, quando accessit, de ipsa provisum. Voluissemus ipsum usque ad nuntii missi adventum apud nos[3] morari; noluit[4] propter expensas. Ecclesia Pataviensis[5] tribulat[6] omnes. Dominus noster firmus perseverat perseverabitque, quantum possum cognoscere. Cum providebitur, verba habemus a pontifice summo de parochiali ecclesia vobis[7] conferenda. Curate etiam cum litteris ad dominum nostrum, qui vos[8] amat, me juvare, ne credat ratio a vobis[9] negligi et [non][10] curari a nobis. Scribite domino Petro de Noxeto, reverendo domino Bononiensi et quibus videbur. Non potui adhuc obtinere remissionem, sed remittetur etiam, si papalis auctoritas debet intervenire: boni animi estote.

Ex Roma, 29. aprilis 1453.

[1] *Collated after WO*
[2] DV, 698
[3] *em.* WO; vos codd.
[4] *em.* WO; voluit codd.
[5] *em.* WO; pacis codd.
[6] tribula M3
[7] *em.* WO; vobis codd.
[8] *em.* WO; vos codd.
[9] *em.* WO; nobis codd.
[10] *em.*

308. Letter from Heinrich Senftleben[1] (29 April 1453, Rome).

Context: *The emperor's procurator in Rome was endeavouring to influence the curia's handling of the succession to the sees of Freising and Passau.*

Subject: *Senftleben informs Piccolomini of the lack of progress concerning the sees of Freising and Passau but assures Piccolomini that he will eventually get the parish of Irdning when vacated by the Bishop-Elect of Passau.*[2]

Reverend Father.

[1] The imperial envoy, the Venerable Ernest, has left us. He was unable to achieve anything regarding the Church of Freising, for the [papal] provision[3] had already been made when he arrived. We wanted him to stay until the arrival of the [emperor's] message, but he refused because of the expenses. The [matter of] the Church of Passau troubles all here. Our Lord[4] stands firm and will continue to do so, as far as I can tell. When the provision is finally made, we have the Supreme Pontiff's word that the parish church[5] will be conferred upon you. Please help me by writing a letter [directly] to Our Lord, who is fond of you, less he believes that you are indifferent in this matter though we are promoting it. Also write to Lord Pietro da Noceto, to His Reverend Lordship of Bologna,[6] and to whomever else seems appropriate. I have not yet been able to obtain the remission [of the annates],[7] but they will be remitted even if papal authority has to intervene: be of good spirit.

From Rome, 29 April 1453.

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[1] Heinrich Senftleben (not identified by Wolkan): the emperor's procurator in Rome, see preceding letter. He was obviously charged with handling the affairs of Passau and Freising at the papal court but required Piccolomini to write directly to the pope concerning the parish in Irdning.

[2] If the date of the letter is correct, it must have crossed Piccolomini's letter on the same matter (see preceding letter).

[3] Appointment.

[4] Pope Nicolaus V.

[5] The parish church in Irdning to be vacated by the Bishop-Elect of Passau, Ulrich von Nussdorf.

[6] Cardinal Filippo Calandrini (1403-1476): The pope's half-brother. Bishop of Bologna 1447, cardinal 1448.

[7] See the preceding letter.

309. Letter from Pietro da Noceto (1 May 1453, Rome).

Manuscripts: *G1, f. 108v[1]; M3, f. 349r[2] **.*
Editions A: *Voigt: Briefe, 215 (pp. 401-401 / 81-82).*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 80, p. 150-151 (on the basis of the mss. listed above).*

{349r} Epistola magnifici domini Petri de nobilibus de Noxeto, sanctissimi domini Nicolai papae V. secretarii, reverendo in Christo patri Aeneae Silvio, episcopo Senensi, salutem plurimam dicit. Reverendissime[3] in Christo pater et domine mi singularissime. Post recommendationem.

[1] Gratissime fuerunt litterae vestrae, quas nuper per tabellarium vestrum accepimus, sanctissimo domino nostro atque mihi multis de causis, praecipue intellecta bona valetudine paternitatis vestrae et pace cum magno[4] honore et commodo Caesaris nostri, cui plurimum afficimur, conclusa, nec aliud[5] jucundius novum nobis afferri poterat, prout etiam videbitis per litteras domini nostri ad ipsum Caesarem et ad paternitatem vestram.

[2] De re vestra certa sit[6] dominatio vestra, quod numquam dabitur a me oblivioni et opportuno tempore bene de ea confido. De praepositura illa pro domino veluti et parochiali ecclesia paternitati vestrae fiet secundum[7] quod scripsistis in litteris vestris occurrente vacatione. De novis Italiae nil habeo, quod scribo iisdem[8], et tot bellis adhuc ardet et fluctuat quibus ante.

Commendo me dominationi vestre et expeditionem hujus cursoris,[9] quem dominus noster ad paternitatem vestram dirigat. Litteras, quae Senensibus dirigebantur, per fidelissimum nuntium misi. Romae, ex palatio apostolico, 1. die mensis Maji 1453.

[1] *Collated after WO*
[2] DV, 698
[3] reverende WO
[4] *omit.* WO
[5] alius WO
[6] *omit.* M3
[7] sed M3
[8] isdem M3
[9] *Textus corruptus*

309. Letter from Pietro da Noceto (1 May 1453, Rome).

Context: *Piccolomini had written letters to the pope and Pietro da Noceto, informing them about the peace concluded between the Emperor and King Ladislaus, and the Emperor's wishes concerning the distribution of the ecclesiastical benefices of the Bishop-Elect of Passau.*

Subject: *Da Noceto reassures Piccolomini concerning the annates and the benefices of the Bishop-Elect of Passau.*

Letter of His Magnificence Pietro of the Nobles of Noceto, Secretary to The Most Holy Lord, Pope Nicolaus V. He sends many greetings to Enea Silvio, Bishop of Siena. Most Reverend Father and in Christ and my particular lord. After recommendation.

[1] For many reasons, Our Most Holy Lord[1] and I were greatly pleased to receive your letter recently delivered by your messenger,[2] primarily because we heard that Your Paternity is in good health and that peace has been concluded, a peace both honourable and beneficial for our Emperor, to whom we are greatly devoted. We could not receive more joyful news, as you will see from Our Lord's[3] letters to the Emperor and yourself.

[2] Concerning Your Lordship's affair, be assured that I shall not forget it and trust it will be resolved in your favour at the appropriate time.[4] Concerning the provostship[5] for [Ulrich Sonnenberger[6]] and the parish church[7] for Your Paternity, provision will be made when they become vacant as you request in your letter. I have no news to report from Italy: it is still engulfed in wars, and the situation is as unstable as before.

I commend myself to Your Lordship and shall arrange for the dispatch of the courier whom Our Lord shall send to Your Paternity. I have forwarded your letter to the Sienese with a most trustworthy messenger. Rome, from the Apostolic Palace, 1 May 1453.

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[1] Pope Nicolaus V.

[2] The letter is not extant. Piccolomini's letter of 28 April (letter 303) - three days before - had of course not yet been received at the papal court.

[3] Pope Nicolaus V.

[4] Probably, the matter of the remission of annates, see letters 307:1 and 308:1.

[5] Ulrich Sonnnenberger: The provostship of Freising.

[6] See letters and 290:14 and 291: 5.

[7] The parish church of Irdning, *ibid.*

310. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (5 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 109r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 23..*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 81, p. 151-153 (on the basis of W1).*

{109r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Johanni Campisio, episcopo Placentino, amico praecipuo, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Johannes Nihili, astronomus insignis, heri ad me laetus venit bonumque se nuntium afferre ait, percontantique mihi, quidnam rei esset, "Optimus vir et amicus summus," inquit, "tuus Johannes Campisius, fama clarus philosophus, Romanae curiae vetus mancipium, jam deniquo manumissus est laborumque fructus accepit." Quaero, quid factum sit, incipioquo laetari. Respondet venisse[4] Roma hominem, qui Nicolaum Amidanum ex Placentina ecclesia ad Mediolanensem translatum dicat, ecclesiae vero Placentinae doctum quendam virum[5] parvo corpore[6], grandi virtute, secretarium vicecancellarii, praefectum esse, arbitrari te his denotatum signis. Do fidem remque certam habeo jam te[7] pontificem factum. Afficior summo gaudio! Felix nuntium! Faustum novum mecum mente volvo fioque laetior in horas, dum te crevisse intelligo atque inter principes ecclesiae jam sedere. Nam etsi multae majoresque te curae quam prius urgebunt, tua tamen virtus in altiori loco magis elucescet neque *de lodice paranda* semper anxius eris[8]. Jam tibi mihique bene est[9]. Deus optimus[10] maximo sacerdoti, domino nostro, gratias referat, qui tui memoriam habuit. Sit ei vita longa, quietus animus, bene parens Christianus populus[11], quando ad doctas mentes inspicit atque benemerentes effert. Jam me suae pietati maxime obnoxium sentio, qui, cum partem unam mei promovisset, nunc quoque alterius curam habuit: jam integer gaudeo[12]. Sed nec reverendissimo domino vicecancellario me parum debere arbitror atque Noxetano nostro, veteri sodali, quos rem tuam summo conatu juvisse non ambigo. {109v} Superest modo in Italiam me reverti atque tibi convivere. Sic vita nostra jucundior erit, cum simul et vigiliarum et laborum meminerimus. Quod si nostra Etruria pacem haberet jamjam itineri me committerem.

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[1] DV, 223
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas dicit *corr. ex* Domino Johanni Campisio, episcopo Placentino. Reuerende in Christo pater, amice honorande cod.
[4] ~~homine~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~statura~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~bon~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] *supralin.* cod.
[8] ~~semper arbit~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~una voluntas semper~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~max~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~qui~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] ~~sed nec~~ *seq.* cod.

310. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (5 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Piccolomini's bosom friend, Giovanni Campisio, had finally been appointed a bishop.*
Subject: *Piccolomini congratulates Campisio on his appointment.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to His Lordship, Giovanni Campisio, Bishop of Piacenza, his particular friend.

[1] Yesterday, the renowned astronomer Johann Nihil[1] came to me, enthused, and told me he broughthappy news.[2] I asked him what it was, and he replied, "Your friend, the excellent Giovanni Campisio, distinguished philosopher and a long-serving member of the Roman Curia, has finally been set free and received the fruit of his labours." I asked what had happened and began to rejoice. He answered that somebody had come from Rome reporting that Niccolò Amidano had been transferred from the Church of Piacenza to that of Milan, and that a learned man, small in stature but great in virtue, secretary to the Vice-Chancellor,[3] had been appointed to the Church of Piacenza, and he thought that must be you. I am sure he is right and that you have become a bishop. I am overjoyed! As I reflect on this happy message and auspicious news, I become increasingly happy, seeing that you have now advanced and sit among the princes of the Church. For though many and greater cares than before will beset you, your qualities will become more evident in a higher position, and you shall not always have to worry *about having a mat.*[4] [5] Oh, how good this is for you and me! The Best and Greatest God[6] himself will thank Our Lord, the Supreme Priest,[7] for remembering you. May he, who takes note of learned minds and advances the deserving, have a long life, peace of soul and an obedient Christian people. I am greatly indebted to His Piety,[8] who first promoted one part of me[9] and now has taken care of the other[10]: finally, the whole me is happy. But I believe I also owe much to the Most Reverend Lord Vice-Chancellor and to da Noceto, our old comrade, who I am sure have done their best to help you. Now, I only have to return to Italy and live with you. Oh, how joyous our life will be when together we remember our vigils and labours. If our Toscana had peace, I would immediately set out on the journey.

[1] Johann Nihil Bohemus [de Nichele; Nichile] (-1457): Canon in Olomuc (1452). Imperial counsellor (1454) and court astronomer/ astrologuer. See Heinig, 1: pp. 746 -747 and *ad indicem.*

[2] Piccolomini had not yet received Campisio's letter with the news of 23. March (letter 289).

[3] Francesco Condulmer.

[4] Juvenalis, 9: 139-140: *something that will keep* your *old days safe from the beggar's staff and mat.*

[5] See letter to Giovanni Campisio of 10 September 1445 (EPI, 4: 183,4).

[6] An adaptation of the classical *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* to the Christian God.

[7] Pope Nicolaus V.

[8] The pope.

[9] Piccolomini.

[10] Campisio.

[2] Sed vale tandem meque tuo ex more communi domino cardinali commendatum facito, cui has novitates ex his regionibus referre poteris[1]: Caesarem habere pacem, non tamen certam. Pendet enim adhuc ratihabitio, quae cum deberet ad Festum Sancti Georgii praeteritum fieri, jam protracta est ad Nativitatem Johannis Baptistae, suntque, qui dicunt, eam pacem, ut dicta est, minime amplexuras partes[2], idque comes Ciliae subordinat, qui bellum pace magis frugiferum est. Inter Bohemos et regem Ladislaum conturbatae aliquantulum res fuerunt, nunc compositae sunt. Georgius, regni Bohemiae gubernator, et aliquot alii barones ad regem venerunt triduoque Viennae morati et honorati admodum bona mente recesserunt regemque brevi[3] in Bohemiam iturum coronamque recepturum ajunt. Ea summo pontifici dominus cardinalis exponere poterit.

Vale iterum. Ex Nova Civitate Austriae[4], die 5. Maji 1453[5].

[1] ~~nos~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] *supralin.* cod
[3] *omit.* W1
[4] *omit.* WO
[5] ~~tuus Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

[2] But farewell, and commend me as usual to our common lord the Cardinal[1], to whom you may report this news from our parts: the Emperor has peace, but it is uncertain, for the ratification is still pending. It should have occurred on the Feast of Saint George but has now been postponed until the Feast of John the Baptist. Some say that the parties will not accept the peace in its present form and that the Count of Celje[2] is responsible since war is more advantageous to him than peace. There were some difficulties between the Bohemians and King Ladislaus, but things have now been settled. Georg,[3] Governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and some other barons came to the king and stayed for three days in Vienna, where they were greatly honoured. So they left quite content, and the king will reportedly go to Bohemia to receive his crown. The Lord Cardinal can relate this to the Supreme Pontiff.

Farewell once again. From Neustadt in Austria, 5 May 1453.

[1] Francesco Condulmer.

[2] Ulrich II von Cilly.

[3] Georg Podiebrad.

311. Letter to Niccolò Amidano (5 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 109v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 24.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 82, pp. 153-154 (on the basis of W1).*

{109v} Domino Nicolao, archiepiscopo Mediolanensi. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Nicolao Amidano, archiepiscopo Mediolanensi, patri optimo, salutem plurimam[3] dicit.

[1] Credo te certum esse, promotio tua, etsi omnibus placeat, paucos tamen esse, qui tantam inde voluptatem acceperint, quantam mihi magis sentio quam possum dicere contigisse. Nolo igitur multa[4] de meo gaudio dicere tibi, qui me *intus et in cute nosti*, qui mearum omnium cogitationum es conscius. Satis est te scire scriptum mihi esse Mediolanensis ecclesiae, maximae atque vetustissimae et Italiae primatis, pontificatum accepisse. Novi ego Bartholomeum de la Capra, concivem tuum, doctum et clarum poetam[5], dum illi ecclesiae praefuit, qui me loco filii dilexit. Successor ejus, Franciscus de Picciolpassis, Bononiensis vir, qui studio litterarum vitae mores aequavit, dum Basilaee fuit, raro sine me prandere voluit. Saepe me domo traxit invitum, libros omnes mihi communicavit, praeposituram Saneti Laurentii contulit, pluribus me beneficiis cumulavit. Post illum de Sancta Rosa, vir nobilitate generis et vitae sanctimonia illustris, me quoque inter amicos habuit. Quartus, qui ei[6] substitutus est, de Vicecomitibus notus mihi fuit nomine tantum.

[2] Sed non debuit illa ecclesia pastorem habere, qui me non amaret. Itaque venit ad te, cui me dilectissimum atque carissimum scio, qui me[7] quamvis sine merito tamen maxime colis. Estque inter nos amicitia verax, quae nullo tempore extingui potuit neque extinguetur. Deus igitur tibi longiorem quam illis vitam praebeat faxitque, ut simul aliquando vivamus. Multo enim mihi suavior erit tecum vita quam cum illis fuit, nam etsi ut illi doctrina et vite bonitate me superarunt, tu quoque[8] superas, aetas tamen inter nos convenit. Ambo enim in vespero sumus. Apud illos autem cum essent senectute graves, mihi levis juventa fuit.

Vale et apud summum praesulem cura, nostra ut Italia pacem recuperet. Sic me quoque recuperabit Ex Nova Civitate, die 5. Maii 1453[9] [10].

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[1] DV, 224
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit corr. ex
[4] ~~tibi dicere qui me inter~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] doctum et … poetam *add. in marg.* cod.
[6] ~~succe~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~sine m~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] superarunt tu quoque *supralin.* cod.
[9] Ex … 1453 *corr. ex* datum ut supra cod.
[10] ~~Tuus Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

311. Letter to Niccolò Amidano (5 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *An old friend of Piccolomini, Niccolò Amidano, had been appointed archbishop of Milan.*
Subjects: *Piccolomini congratulates Amidano on his appointment.*

To His Lordship Niccolò Amidano, Archbishop of Milan, excellent Father, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Although your promotion pleases everyone, I believe you know that few people take greater pleasure in it than I – indeed, I feel such joy as I can scarcely describe. However, I shall not say much about it to you who *know me inside out*,[1] and all my thoughts. It is enough for you to know that someone has written to me[2] that you have been made bishop of the great and old Church of Milan, the noblest in Italy and its primatial see.[3] I knew[4] Bartolomeo de la Capra,[5] your fellow citizen,[6] a learned and noble poet, when he presided over that church: he loved me as a son. His successor, Francesco Pizzolpasso,[7] from Bologna, was distinguished both by his love of letters and his character. While in Basel, he rarely lunched without me and often invited me to his home though I made polite protests. He gave me access to all his books,[8] conferred the provostship of San Lorenzo upon me, and showed me many favours. After him came de Santa Rosa,[9] a man distinguished by a noble line and holiness of life, who also counted me as a friend. The fourth to succeed, one of the Viscontis,[10] I only knew by name.

[2] But that church could not have a shepherd who did not love me! Therefore, it passed on to you, who love and cherish me and esteem me more than I deserve. We have a sincere friendship that time cannot and will not extinguish. So, may God grant you a longer life than theirs[11] and make it possible for us to eventually live together.[12] It will be far more pleasant to live with you than with them, for though they surpassed me in learning and morals - as you do - we two are of the same age, being both in our life's evening, while with them, burdened by old age, I was a spirited youth.

Farewell, and support the Supreme Pontiff in his efforts for Italy's recovery. Thus you will also recover me. From Neustadt, 5 March 1453.

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[1] Persius, 3: 30.
[2] See letter 310: 1.
[3] Rome, apparently, being beyond comparison.
[4] During his time in Basel.
[5] Capra, Bartolomeo de la (ca. 1365-1433): Secretary and referendary to Innocentius VII, Gregorius XII and Alexander V. Bishop of Cremona, 1405. Archbishop of Milan from 1414 to his death. Prominent counsellor and diplomat of both the Duke of Milan and Emperor Sigismund. Friend and mentor of Piccolomini. See DVI, ch. 21.
[6] They were both from Cremona.
[7] Pizzolpasso, Francesco [Piccolpasso] (ca. 1375-1443): Archbishop of Milan from 1435 to his death. Mentor and friend of Piccolomini, whom he gave access to his rich library.
[8] See Iaria.
[9] The successor of Pizzolpasso was Enrico III Rampini, Archbishop of Milan from 1443 to 1450. The reference to de Santa Rosa is obscure (or erroneous).
[10] Giovanni III Visconti (-1453): Archbishop of Milan from 1450 to his death.
[11] Piccolomini's wish was not granted: Amidano died on 24 March the next year.
[12] At this time, Piccolomini was much concerned about his old age and imagined retiring and living together with old friends, e.g., also letter 310: 1.

312. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (6 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 111r[1] [2] **; Olomouc / Studienbibl. / 159, f. 75r[3].*
Editions A: *Weiss, 29.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 83, p. 154-155 (on the basis of the mss. listed ab).*

{111r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, fratri suo Jacobo de Tolomeis, comiti palatino et insigni jurisconsulto, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Cognovi ex tuis litteris Franciscum nepotem meum ad te venisse sanum tibique carum esse. Id mihi voluptati est. Scio te curam ejus habere, ut moribus et doctrina clarus evadat. Placet illum Andreae Bentii, praestabilis jurisconsulti, auditorem esse. Andream enim fratris loco habeo[5] nec me dubium habet eum amare, quae mea sunt[6]. Verum quia grammatica ostium est omnium disciplinarum, cupio Franciscum in ea doctum fieri idque tuae curae committo[7]. Mittam tibi aliquid argenti, quo eum vestias, quam primum scivero virum venire ad te, cui tuto aurum committi possit. Auctum esse tibi salarium gaudeo et merito factum non ambigo. De litteris consiliariatus allocutus sum Caesarem, cui res persuasa est[8]. Tuam virtutem dignam eo honore ducit. Litteras conscribi jussit. Ut[9] sigillatae expeditaeque fuerint, mox ad te mittentur[10]. Interim bono animo esto.

[2] Conjugem tuam, honestam et prudentem feminam[11], meo nomine salvere jube, filios omnes benedicito. Opto quam primum domum repetere, sed tribulatio patriae me deterret, in qua nostri generis homines sine pace tuti esse non possunt. Illustri domino duci meo nomine has novitates dicere poteris: pacem esse inter Caesarem et regem Ladislaum eo modo compositam[12], ut nuper scripsi, verum ratihabitionem, quae ad Festum Sancti Georgii fieri debuit, rursus ad Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistae prorogatam esse. Id facit comes Ciliae, cui bellum quam pax utilius esse videtur, neque fortasse male opinatur, quoniam Australes pacem habentes imperium ejus minime ferrent. Georgius, regni Bohemiae gubernator, nuper Viennam venit biduoque cum rege Ladislao moratus recessit. Nunc Bohemi conventum habent tractantque, quo pacto regem recipiant atque coronent. Id brevi futurum speratur. Rex ipse modo apud Balneas laetam vitam agit, itinere quattuor horarum a nobis abest.

Vale. Ex Nova Civitate Austriae, die 6. Maji 1453[13].

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[1] DV, 227
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *Collated after WO*
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Eximie doctor, frater amantissime cod.
[5] ~~et scio~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~cupio grammatice~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~Andr~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~mandatum~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~expedite~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] *corr. ex* mittam cod.
[11] *corr. ex* dominam cod.
[12] ~~quo nupe~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] ~~Tuus Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

312. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (6 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Tolomei had informed Piccolomini[1] about the arrival of his nephew Francesco (future Pope Pius III) in Ferrara to pursue his studies there.*

Subject: *Piccolomini informs Tolomei of his wishes concerning Francesco and sends news from the imperial court.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to his brother,[2] Jacopo Tolomei, Count Palatine and distinguished jurist.

[1] Your letter informed me that my nephew Francesco[3] has arrived safe and sound and that you are fond of him. I am happy to hear it. I know you will ensure that he excels both in conduct and learning. I am content that he is a student of Andrea Benci,[4] an excellent jurist, for I consider Andrea a brother and am sure he cherishes what is mine. However, since grammar[5] is the gateway to all the branches of learning, I wish Francesco to become proficient in it, and that I leave that to your care.[6] I shall send you money[7] for his clothes as soon as I know someone is travelling to you to whom I can entrust it safely. I am glad to hear that your salary has been raised and do not doubt that you deserve it. I have spoken to the emperor about your appointment as an [imperial] counsellor, to which he has agreed, considering that your qualities merit such an honour. He has ordered a letter [of appointment] to be written. As soon as it has been sealed and expedited, I shall have it sent to you. In the meantime, stay confident.

[2] Greet your honourable and prudent wife from me, and bless all your children. I want to return home as soon as possible, but the troubles of my country deter me since men of our kind[8] cannot be safe without peace. You can tell the Illustrious Lord Duke[9] this news in my name: as I wrote recently, a peace has been concluded between the Emperor and King Ladislaus, but the ratification, which should have occurred on the Feast of Saint George, has been postponed until the Feast of John the Baptist. This is the doing of the Count of Celje, to whom war is more advantageous than peace, and he may be right because if the Austrians had peace, they would scarcely tolerate his rule. Georg,[10] Governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia, recently came to Vienna,[11] where he stayed for two days with King Ladislaus and then departed. The Bohemians are now having an assembly[12] to discuss how to receive and crown the king. This will hopefully happen soon. The king himself is currently leading a pleasant life in Baden, about four hours from us.[13] Farewell. From Neustadt in Austria, 6. May 1453.

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[1] Letter not extant.

[2] Remote cousin, the Piccolomini's being related to the Tolomei's.

[3] Todeschini Piccolomini, Francesco (1439-1503): Son of Piccolomini's sister Laudomia and Nannes Todeschini. Already groomed by Piccolomini for a splendid ecclesiastical career. Appointed Archbishop (administrator) of Siena and a cardinal by Pius II in 1460. Elected pope in 1503 but died after a few weeks.

[4] Benci, Andrea: Italian jurist. Son of Ugo Benci. A youth friend of Piccolomini (see letters 3 and 100).

[5] Grammar included rhetorics and history.

[6] Strnad: *Francesco*, p. 126,128.

[7] Note the use of *argentum* and *aurum* in the same sentence, both meaning 'money.

[8] "genus": nobles in Siena? Or clergy? Or the Piccolomini family?

[9] Este, Borso d' (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*, 3, pp. 120-141).

[10] Georg Podiebrad.

[11] 29 April (Palacek, p. 323 ff.)

[12] 8 May 1453 in Prague (Palacek, p. 324).

[13] Note the travel distance of four hours from Wiener Neustadt to Baden (bei Wien).

313. Letter to Rafaele Primadizi (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 110r*[1] [2] **
Editions A: *Weiss, 25..*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 84, p. 155-157 (on the basis of W1).*

{110r} Vicario nostro Senis, Raphaeli Primadizio. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, docto viro Raphaeli Primadicio, decretorum doctori ac vicario suo salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Ex litteris tuis, quas novissime ad nos misisti, cognovimus te admodum esse turbatum, tum propter diutinam absentiam nostram, tum quia necessarii nostri saepe te molestant in rebus judicialibus, nunc hoc nunc illud petentes, quod tibi non videtur concedere justum. Verum, ut paucis tecum agamus, nos te quidem b*oni et aequi tenacem* esse non dubitamus. Ideo te judicem nostro loco constituimus, scientes, *quia non poneres in agilitate tua scandalum neque timeres faciem potentis*, quodque nemo tibi nisi jus imperaret. Quod te facere gaudemus neque nos aliud cuiquam nostrorum aut scripsimus aut injunximus umquam. Ideo te rogamus, ut perseveres, quo coepisti modo, neque magni pandas rumores. Sine loqui homines, quae velint; tu tantum[4] rectus esto. Verum illud vide, ne dum proximorum nostrorum voces[5] parvi facis resistisque indigna petentibus, alios quosvis audias comminantes prohibentesque malefactores punire. Nam te omnibus terrori esse convenit, qui vitam non bonam ducentes dominicum gregem inficiunt.

[2] Id tute optime nosti canonum peritia callens. Tu nostram personam geris. Ita te facere oportet ac si esses episcopus. Pone te nostram personam gerere et habere vicarium atque ea facito, quo tuum vicarium facere velles. Noli nobis absentibus deesse; dura, donec revertamur. Insignem tenes locum. *Magistratus*, ut nosti, *virum ostendit.* Habes theatrum, ubi tuam virtutem ostendas. Nos quidem cum magna molestia domo absumus cupimusque magnopere ad nostros reverti lares. Sed adversantur nobis tempora. Bellum, quod apud vos est, et patriae nostrae conditio exilium nobis temporale indicit. Credimus te tua prudentia cognoscere eos turbines, qui nunc patriam agitant, non suadere nostrum reditum. Nam etsi episcopum tunc maximo domi esse decet, cum sunt adversitates, suis ut filiis consulat omnique ope sit praesidio, id tunc demum verum est, quando filiorum animus consilii capax in bonam partem[6] monita parentis accipit. At ubi frustra[7] nitendo nil aliud quam odium quaeras, silere atque abesse satius est, donec tempus meliora permittat. Nos et nationem nostram novimus et civium nostrorum, cum bellum viget, mores. Expectamus pacem, quam si Deus dabit, evestigio nos domi habebis. Age igitur, mane, persevera, bonum habeto animum. Virtus in adversitate perficitur. Nos tui memores[8] et amantes sumus.

Vale. Ex Nova Civitate Austriae[9], 7. die Maji 1453.

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[1] DV, 225
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Venerabilis dilecte noster cod.
[4] tamen WO
[5] ~~times~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~monita~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] *corr. ex* nitaris neque cod.
[8] ~~non erimus tuorum~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] *omit.* cod.

313. Letter to Rafaele Primadizi (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Piccolomini's episcopal vicar in Siena was having troubles, partly because of frequent interventions by Piccolomini's relatives and friends and others in his administration.*
Subject: *Piccolomini admonishes his vicar to be impartial, just and not overly concerned with the interference of his relations and others and what people say.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the learned Rafaele Primadizi, Doctor of Canon Law and his Vicar.

[1] In your recent letter,[1] you told us that you are most upset because of our prolonged absence and because our relatives and friends often importunate you in judicial affairs, repeatedly asking you to condone something that you think is not just. But - in a few words - we trust that you *tenaciously* pursue *goodness and equity*.[2] That is why we have appointed you as a judge in our place, knowing that you will not *fear the person of the powerful, and lay a stumblingblock for your integrity,*[3] and that you will only be governed by justice. We are content that this is what you are doing, and we have never written or required differently from our relations. Therefore, we ask you to continue as you have begun and not be overly concerned by rumours and criticisms. Let other men say what they will, but remain just yourself. On the other hand, take care that you do not, while you disregard the words of people close to us and resist unworthy requests, heed others who threaten you and who oppose the punishment of wrongdoers. For you should be feared by all, who do not live morally but infect the Lord's flock.

[2] As an expert in canon law, you know this very well. You should act as if you were the bishop. Imagine yourself in our place and having a vicar, then do what you would want your vicar to do. Do not fail us during our absence; persevere until we return. You hold a distinguished position. As you know, *the office shows the man*.[4] You have a forum where you can demonstrate your qualities. It pains us greatly to be absent, and we fervently desire to return home. But the times are against us. The war raging in Italy and the situation in our own country[5] necessitate a temporary exile. We trust that, in your wisdom, you realise that the storms now shaking our country do not favour our return. Of course, a bishop should - especially in times of trouble - be home to support his children and assist them by every means. But this truth only applies when the sons are of a mind to take advice and accept the admonitions of their parent. So, if one's efforts are in vain and only breed enmity, it is better to be silent and stay away until time permits a better course. We know our country and the ways of fellow citizens – especially in wartime,[6] so we wait for peace, and if God gives it, you will soon have us back home. Therefore, stay on course and keep your courage. *Virtue is perfected through adversity.*[7] We remember and love you.

Farewell. From Neustadt in Austria, 7 May 1453.

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[1] Not extant.
[2] *Jus est ars boni et aequi.* A maxim of Celsus.
[3] Ecclesiasticus, 7: 6: *ne forte extimescas faciem potentis, et ponas scandalum in aequitate tua.*
[4] Classical maxim.
[5] Siena.
[6] In times of war, civil unrest and bickering political parties in Siena, the position of a bishop endeavouring to stay impartial would be difficult, especially if, like Piccolomini, he belonged to the class of Sienese nobles, excluded for generations from the government of the city and generally suspected to wish to return to power.
[7] Variant of well-known proverb: *Virtus in arduo posita,* cf. Walther, 5: p. 791

314. Letter to Francesco Tolomei (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 110r*[1] [2]**
Editions A: *Weiss, 26.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 85, pp. 157-158 (on the basis of W1).*

{110r} Francisco Tolomeo, juris interpreti. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Francisco Tholomeo, claro juris interpreti et canonico Senensi, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Extra tuam memoriam dati sumus, postquam Senis abscessimus, qui nihil ad nos scribis. Nos tamen tui sumus memores et amamus tuam virtutem. Cupimus aliquando ad nos litteras des, quibus de tua et aliorum amicorum valetudine certiores reddamur. Accepimus dominum Johannem Delagazaria, canonicum alium nostrum, jam episcopum Grossetanum factum esse. Id nobis summae voluptati est, qui viri virtuti afficimur. Speramus te aliquod suorum beneficiorum consecutum, nisi tua fortuna te pauperem amet. Nos reverti domum admodum cupimus, sed terret nos patriae turbatio. Vellemus in pace domi esse[3], quod nostrae conditioni conducere nosti. Rogamus te vicarium nostrum ad patientiam atque perseverantiam horteris, ne terreatur cujusquam minis. Nos ex eo nihil exigimus, nisi ut omnibus aequa lance jus reddat.

Vale et nobis aliquando aliquid scribe. Confratres tuos et nostros canonicos nostro nomine salvos dicito. Ex Novacivitate, ut supra.

[1] DV, 225. [2] *Autograph* [3] ~~ne quid / ne sue~~ *seq.* cod.

314. Letter to Francesco Tolomei (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *See the preceding letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks Tolomei to write to him and to support his vicar.*

To the jurist Francesco Tolomei.[1] Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Francesco Tolomei, distinguished jurist and Sienese canon.

[1] Since you have not written to us after we left Siena,[2] you have evidently forgotten us. But we remember you and love you for your virtues. We wish you to write to us from time to time and tell us about your health and that of our other friends. We have heard that Ser Giovanni Agazzari,[3] another of our canons, has now been made Bishop of Grosseto.[4] We are delighted to hear it since we treasure his virtues. We hope you may gain some of his benefices - unless Fortune loves you as a poor man! We long to return home but are deterred by the situation of our country. We should wish to be at home in peace, which would strengthen our position. We ask you to encourage our vicar[5] to show patience and perseverance and not be intimidated by threats. The only thing we require of him is to dispense impartial justice to all.

Farewell, and write to us from time to time. Greet your fellow canons from us. From Neustadt, as above.

[1] Tolomei, Francesco: Sienese canon. Later, member of Cardinal Piccolomini's household.

[2] Piccolomini visited Siena in connection with the imperial coronation in Rome in March 1452.

[3] Agazzari, Giovanni (-1468): Bishop of Grosseto from 1452 to his death. Previously canon of Siena and a friend of Pccolomini.

[4] 6 October 1452.

[5] Rafaele Primadizi.

315. Letter to Giovanni Agazzari (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 110v*[1] [2] **
Editions A: *Weiss, 27.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 86, p. 158 (on the basis of W1).*

{110v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, reverendo patri Johanni, episcopo Grossetano, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Capellano meo, Thomae, tui amanti, ex domo sua scriptum est Grossetanae urbis episcopum te factum esse. Nec aliud quidpiam[4]. Id resignatione tui avunculi gestum arbitror, qui ei ecclesiae praefuit, nam senio gravis tibi fortasse loco cessit. Id si verum est, admodum mihi placet, qui te fratris et habeo et amo loco, neque alium pontificem illa ecclesia te mihi gratiorem assequi potuit. Oro te, ne me dubium diu teneas, namque si te episcopum sensero, maturius domum repetam, habens aequalem in ordine meo, quocum[5] [6] vivam amice atque suaviter. Interim meam ecclesiam meosque omnes tibi commendo, atque ut Franciscum Tholomeum, jurisconsultum perspicacem et sacerdotem mundum, ex pristina consuetudine[7] diligas et observes, oro.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate[8], 7. die Maji 1453.

[1] DV, 226.
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Episcopo Grossetano. Reverende in Christo pater, amice honorande cod.
[4] ~~puto patruum~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] *corr. ex* quo cod.
[6] ~~dulciter~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~ames oro~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~ut supra~~ *seq.* cod.

315. Letter to Giovanni Agazzari (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Giovanni Agazzari, a Sienese canon and friend of Piccolomini, had been appointed Bishop of Grosseto.*
Subject: *Piccolomini congratulates Agazzari on his appointment.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Reverend Father Giovanni, Bishop of Grosseto.

[1] My chaplain, Thomas, who loves you well, has received a letter from home saying you have been made Bishop of Grosseto - and nothing more. I presume this was made possible through the resignation of your uncle,[1] who presided over that church, as he was worn down by age and may have yielded his office to you. If this is true, it brings me great joy, for I consider and love you as a brother, and I could get no better man as the bishop of that church. I ask you not to keep me in uncertainty for long: if I know you are a bishop, I will return home sooner, for then I shall have a fellow bishop with whom I can live together in friendship and harmony. In the meantime, I commend my church and all mine to you, and I ask you to love and treasure Francesco Tolomei, a perspicacious jurist and virtuous priest, as you have previously done.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 7 May 1453.

[1] Memmo Agazzari.

316. Letter to Goro Lolli (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 110v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 28.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 87, pp. 158-159 (on the basis of W1).*

{110v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, fratri suo Gregorio, juriconsulto praestabili, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Quamvis te magnis reipublicae curis occupatum non ambigo, non tamen excusatum te habeo[4] in tam diutino silentio. Quis enim est, qui non aliquando amicorum memor, temporis aliquid furetur, in quo scribat amico saltem se vivum esse? Verum ego postquam Senis abscessi, cujus rei annus est, nihil a te litterarum accepi. Rogo igitur negligentiam corrigas et aliquando mihi de statu tuo nostrorumque omnium et totius urbis conditione scribas. Cupio enim audire, quibus in terminis res nostrae sitae sunt et an mihi tuto redeundum sit, neque enim stante bello cum Florentinis aut ardente patria dissensionibus meum reditum existimo necessarium, et tamen crucior longo exilio. Tu ergo mihi, quid sit ex usu, scribito, qui melius praesens omnia nosti.

[2] Magnificis dominis nostris meo nomine haec dicere poteris imperatorem mediante germano suo pacem cum Ladislao rege Hungarie inivisse, quae in Festo Sancti Georgii jam praeterito ratificari debuit, sicut hoc a me ante scriptum est. Verum ratihabitio protracta est et ad Festum Johannis Baptistae fieri debet, si animi erunt ad rem ipsam inclinati, quod de Hungaris jam negatur. Gubernator regni Bohemiae Viennae per hos dies fuit composuitque lites omnes cum rege Ladislao, qui brevi petere Bohemiam debet et ibi coronationis festum celebrare. Neque alia modo.

Genitricem tuam, fratres sororesque meo nomine ut salvere jubeas, oro. Francisco Patritio[5], Georgio Andrencio et amicis ceteris ut salutes dicas,[6] utque rem Beltrami absolvas, peto. Ex Nova Civitate, 7. Maji 1453[7].

[1] DV, 226.
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Gregorio jurisconsulto cod.
[4] ~~in tanto~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~domino~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~peto atque vale optime. Datum ut supra~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] Ex … 1453 *corr. ex* Datum cod.

316. Letter to Goro Lolli (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Goro Lolli, Piccolomini's cousin and close friend, had not written to him for a long time.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks Goro for news and informs through him the city government of Siena that the ratification of the peace between the Emperor and King Ladislaus has been postponed.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to his brother Goro,[2] distinguished jurist.

[1] Though I am sure that you are occupied with great affairs of state, I cannot hold you excused for your prolonged silence. For who does not, from time to time, remember his friends and steal some time to write to his friend, if only to say that he is alive? But since I left Siena about a year ago,[3] I have not heard from you. So I ask you to remedy your negligence and write to me about your situation and that of all ours and of the whole city. I wish to know the state of our affairs, and whether it is safe for me to return, for on the one hand, I do not consider it necessary to return while there is war with the Florentines and our country is aflame with strife; on the other hand, my long exile has become unbearable. So, please write to me what is expedient since you, being there, know everything better than I do.

[2] You may tell our Magnificent Lords[4] from me that - with his brother[5] as a mediator - the Emperor[6] has concluded a peace with King Ladislaus[7] of Hungary. It should have been ratified on the Feast of Saint George, as I have written previously, but now the ratification has been postponed until the Feast of John the Baptist, provided the parties are so inclined - which the Hungarians are said not to be. The Governor of the Kingdom of Bohemia[8] has recently been in Vienna and settled all difficulties with King Ladislaus, who will soon travel to Bohemia to celebrate his coronation. And no more for now.

Greet your mother,[9] brothers and sisters from me. Also, greet Francesco Patrizi,[10] Giorgio Andrenzio[11] and the other friends, and please see to the settlement of Beltramo's[12] affair. From Neustadt, 7 May 1453.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 520.
[2] Lolli, Goro [Gregorio Loli] (1415 - 1478): Piccolomini's cousin, son of his father's stepsister, Bartolomea de' Tolomei, and her husband, Niccolò Lolli. Close friend of Piccolomini. See Pellegrini.
[3] After the emperor's coronation in 1452.
[4] The city government.
[5] Duke Albrecht VI.
[6] Friedrich III.
[7] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[8] Georg Podiebrad.
[9] Tolomei Lolli, Bartolomea: step-sister of Piccolomini's father.
[10] Patrizi, Francesco (1413-1494): Sienese humanist. Friend of Piccolomini. As pope, Piccolomini had him as a collaborator and appointed him bishop.
[11] Andrenzio, Giorgio: Friend and probably a fellow student of Piccolomini from his study years in Siena.
[12] Unidentified.

317. Letter to Andrea Benci (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 111r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 30.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 88, pp. 159-160 (on the basis of W1).*

{111r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Andreae Bentio, jureconsulto insigni, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Praeter sententiam ex sententia meus nepos auditor tuus factus [est[4]]. Non putavi hoc tempore id fieri. Nulli tamen eum quam tibi discipulum contigisse magis placere potest. Vestra familia semper nostrae conjuncta fuit. Genitor tuus, Hugo, medicorum suae aetatis sine contentione princeps, patrem meum Silvium dilectum habuit. Inter nos vetus benevolentia est. Gaudeo meum nepotem apud te esse. Nihil commendo, nihil rogo, scio te plus acturum quam nostrae preces efficere possint. Satis est te nosse illum esse meum, sic enim tuus est, quando[5] amicorum inter sese communia omnia sunt.

Vale et praestantissimum germanum tuum, magistrum Sozinum, tuam consortem totamque familiam meis verbis salvam dicito. Ex Nova Civitate, 7. die Maji 1453[6].

[1] DV, 227
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Andree Bentio jurisconsulto. Eximie doctor, amice optime cod.
[4] *em.* WO
[5] quoniam WO
[6] 7. … Maji *corr. ex* ut supra cod.

317. Letter to Andrea Benci (7 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *See letter 312.*
Subject: *Piccolomini expresses his delight that Benci has become his nephew's law teacher.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Andrea Benci, distinguished jurist.

[1] My nephew[1] has unexpectedly - but not by accident - become your student.[2] I had not planned for this to happen at this time, but you are certainly the one I would like most of all to be his teacher. Your family has always been closely connected with ours. Your father Ugo,[3] without dispute the foremost physician of his age, was fond of my father, Silvio.[4] And you and I have an old friendship. So, I am delighted that my nephew is with you. I recommend nothing, and I request nothing, for I know you will do more than my prayers can effect. Knowing he is mine makes him yours, too, for friends share everything.

Farewell, and greet your distinguished brother, Magister Socino,[5] your wife, and all your family from me.[6] From Neustadt, 7 May 1453.

[1] Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini.
[2] See letter 312: 1.
[3] Benci, Ugo (ca. 1360-1439): Sienese physician and philosopher, university professor, physician of princes. Benci was married to Ladia, a sister of Mariano Sozzini. DVI, sect. 50; EUR (Brown), ch. 52, pp. 235-236.
[4] Piccolomini, Silvio (-1450): Father of Enea Silvio Piccolomini.
[5] Benci, Socino (1406-1479): Physician. Son of Ugo Benci. Youth friend of Piccolomini (see letter 3). Attended Pius II on his deathbed in Ancona 1464.
[6] Strnad: *Francesco,* p. 127.

318. Letter to Francesco Condulmer (14 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 111v-112r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 31.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 89, pp. 160-161 (on the basis of W1).*

{111v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Francisco, sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae presbytero[3] cardinali, episcopo Portuensi ac vicecancellario, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Scribunt mihi amici mei, qui Romae sunt, reverendum patrem[5] Johannem {112r} Campisium ad ecclesiam Placentinam esse promotum idque tua cura tuoque non parvo conatu factum affirmant plurimumque tuam dignationem extollunt, quae familiares suos benemerentes efferre studet. Id ego maxima cum voluptate accepi, quippe quia amico singulari, quia fratri optimo, quia bono doctoque viro jam tandem bene successisse cognovi. Sentio me propterea magnopere[6] obligatum tuae dignitati, nam Johannnis Campisii promotionem duco meam: quaecumque in eum beneficia conferuntur, ea quoque in me collata recipio. Duobus jam et viginti annis inter nos amicitia continuata est; diu Basileae, Mediolani, Novariae Papiaeque simul viximus. Postea saepe locis disjuncti[7] fuimus, numquam animis separati. Solida semper stabilisque nostra benevolentia mansit, sane quod ex honesto profecta erat. Itaque dum mihi episcopatus obvenit, non me nisi medium provectum[8] putabam, Johanne, in quo pars mei altera vivebat[9], demissius agente. At nunc cum eo integer sum promotus, ago dignationi tuae gratias. Utinam aliquando meam voluntatem ostendere possim. Verum, ne sim verbosior apud magnum patrem[10], epistolam claudens id solum peto[11], ut Placentino episcopo collatum beneficium[12] non illum[13] tantum, sed me quoque obnoxium tuae dignationi tenere putes[14] illoque[15] veluti filio, me tamquam mancipio utaris atque ambos pro fide devotioneque caros habeas.

Ex Novacivitate[16], pridie Idus Majas 1453[17].

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[1] DV, 228-229
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *omit.* WO
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino vicecancellario. Reverendissime in Christi pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[5] ~~dominum~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *omit.* WO
[7] *corr. ex* separati cod.
[8] *corr. ex* in altum ascendisse cod.
[9] ~~infra infime plebis vulgus remanente~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~id solum peto~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~ut de me non aliter quam de Placentino sentiatis~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] ~~mihi~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] ~~se~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] ~~cupiens ut~~ *seq.* cod.
[15] *corr. ex* illo cod.
[16] ~~ut supra~~ *seq.* cod.
[17] pridie … 1453 *corr. ex* ut supra cod.

318. Letter to Francesco Condulmer (14 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Giovanni Campisio had been appointed Bishop of Piacenza (see letters 289 and 310).*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks the cardinal for his support of Campisio's appointment.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship Francesco,[1] Presbyter Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Bishop of Porto and Vice-Chancellor.

[1] My friends in Rome write to me that the Reverend Father Giovanni Campisio has been appointed to the Church of Piacenza. They say that this happened largely due to your efforts, and they praise Your Grace to the skies for endeavouring to advance your worthy familiars. I was delighted to hear that my particular friend, my excellent brother, and a good and learned man, had finally succeeded. I feel greatly obliged to Your Grace since I consider Giovanni Campisio's promotion as my own: whatever benefices are conferred upon him, I hold as conferred upon me, too. Our friendship has lasted for 22 years; we have lived together for a long time in Basel, Milan, Novara, and Pavia.[2] [3] Later, we became separated by distance, but never in spirit. Our mutual affection always remained solid and firm - surely because it was founded on honour. Therefore, when I acceded to the episcopacy, I felt that only one half of me had been promoted since Giovanni, my other half, was left behind. But now, with him, the whole me has been promoted, and I thank Your Grace. Would that I might someday be able to show you my gratitude. But lest I become verbose in addressing so great a Father, I end this letter with the request that you consider not only the Bishop of Piacenza but me, too, as being in your debt for the benefice granted to him, and that you will treat him as your son and me as your servant and hold both of us dear in faith and devotion.

From Neustadt, 14 May 1453.

[1] Francesco Condulmer.

[2] This passage shows that Campisio and Piccolomini were both, at one time, in the service of Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti of Novara, and that they spent the period from October 1433 (when the bishop left Basel) to June 1435 (when a Milanese plot directed by him against Pope Eugenius was discovered in Florence), in the cities mentioned.

[3] Piccolomini tactfully (or advisedly) omits to mention Florence and the Bishop of Novara to Condulmer, nephew of Pope Eugenius.

319. Letter to Nicolaus V (14 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 112r-113r*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 32.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 90, pp. 161-163 (on the basis of W1).*

{112r} Nicolao, summo pontifici, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, sese commendat[3].

[1] Quae tua beatitudo facit, etsi omnes commendant, ego quoque laudare admirarique soleo cuncta. In promotione tamen clari viri et optimi patris, Johannis Campisii, quem nunc ad episcopatus culmen evectum amicorum litterae tradunt, parumper haereo, plus ne merita hominis tandem cognita praemiataque laudem, an diutius neglecta postpositaque culpitem.[4] Sed cum res omnes mente volvo, intelligo beatitudinem tuam non tam potuisse antehac quam voluisse benemerenti viro prodesse expectasseque tempus idoneum, quod modo non frustra datum est. Itaque fateor[5] ingentes gratias tuae beatitudini referendas, cum ab omnibus Johannis amantibus tum a me, qui ei vetustissimus amicus sum, quique eum pietati tuae saepe commendatum feci. Sed non possum gratias nisi verbales reddere: animo gratus esse possum, facto non possum[6]. Sufficere quoque Romano pontifici non ambigo animos ei hominum affectos esse, cetera ei abunde suppetunt. Ego quidem Johanne promoto apprime gaudeo, nam et virtuti sua praemia reddita video et sodalem optimum e terra levatum. Tum quoque illud mihi voluptati est, quod benefactum hoc tuae sanctitatis bene locatum omnes, qui[7] Johannem norunt, summo studio probant laudantque tuam providentiam, quae viros[8] virtute praestantes extollit. {112v} Ac tantum de promotione Johannis dixisse voluerim.

[2] De rebus communibus haec scribenda se offerunt. Georgius, Bohemiae gubernator, ut nuper scripsi, superioribus diebus biduo Viennae fuit rediitque domum donatus. Ajunt coronationem regis Ladislai ad Festum Nativitatis Dominicae protractam esse, quia non sint regi pecuniae in eam rem depromptae. Apud Viennam pestis incipit, neque locus hic mundus est. Imperator Grez petere instituit, ubi enim imperatrix manet.

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[1] DV, 229-231
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Nicolao … commendat *corr. ex* Summo pontifici Nicolao. Beatissime pater et clementissime domine. Post devota pedum oscula beatorum et humilem recommendationem cod.
[4] ~~sed intelligo vestram beatitudinem~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~mag~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~neque aliud ex~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~norunt hom~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~excellentes~~ *seq.* cod.

319. Letter to Nicolaus V (14 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Giovanni Campisio's appointment as bishop.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks the pope for Campisio's appointment and sends him news about the Hungarian refusal to accept the peace concluded between King Ladislaus and the Emperor and about the peace concluded between Nürnberg and the Margrave of Brandenburg.*[1]

To Nicolaus, Supreme Pontiff, Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

[1] All commend Your Holiness's deeds, and I, too, praise and admire them. However, the promotion of the distinguished and excellent Father, Giovanni Campisio, who, according to letters from friends, has now been raised to the exalted episcopal rank, makes me hesitate between praising that this man's merits have finally been recognised and rewarded, and criticising that they have been neglected and disregarded for so long. But considering everything carefully, I realise that Your Holiness has not previously been able to benefit this well-deserving man but has been waiting for a suitable time, which has now arrived. So, I admit that immense thanks are owed to Your Holiness both from all those who love Giovanni and from me, in particular, his very old friend who has often recommended him to Your Piety.[2] But I can only thank you in words: I may be grateful in spirit but cannot show it in deed. Suffice it to say that the Roman Pontiff has surely won the hearts and affections of men: everything else he has in abundance. I am delighted at the promotion of Giovanni, seeing that his virtues have been rewarded and that a good friend has been raised up. I also rejoice that all who know Giovanni fervently commend Your Holiness's well-placed favour and praise Your wisdom in advancing men of outstanding virtue. This is what I wish to say about Giovanni's promotion.

[2] Concerning the public affairs, I have this to report. As I wrote recently, Georg,[3] Governor of Bohemia, has visited Vienna for two days[4] and has now returned home, having received generous gifts. It is said that King Ladislaus's coronation has been postponed to the Feast of the Lord's Nativity since the king has not yet been provided with funds for this purpose. The plague has broken out in Vienna, and this place,[5] too, is not untouched. The emperor has decided to go to Graz, where the empress resides.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 520-521.

[2] Actually, Piccolomini had asked for Campisio's promotion in one of the very first audiences he had with the newly elected Pope Nicolaus. In a report to the emperor, he wrote: *The pope had bidden us to visit him often, and we obeyed gladly. We asked for a letter confirming of the acts of Eugenius, and obtained it as well as many favours that we requested for ourselves and for our friends. Some he accepted, some he rejected. When he rejected a petition, he did it in such a way as to show that he himself was not being difficult, but that we were being unreasonable. None of these refusals affected Enea except his refusal of a secretaryship to Giovanni Campisio, but this should not be imputed to the pontiff, but to friendship (CRDM, 1: 59).* The meaning of the last passage is probably that the pope reasonably thought that secretaryships ought not to be granted on the basis of friendship rather than qualifications.

[3] Georg Podiebrad.

[4] 29-30 April 1453.

[5] Wiener Neustadt.

[3] Rex Ladislaus nuper legatos misit[1], dicens se maximo conatu apud Hungaros instetisse, ut pacem, quae dicta esset, amplecterentur, illos vero omnino negasse, quia regni limites liberos intactosque alieno dominio vellent, dixisseque regem ad vendicationem confinium juramento obnoxium. Rogabat ergo imperatorem pro castris Hungaricis alia in Austria reciperet, quod imporator respuit, dicens, nova, quae offerebantur, castra longe minoris esse quam Hungarica. Decretum igitur est expectari, quod in Festo Johannis Baptistae responsi detur.

[4] Inter Norimbergenses et Albertum marchionem Brandeburgensem pax conclusa est, itaque non erit ea de causa necessarium ascendere ad imperium, nisi alia causa vocet[2]. Idque nobis voluptati est, qui domi libenter simus. Nec alia modo[3].

Commendo me vestrae pietati. Ex Nova Civitate, pridie Idus Majas 1453[4].

[1] ~~signif~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~nec plur~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] Nec alia modo *omit.* WO
[4] pridie … 1453 *corr. ex* ut supra cod.

[3] King Ladislaus recently sent legates with the message that he had made every effort to persuade the Hungarians to accept the peace that had been concluded, but that they had absolutely refused it since they wanted the kingdom's frontier regions to be free of foreign control and had said their king was obliged by oath to reclaim their whole territory. Therefore, the king asked the emperor to receive other castles in Austria in place of those he held in Hungary. This the emperor refused, saying that the new castles offered were much less important than the ones in Hungary.[1] It has therefore been decided to await what response will be given on the Feast of John the Baptist.[2]

[4] A peace has been concluded between Nürnberg and Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg,[3] so it is no longer necessary [for the emperor] to go up to the Empire,[4] unless another cause arises. This is quite welcome since we would rather stay at home. And no more for now.

I commend myself to Your Piety. From Neustadt, 14 May 1453.

[1] See RTA, 19/1: pp. 510-520.
[2] 25 June 1453, the postponed date for the ratification of the peace concluded between the emperor and the king.
[3] The Peace of Lauf, 27 April 1453 (WO, 3: 1, p. 163, n. a).
[4] Germany.

320. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (14 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 111v[1]**.*
Editions A: *KO, 432[2]; Weiss, 432.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 91, pp. 163-164.*

{111v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, alto et potenti viro Petro de Noxeto, Comiti Palatino, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] In eo loco[4], ad quem tua te[5] virtus evexit, ut primus Romani pontificis latus stipares[6], multa[7] abs te acta sunt, quae me tibi maximopere devinciunt[8]. Nullum tamen est[9] ex omnibus tuis operibus, quod mihi vel jucundius vel acceptius fuerit, quam Johannis nostri Campisii sublevatio, quem diu jacentem humi, calcatum fortunae pedibus, inopia pressum, tua ope tuoque studio et ingenti conatu jam erectum et inter principes ecclesiae collocatum suis litteris accepi. *Fecisti probe*[10], quod amicum, quod bonum virum, quod te decuit, nam Johannes[11], philosophiae disciplinis imbutus, in omni genere doctrinarum[12] apprime peritus, ingenio[13] perspicaci, facundia tereti[14], moribus mansuetis, amicitiae tenax, nimis - si verum fateri velimus - nimis diu inter infimos habitus est, nam sive hominis virtutes pensitas, sive obsequia, quae Romane curiae nunc apud Hungaros, nunc apud[15] Teutones pluresque gentes praebuit, mente revolvas, non est, cur ei quisquam praeferri debuerit. Sed habet jam tandem virtutis praemia[16]. Bene est[17].

[1] Nihil[18] serum videri debet, quod bene[19] fit[20]. Quo longior miseria fuit, eo dulcior felicitas adventat. Pauci sunt, qui vitam omnem feliciter agant. Alios prima, alios[21] postrema[22] tempora fortunata[23] recipiunt[24]. Recte cum his agitur, quibus[25] pars vitae posterior laeta est. Eos fortuna hostes habet, quos[26] ex felicitate in aerumnas praecipitat, quibus miserrimum est fuisse felices. At noster Campisius, dum juvenis fuit, dum[27] ferre labores potuit, sudare, algere[28], acriter cum fortuna[29] pugnavit. Nunc victor factus senium levius feret[30]. Jam securus est, jam tutus est *a tegete et baculo*. Gaudeo illi[31] mihique, tibi gratias ago, cujus et[32] consilio et ope res gesta est[33]. Nihil est, quod non tibi[34] debeam. Tuus sum, quantus sum. Multa sunt in me tua beneficia, qui saepe me juvisti, extulisti maxime. At[35] prius[36] mediam mei partem fovebas, alteram, quae in Campisio vivebat, incultam relinquebas. Nune agrum totum excoluisti. Integer totus gaudeo. Divina tibi pietas benigna sit teque cum maximo praesule diu beatum habeat[37], numquam te deserat[38], terram tibi viventi[39] substernat, morienti caelum aperiat. Vale et me maximo pontifici facito commendatum. Ex Nova Civitate[40], pridie Idus Majas 1453.

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[1] DV, 228
[2] DV, 341v
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Magnifice comes, amice honorande cod.
[4] ~~qu~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] tua te : te tua KO
[6] stiparis KO
[7] ~~per~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] devincunt KO
[9] & KO
[10] ~~fecisti~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] *omit.* KO
[12] pe~~ritus~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] ~~singulari~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] triti KO
[15] Germanos *seq.* cod.
[16] *omit.* KO
[17] bene est : iam bene KO
[18] mihi KO
[19] non KO
[20] ~~dulc~~ *seq.* cod.
[21] alios … alios *corr. ex* aliis cod.
[22] *corr. ex* posteriora cod.
[23] fortunatum *corr. ex* fortunata cod.; fortunatos WO
[24] ~~bene cum~~ *seq.* cod.
[25] ~~etas~~ *seq.* cod.
[26] ~~ex in~~ *seq.* cod.
[27] juvenis fuit dum *add. interlin.* cod.
[28] ~~cum fortuna~~ *seq.* cod.
[29] cum fortuna *omit.* KO
[30] ~~jam fugit~~ *seq.* cod.
[31] ~~max~~ *seq.* cod.
[32] ~~op~~ *seq.* cod.
[33] ~~multa~~ *seq.* cod.
[34] non tibi : tibi non cod.
[35] ac KO
[36] ~~medium~~ *seq.* cod.
[37] *omit.* KO
[38] ~~vitam tibi iocundam finem letum~~ *seq.* cod.
[39] ~~iocundam~~ *seq.* cod.
[40] ~~yd~~ *seq.* cod.

320. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (14 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Giovanni Campisio's appointment as bishop.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks da Noceto for using his influence to support the appointment.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Pietro da Noceto, High and Mighty Count Palatine.

[1] Your qualities have made you the Roman Pontiff's foremost collaborator. In that position, you have done me many favours that have put me greatly in your debt. But none of them has delighted and enthused me more than the advancement of our Giovanni Campisio. Lying long in the dust, trampled by Fortune's feet and burdened by poverty, he has now written to me that thanks to your help, your zeal, and mighty efforts, he has been raised up and placed among the princes of the Church. *You have done quite right*,[1] doing what you ought to, as a friend and as a good man. For Giovanni, imbued with philosophy, most proficient in all the branches of learning, with a keen intellect, polished eloquence, gentle manners, and unwavering loyalty to friends, has for too long - to be honest - for too long been kept among the lowest. If one considers his qualities and his services to the Roman Curia in Hungary and Germany and other countries,[2] there is no reason that anybody should be preferred to him. But now, at last, his qualities have been rewarded, and that is good.

[2] Nothing is done late that is done well. The longer misery has lasted, the sweeter the happiness when it finally arrives. Few people live their entire lives in prosperity: some are fortunate in the beginning and some towards the end. It is good to be happy during one's later years. Fortune's enemies are those whom she casts from prosperity into desolation: it is unbearable for them to have previously been happy. When our Campisio was young and able to labour, sweat, and endure, he fought bitterly with Fortune.[3] Now that he is victorious, he will have a more easy old age. Now he is secure, now he is *safe from the beggar's staff and mat*.[4] I am glad both for him and myself, and I thank you for making this appointment possible through your advice and efforts. I shall be entirely in your debt; I am completely yours. Your favours towards me are many; you have often helped me and greatly furthered my advancement. Previously, however, you only favoured one part of me and did not cultivate the other part that lived in Campisio. Now you have cultivated the whole field. I rejoice to be whole again. May Pious God favour you and long preserve you in happiness at the side of the Supreme Pontiff. May He never forsake you but sustain you while you live on Earth and open Heaven to you when you die.

Farewell, and please commend me to the Supreme Pontiff. From Neustadt, 14 May 1453.

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[1] Cicero: *Epistolae ad Atticum*, 310: 1.
[2] As an assistant to Giuliano Cesarini, Cardinal Legate.
[3] On Campisio's previous lack of fortune, see letters to Campisio of 15 January and 25 June 1444 and of 10 September 1445 (EPI, 3: 117; 151 / 4: 183). On fighting Fortune boldly, see letter to Rabenstein of 26 June 1444 (Somnium de fortuna), sect. 22 and 31 (EPI, 3: 152).
[4] Juvenalis, 9: 139-140.

321. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (14 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 112v-113r*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 33.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 92, pp. 164-165 (on the basis of W1).*

{112v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, reverendissimo patri Johanni Campisio, episcopo Placentino, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Fecisti probe, qui primus omnium tuam mihi promotionem significasti neque me laetitie[4] tuae diu expertem esse voluisti. Sed nihil est, quod amantem diu latere possit. Rumor prius ad me venit, quam tu scriberes. Id meis ex litteris intelliges, nam biduo ad te ante litteras dedi, quam tua scripta reciperem. Volavit ad me felix nuntium et animum de tua fortuna anxium laetum fecit. Non dico tibi, quis sit meus animus, nam tu illum atque ego juxta novisti, quippe qui medium ejus possides. Quo sim gaudio ex te ipso intelligis. Quae tua voluptas est, eadem mea est. Una promotio, una laetitia amborum est[5]. Plenum gaudium[6] sola locorum distantia impedit. Nunc me reverti, nunc te visere atque amplecti desiderium tenet, sed dabitur hoc quoque aliquando, si divina potestas eo nos vultu intueri pergit, ut modo coepit. Multum ego[7] summo sacerdoti, multum reverendissimo vicecancellario[8] nec minus Petro Noxetano fateri me debeo, qui tui fuerunt memores, qui tuam {113r} virtutem extulerunt, qui tuis laboribus praemia contulerunt ac paupertati demum tuae finem imposuere. Deus his tuo meoque nomine bona digna retribuat. Ego his scribo, quemadmodum ex copiis litterarum mearum, quas his includo, cognosces. Si tibi visum fuerit, curabis, scripta mea eis ut restituantur.

Vale et, quae pontificis sunt, jam tibi arma compara et nobis scribe frequentius[9]. Ex Nova Civitate, pridie Idus Majas 1453[10].

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[1] DV, 230-231
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Reverendissime in Christo pater, amice honorande et domine honorande cod.
[4] ~~letitie~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~solum id deest quod pret~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~sola absent~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~summo~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] *corr. ex* domino nostro communi cod.
[9] ~~ut supra~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] pridie … Majas *corr. ex* ut supra cod.

321. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (14 May 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Giovanni Campisio's appointment as bishop.*
Subject: *Piccolomini congratulates Campisio on his appointment.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Most Reverend Father Giovanni Campisio, Bishop of Piacenza.

[1] *You have done quite right,*[1] to inform me first of all about your promotion and wishing me to soon share in your joy. But nothing can remain hidden for a long time from one who loves you: the rumour reached me before you wrote, as you will see from the letter I sent you two days before I received yours. The happy message reached me on wings and gladdened the heart of one who is always concerned about your fortune. I shall not describe my feelings since you know them as well as I do, for you are my other half. Indeed, you will know how glad I am. Your joy is mine. We share the promotion, we share the joy. Only distance makes the joy incomplete. Now, I fervently wish to return and embrace you, but this will happen sometime if Mighty God continues to look upon us as benignly as He has begun to. I owe great thanks to the Supreme Pontiff, to the Most Reverend Vice-Chancellor,[2] and not least of all to Pietro da Noceto for remembering you, treasuring your qualities, rewarding your labours, and finally ending your poverty. May God reward them with favours both for your and my sake. I am writing to them as you will see from the copies of letters[3] I include with this. If you think it proper, then see that the letters are delivered.

Farewell, take up a bishop's arms, and write to us frequently. From Neustadt, 14 May.

[1] Cicero: *Epistolae ad Atticum,* 310: 1.

[2] Cardinal Francesco Condulmer.

[3] Letters 318-320.

322. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (24 May 1453, Bruck).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 113v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 35.*
Editions B: *AC, 2/1: 3463; WO, 3: 1, 93, pp. 165-166 (on the basis of W1).*

{113v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Nicolao, cardinali Sancti Petri Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Accepi litteras tuas humanitatis et officii plenas, quibus de beneficiis electi Pataviensis mentionem facis. Ago gratias et pro[4] Ulrico Sonembergher et pro me, quoniam ambobus prodesse curavisti, sed non sunt beneficia tua, quae verbis compensari possint, facta autem mihi desunt. Itaque malo silere quam ineptus videri.

[2] Allocutus sum dominum Ulricum de via tua[5] ad concordiam accommoda. Sibi quamvis pax accepta plurimum sit, eam tamen honori suo non putat[6] conducere. Cupit sibi primum provideri, postea intendit monita et consilia tua sequi. Sic enim sperat rumorem extingui, qui eum esse extra pontificis maximi gratiam praedicaverat. Super ea re suas litteras habebis, ideo non me magis extendo[7]. Verum haec res non poterit cito fieri, quia pax tractata neque ratificata est neque in brevi ratificanda creditur. Prorogatum est hoc negotium ad nativitatem[8] sancti Johannis Baptistae. Forsitan et ulterius prorogabitur, ut sunt mores hominum. Caesar autem, quantum suspicor, non contentabitur electum promoveri, nisi pax firmetur. Sic[9] negotium in longum ibit, interim tua dignitas[10] de hac re poterit amplius agitare.

[3] De alio negotio meo non est, quid refricem. Satis est[11] superque satis pontificem maximum de me bene cogitare mihique bene agere velle. Id ego et Caesaris scriptis et vestrae[12] promotioni ac reverendissimi domini mei Sancti Angeli adjumento ascribo, sumque ipsa voluntate contentus, etsi nihil amplius sequatur. Caesar rem ex se movit, ipse sequatur. Ego tamen omnibus sum obnoxius, qui mihi bene esse cupiunt, quod de tua dignatione minime dubito.

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[1] DV, 232
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Reverendissimo … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Sancti Petri. Reuerendissime pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[4] ~~domino~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] via tua corr. *ex* medio vestro cod.
[6] eam tamen … putat *corr. ex* tamen id suo honori non videtur cod.
[7] ~~de~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~Jo~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] si WO
[10] dignitas *corr. ex* reverendissima paernitas cod.
[11] ~~et superque~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] *sic!*

322. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (24 May 1453, Bruck).

Context: *Cardinal von Kues had sent proposals concerning the Passau succession.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs the cardinal that Ulrich von Nussdorf does not want to await the ratification of the peace between the Emperor and King Ladislaus before his confirmation as Bishop of Passau, but that the emperor insists the ratification must precede the confirmation (as stipulated in the peace treaty). Piccolomini also thanks the cardinal for his assistance concerning the redistribution of von Nussdorf's benefices to himself and Ulrich Sonnenberger.*[1]

To The Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Nikolaus, Cardinal of San Pietro, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] I have received your kind and courteous letter, in which you mention the benefices of the Elect of Passau.[2] I thank you on behalf of Ulrich Sonnenberger and myself for supporting us both in this matter. Your favours are such as cannot be repaid in words, but I lack the means to do it in deed. So, I prefer to remain silent, lest I appear foolish.

[2] I have spoken with Lord Ulrich [von Nussdorf][3] about your proposals to achieve concord. Though he attaches great importance to the acceptance of the peace,[4] he thinks that [awaiting it] is not to his honour. Therefore, he wants to first receive [papal] provision[5] [with the see], and afterwards, he will follow your proposals and advice. Thus he hopes to end rumours about his having lost the Supreme Pontiff's favour. Since he will himself write to you about this matter, I shall say no more. In any case, this cannot happen quickly, for the negotiated peace has not yet been ratified and is not expected to be so any time soon. The whole business has been postponed to the Feast of John the Baptist, and perhaps it will be further postponed - such are the ways of men! As far as I can see, the Emperor will not accept the promotion of the Elect unless the peace is confirmed. If that business drags on, Your Grace will have the opportunity to deal with it further.

[3] As for my other concern[6], there is no need to reopen the matter. It is enough - nay, more than enough - that the Supreme Pontiff thinks well of me and desires to favour me. I attribute this to the emperor's letters, your support, and the assistance of my Most Reverend Lord of Sant'Angelo,[7] and I am content with his intentions even if nothing more should happen. The Emperor initiated the matter himself; let him now see it through. In any case, I am indebted to all who wish me well, as I am sure Your Grace does.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 520, 534.
[2] The parish of Irdning for Piccolomini and the provostship of Freising for Sonnenberger.
[3] Bishop-Elect of Passau.
[4] The peace concluded between the emperor and King Ladislaus, but yet to be ratified.
[5] Appointment.
[6] The annates Piccolomini owes to the papal treasury?
[7] Cardinal Juan Carvajal.

[4] De novitatibus parum est, quod queam scribere. Bohemi nunc conventum Pragae habent. Cupiunt regem cito ad coronationem proficisci. Australes excussi auro dilationem petunt ad Nativitatem Dominicam. Nescio, quid sequetur. Venit nudiustertius unus ex Praga, qui ait multa verba facta esse de restitutione bonorum ecclesiasticorum, sed nullum esse magis adversum quam dominum de Rosis. Ego nulli ejus rei mentem bonam esse opinor: gravis res est et odiosa omnibus restitutio. In Rheno bella sunt, quae nota magis tuae dignationi quam mihi arbitror. Norimbergense discidium etiam compositum esse, non ambigo te cognovisse[1].

Ex Pruk, die 24. Maji 1453. Servulus vester Eneas, episcopus Senensis.

[1] te cognovisse *corr. ex* vestram reverendissimam paternitatem ignorare cuique me humillime recommendo cod.

[4] Concerning the news, I have little to write. The Bohemians are now holding an assembly in Prague. They wish the king[1] to come soon for his coronation. The Austrians have no funds[2] and, therefore, request a postponement until the Lord's Nativity. I do not know what will happen. The day before yesterday, someone arrived from Prague and had much to say about the restitution of ecclesiastic property[3]: nobody is more apposed to it than the Lord of Rosenberg.[4] I believe no one has good intentions in this matter: the restitution of church property is most problematic and repugnant to all.[5] There are wars in the Rhineland, but I believe Your Grace knows more about them than I. The Nürnberg conflict[6] has now been resolved, which I trust you have heard.

From Bruck, 24 May 1453. Your humble servant Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] Ladislaus the posthumous.

[2] To pay for the king's travel in state.

[3] Seized by the nobles during years of Hussite unrest in Bohemia.

[4] Ulrich II von Rosenberg [Oldřich II. z Rožmberka] (1403-1462): Bohemian noble. Leader of the Catholic party. Though a Catholic, Ulrich had confiscated important lands belonging to the Church. Two years later, Piccolomini would, in his oration/memorandum *"Res Bohemicas"* tell Pope Calixtus III that *in spite of the fact that Ulrich of Rosenberg is occupying the estates of two monasteries, we still consider him as a Catholic simply because he did not defect to the Hussites* (COR, 6: 28, 56). Heymann had this comment: *Of the leaders of the Catholic magnates, Rosenberg was the greatest, the richest, in some ways the cleverest, and by all odds the most unscrupulous. His changeover from the Hussitism of his adolescent years to sharp antagonism against all Hussite groups had no strong religious foundation. His main motive was the wish for material gains. No other man profited as abundantly and relentlessly from the chance to appropriate the landed estates which the Church had lost as a result of the revolution.* (Heymann: *George,* p. 17. See also p. 27).

[5] Two years before, Georg Podiebrad had been quite accomodating concerning this matter and told Piccolomini - during a meeting in Benesov - that *the issue of the church properties I consider to be of lesser importance since those who occupy them do not claim to have the right to do so, and the kingdom does not favour them. These properties have been taken over by a number of people, at a very low mortgage rate. In the kingdom, properties with a yearly income of five sexagenae are normally bought at a price of 100 sexagenae. But these people have - at the [standard] price of 100 sexagenae - acquired properties with yearly incomes of 10, 20, or more sexagenae. Therefore, they can be compelled to immediately restore occupied properties with unusually high incomes. The rest they may keep until they are redeemed. Thus, these properties will soon be restored to the Church, and in a short time they will regain them all, or a better way may be found if so wished* (CRDM, 3: 37).

[6] The conflict between the margraves of Brandenburg and the City of Nürnberg. See letter 319: 4.

323. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (25 May 1453, Bruck).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 114r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 36.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 94, pp. 167-168 (on the basis of W1).*

{114r} Aenenas, episcopus Senensis, magnifico et alto comiti domino Petro de Noxeto salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Gratae sunt mihi semper litterae tue, ex quibus te bene valere intelligo et mei amantem perseverare. Nuntius apostolicus, qui scripta tua ad me detulit, 19. Maji ad Novam Civitatem venit. Mox Caesari apostolicum breve tradidi, quod sibi gratissimum et acceptissimum fuit, multumque illa verba humanitatis et benevolentia plena suae serenitati placuerunt.

[2] Inter alia vero maxime libuit, quod de Pataviensi ecclesia scribebatur. Timebat enim, ne sine suo consensu de illa provideretur. Optime fecit pietas domini nostri scribendo, quae illo in brevi continentur. De praepositura quoque magistro Ulrico Sonembergher conferenda admodum gratus Caesar est. Ego vero tibi gratias ago, qui factum ecclesiae parrochialis pro me retinendae apud dominum nostrum expedivisti. Facis enim ex tuo more amico consulens.

[3] Caesar tibi valde affectus est. Nuper dixi majestati suae de tuis familiaribus, quibus adversarii dati sunt in primariis precibus. Id multum suae pietati displicuit dicenti[4] nolle te offendere quovis modo bonum amicum, sed res per errorem sic acta est. Litterae pro tuis familiaribus Venetiis raptim expeditae fuerunt per cancellariam Australem neque registratae fuerunt. Postea omnes litterae primariarum precum per imperialem cancellariam expeditae sunt. Venerunt igitur, qui petiverunt primarias preces ad collationen tuorum familarium. Qui regit cancellariam imperialem retulit Caesari locum vacare atque ita contulit per ignorantiam. Et quippe Caesari res molesta est, et quamvis ad ecclesiam Tridentinam consanguineus sui marescalli preces obtinuisset, tamen mandavit fieri declarationen pro tuo familiari[5], litterasque lator praesentium deferet. In[6] collatione vero Metensi, quam Desiderius tuus obtinuerat, quia filius marchionis Badensis nominatus est, quamvis per errorem, non est visum majestati Caesareae illum principem, consanguineum suum, offendere neque familiari tuo nocere intendit, sed dimittit unumquemque in suo jure. Cupit tamen Caesar te intelligere rem factam esse per errorem, ut supra dictum est. Nec plura de hoc.

[1] DV, 233
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Petro de Noceto. Magnifice et generose comes, major honorande cod.
[4] *corr. ex* dicens cod.
[5] ~~sicut lator~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~in prebendaru~~ *seq.* cod.

323. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (25 May 1453, Bruck).

Context: *Da Noceto had sent a papal letter to the emperor concerning the succession to the See of Passau and a personal letter to Piccolomini, touching upon some benefices for his familiars.*
Subject: *Piccolomini relates the emperor's satisfaction with the papal assurance and explains that there had been some errors in the emperor's chanceries concerning the matter of the benefices.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Magnificent and Mighty Count, Lord Pietro da Noceto,

[1] I am always happy to receive your letters telling me you are well and continue to love me. The apostolic messenger, who brought me your letters[2], arrived in Neustadt on 19 May. I immediately gave the apostolic letter to the emperor, which caused him great joy. His Serenity was, indeed, delighted by the many kind and benign words.

[2] He was especially pleased by the passages about the Church of Passau, for he had feared that the provision would be made without his consent. Our Lord's Piety did well in writing what is contained in the letter. The emperor is also most happy that the provostship[3] will be conferred upon Ulrich Sonnenberger. For my part, I thank you for securing Our Lord[4] reservation of the parish church[5] for me. Indeed, you support a friend in your customary manner.

[3] The emperor holds you in great affection. I recently spoke to His Majesty about your familiars who have found rivals in the matter of the primary petitions. This greatly displeased His Piety, who said that he would in no way offend you, a good friend, but that there had been an error. The letters in favour of your familiars in Venice had been expedited hastily by the Austrian Chancery without being registered. Later, all letters concerning first petitions have been expedited through the Imperial Chancery. Then your letters came asking for first petitions for your familiars. The head of the Imperial Chancery told the emperor that the benefice was vacant and conferred it through ignorance. This matter was quite embarrassing for the emperor, and although it was a relative of his [court] marshal who had obtained the petitions for the Church of Trient, he ordered a notification to be issued in favour of your familiar: the bearer of the present letter will bring it to you. Concerning the benefice in Metz, which your Desiderio had obtained, the son of the Margrave of Baden had already been nominated, though by error, but His Imperial Majesty did not wish to offend that prince, his relative. On the other hand, he does not want to harm your familiar but leaves each party in its rights.[6] But the emperor wishes you to know that the thing was done by mistake, as I said above. And no more about this.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 520.
[2] Not extant.
[3] Of Freising.
[4] Pope Nicolaus V.
[5] Irdning.
[6] Presumably meaning that they will have to fight it out by legal means, without imperial intervention.

[4] Quae sunt apud nos nova, non scribo tibi, quia ex litteris meis ad dominum nostrum sanctissimum singula intelliges. Cupit Caesar habere Agnos Dei jam noviter consecratos. sicut dominus noster sibi promisit, jussitque hoc me domino nostro scribere, quod factum est. Rogo tamen te, ut rem hanc promoveas, ne oblivioni detur, et, si fieri potest cura, ut aliqui etiam mihi inter illos mittantur.

Vale mei, ut soles, memor et amans. Ex Pruka Stiriae, die 25. Maji 1454[1].

[1] ~~Tuus Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

[4] I do not write about the news from here, since you will learn everything from my letter[1] to Our Most Holy Lord. The emperor would like to receive the Agnus Dei medallions recently consecrated,[2] as Our Lord promised him, and he asked me to write to Our Lord about it which has been done. But I ask you to see to it that the matter is not forgotten, and, if possible, that some of them are also sent to me.

Farewell, and remember and love me as always. From Bruck in Steiermark, 25 May 1454.

[1] Letter 319.

[2] The *Agnus Dei* was a oval wax disc that was blessed by the pope on the Wednesday after Easter. The blessing ceremony was considered so solemn it was called a "consecration." This the popes did traditionally only during their first Easter as pope and thereafter once every seven years. The ceremony was held generally in the audience hall room behind the central loggia of St. Peter's Basilica. It was said the wax medallions would protect those who would wear or possess them from all perils, including pestilence, epidemics and infectious diseases. https://www.liturgicalartsjournal.com/2020/04/the-paschal-blessing-of-agnus-dei.html

324. Letter to Filippo Calandrini (27 May 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 114v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 37.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 95, pp. 168-169 (on the basis of W1),*

{114v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, reverendissimo patri domino Philippo, cardinali Bononiensi, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Non scripsi hactenus tibi[4], quamvis ope tua indigerem. Sciebam enim bono patri non opus esse monitore[5]. Id confirmant amici ex urbe redeuntes. Ajunt enim dignationem tuam mei memorem saepe de me verba fecisse rebusque meis bene affectam fuisse. Itaque possem videri rusticanus aut paulo rudior, nisi benignitati tuae gratias agerem, quae nec rogata neque admonita quidem mihi prodesse studet. Facit hoc natura bene instituta, cui benefacere consuetum est. At ego, etsi scio me debitorem, unde tamen obligationem solvam, non scio. Tantum illud dicere possum, quia tuus sum tuumque est pro arbitrio uti. Si dabitur aliquando redire Senas, particulam debiti[6] reddam.

[2] Intellexi tuam dignationem benevolam fuisse mihi, ut annata per sacrum collegium dimitteretur ecclesio Senensi, id tamen ceteros cardinales non annuisse. Non est tamen, cur minus tenear voluntati tuae. Spero autem adhuc cardinales ipsos benignius erga me acturos, quibus die nocteque servio et serviam vita comite. Oro, tua dignitas perseveret atque ubi potest sacro collegio commendatum me faciat, ne graver hac solutione, quae mihi impossibilis est. Multis ego expensis gravor, sed his omnino succumberem atque opprimerer, quod ne fiat ex tua ope confido.

[3] Neque alia[7] modo, nisi ut sanctissimi domini nostri pedibus verbo tuo commender. Quae sunt apud nos novitates suae sanctitati a me scripta sunt. Quia illa audies, repetere non est necesse. Cupio semper bene esse reverendissimae paternitati tuae, cujus imperio parere numquam recusabo.

Ex Grezia Stiriae, die 27. Maji 1453[8].

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[1] DV, 234
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Bononiensi. Reuerendissimime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[4] *corr. ex* dignationi uestrae cod.
[5] monitori WO
[6] ~~soluam~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] alio WO
[8] ~~Seruulus uester Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

324. Letter to Filippo Calandrini (27 May 1453, Graz).

Context: *Cardinal Calandrini, the pope's brother, had apparently supported Piccolomini's petition for the remission of the annates he had to pay for the Church of Siena.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks the cardinal for his support.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to The Most Reverend Father and Lord, Filippo,[1] Cardinal of Bologna.

[1] I have not written to you before, even though I needed your help, for I knew that as a good father you do not need prompting. This is confirmed by friends returning from the City, for they report that Your Grace remembers me, often speaks of me, and is well disposed towards my affairs. So, I would seem uncultured and rude if I did not thank you for kindly endeavouring to assist me, though I have neither asked nor called upon you. This is the mark of a good-natured man, who habitually does good works. However, though I know that I am your debt, I do not know how I shall repay you. I can only say that I am yours and that it is for you to use me as you will. If ever I return to Siena, I shall repay part of the debt.

[2] I understand that while Your Grace benignly advocated for the Sacred College[2] to remit the annates due for the Church of Siena, the other cardinals did not agree. This does not diminish my indebtedness to you. But I still hope that those cardinals will treat me more favourably since I am working for them day and night and shall do so as long as I live. I ask Your Grace to continue recommending me to the Sacred College whenever possible, lest I be burdened with this impossible payment. I am weighed down by many expenses, but I would be completely crushed by the payment of annates – a burden I trust you may help to prevent.

[3] No more for now except that I ask you to commend me at the feet of Our Most Holy Lord.[3] I have written about the news from here to His Holiness, so since you will hear them from Him, there is no need to repeat them here. I wish for the prosperity of Your Most Reverend Paternity, whose commands I shall always obey.

From Graz in Steiermark, 27 May 1453.

[1] Filippo Calandrini.
[2] The College of Cardinals.
[3] Pope Nicolaus V.

325. Letter to Ulrich von Nussdorf (27 May 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 114v-115r* [1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 38.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 96, pp. 169-171 (on the basis of W1).*

{114v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Ulrico Nustorfio, electo Pataviensi, salutem plurimam dicit.[3]

[1] Scripsi pridem dignationi tuae, quae mihi videbantur in facto ecclesiae Pataviensis[4]. Habui responsum tuum, ex quo intellexi, quae scripseram, non displicuisse dignitati tuae cognovique datam esse operam pro concordia mediante magistro Ulrico Sonemberger, consiliario imperiali, qui ad eam rem optime affectus est. Verum, quia non est secutus optatus effectus, sed adhuc negotium pendet, non[5] puto me erraturum, si adhuc aliqua rescripserim, quae ad tuum et ecclesiae bonum tendant. Significavi alias tibi negotia tua apud sanctissmum dominum nostrum bonum exitum habitura, si cum {115r} imperatore in gratiam redires. Idem quoque nunc confirmo, sed addo amplius non putare me facile tuam confirmationem habere locum, nisi Caesar pro te scripserit. Hoc satis aperte ex litteris amicorum intelligo. Ideo possum velut unus ex amicis tuis[6] consulere et suadere, ut velis omnes vias amplecti, per quas imperatoris gratiam assequaris. Scis, quia ecclesia tua temporalia ab imperio habet. Cum eris episcopus consecratus, nullus erit dominus tuus nisi imperator. Digna res est, ut ejus voluntati condescendas. Si quid ab eo grave petitur, cogita, quia etiam adversus eum excessum est graviter per capitulum tuum. Cogita, quia bonum est redimere vexationes et consequi pacem firmareque statum suum, dum non es confirmatus.

[2] Variae praticae tenentur, quae si hodie non habent locum, cras possent sortiri effectum. Scio mirabilia et maxima per aliquos etiam tacente Caesare de Pataviensi ecclesia cogitari. Nemo satis tutus est. Corda hominum multas habent latebras. Hodie amicus est, qui cras inimicus erit. Tu satis aperte vides in hoc disturbio ecclesiam tuam[7] adnihilari, quod si confirmationem haberes, negotia tua suum ordinem reciperent, et ubi nunc exponis aureum, non exponeres argenteum nummum. Quibus ex rebus cum tua confirmatio in hoc pendeat, ut Caesaris scripta papae mittantur[8], cura huc aliquem ex tuis cum pleno mandato transmittere, qui cum magistro Ulrico et aliis amicis hanc rem componat. Sic[9] magnis te anxietatibus explicabis.[10] Si quis tuus huc venerit, ostendam ei verum esse palpabiliter, quod non promoveberis apud pontificem maximum in hac ecclesia Pataviensi, nisi imperator scripserit. Nolis igitur amplius differre, scripta ejus quaere[11], neque[12] tibi grave sit recognoscere dominum, qui potest tibi in pluribus gratiam impendere. Si qua petantur nimis onerosa, magister Ulricus et alii de remedio providebunt. Ego quoque, quamvis minima sit mea vox in hac curia, tamen pro virili curabo rebus tuis consulere, qui haec bono zelo scribo, cupiens dignationi tuae omnia prospere ut succedant[13].

Vale optime in Christo. Ex Grez[14], die 27. Maji 1453.

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[1] DV, 234-235
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Electo Patauiensis, Ulrico de Nustorff. Reuerendissime pater et domine honorande cod.
[4] ~~quoniam~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~possum~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] amicis tuis *corr. ex* servitribus vestris cod.
[7] ~~multipliciter~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] papae mittantur *corr. ex* habeatis cod.
[9] componat sic *corr. ex* quia cod.
[10] *corr. ex* relevabit cod.
[11] ~~modis convenientibus~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] ~~confidatis~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] ut succedant *corr. ex* succedere cod.
[14] *corr. ex* Nova Civitate cod.

325. Letter to Ulrich von Nussdorf (27 May 1453, Graz).

Context: *The Bishop-Elect of Passau, Ulrich von Nussdorf, had yet to make his submission to the emperor.*
Editions: *Piccolomini advises him to speedily make his submission to the emperor to get confirmed as bishop.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ulrich von Nussdorf.

[1] I have written to Your Grace previously[2] about my thoughts on the matter of the Church of Passau. I have received your response,[3] from which I understood that what I wrote had not displeased Your Grace. Moreover, I saw that Your Grace has worked for concord, with the mediation of Magister Ulrich Sonnenberger, Imperial Councillor, who is very well disposed concerning the matter. However, the desired results have not been obtained, and the matter is still pending. So, I consider it appropriate to write something helpful to you and your church.[4] Elsewhere, I have informed you that Our Most Holy Lord[5] will decide the matter in your favour if you return to the Emperor's grace, and this I confirm now, adding that I think it will be difficult for you to obtain confirmation unless the Emperor recommends you. This I understand clearly from letters sent by friends.[6] Therefore, as one of your friends, I advise and urge that you endeavour, in all possible ways, to obtain the emperor's favour. You know that your church holds its temporal possessions from the Empire. When you become a consecrated bishop, your only lord will be the emperor. Therefore, it behooves you to obey his will. If what he demands seems much, consider that your chapter has gravely offended him[7]. Consider, too, that since you have not yet been confirmed, it will be good to give satisfaction for the offences and obtain peace and confirmation of your status.

[2] Various schemes are afoot here: they may not result in anything today but may do so tomorrow. I know that others are plotting to obtain the Church of Passau, even if the emperor remains silent. So nobody is quite safe. The hearts of men have many hidden rooms: the one who is a friend today may be an enemy tomorrow.[8] You can clearly see that this disturbance is harmful to your church: if you had the [papal] confirmation, your affairs would be settled, and where you now spend gold, you would not even have to spend silver. Therefore, since your confirmation depends on the emperor's letter to the pope, send someone here with a full mandate to settle the matter with Magister Ulrich and other friends. This will relieve you of great worries. If one of your men comes here, I shall show him it is palpably clear that the Supreme Pontiff will not appoint you to the Church of Passau unless the emperor writes in your favour.[9] Therefore, do not delay any longer, ask for his letter [of agreement], and do not consider it onerous to recognise the lord who can show you his favour in many things. If anything too burdensome is demanded, Magister Ulrich and others will find a remedy. And I, too - though my voice counts for very little at this court - will assist you as much as I can. I write this out of a sincere wish to be helpful and desire Your Grace to prosper in all things.

Live well in Christ. From Graz, 27 May 1453.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 520.
[2] Letter 295 of 15 April.
[3] Not extant.
[4] The Church of Passau.
[5] Pope Nicolaus V.
[6] See the letter from Pietro da Noceto of 1 May (letter 309).
[7] By not electing his candidate for the episcopacy.
[8] Piccolomini warns von Nussdorf that time may not be in his favour: the longer it takes for him to obtain confirmation, the greater is the risk that others may intervene in the process to obtain the appointment as bishop.
[9] By showing him the pope's letter (see letter 323: 1-2).

326. Letter to Juan Carvajal (3 June 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 115v*[1] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 39.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 97, pp. 171-172 (on the basis of W1).*

{115v} Cardinali Sancti Angeli, patri optimo et colendissimo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[2].

[1] Harum bajulus, notus tibi, sine meis litteris noluit iter facere. Ideo pauca haec scripsi, quae tua dignatio referre poterit sanctissimo domino nostro. Venit Caesar in Styriam congregavitque nobiles regionis, ut si pugnandum sit, praesto omnes sint, qui se admodum volentes obtulere, datusque est rebus modus. Rex Ladislaus legatos ad Caesarem misit, qui hic sunt: hodie audientur. Instant pro causa electi Pataviensis magister camerae, magister Ulricus Sunnenberger et ego. Conamur quantum possumus, quod res expediatur. Remoti adhuc sumus, quoniam electus parum se humiliat. Nescio quid sequetur. Laborabimus pro virili, et si res effectum sortietur, mox litteras sanctissimo domino nostro et dignationi tuae dabo. Australes, ut dixi alias, cupiunt pacem, Hungari alieni sunt. Nescimus adhuc, an ratihabitioni locus erit. In Hungaria quamplures latrones congregati montem occupavere, ex quo rapinas agitant, nec facile corrigi possunt. Rex Ladislaus prorogationes ad intrandum Bohemiam quaerit. Pruteni huc misere petentes, ne causa, quam habent cum subditis prorogetur, expectantque judicium ad Festum Sancti Johannis, et venient aliqui episcopi exinde. Treverensis suos hic oratores habet petens et solicitans Caesaris transitum ad partes Suevie.

[1] DV, 236

[2] Cardinali … dicit *corr. ex* Cardinali Sancti Angeli. Reuerendissime in Christo pater cod.

326. Letter to Juan Carvajal (3 June 1453, Graz).

Context: *A man going to Rome had requested a letter from Piccolomini to deliver to Carvajal, who knew him. News of the recent Fall of Constantinople to the Turks had yet to reach the imperial court.*
Subject: *Piccolomini reports various news from the region.*[1]

To the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, Best and Worshipful Father, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] The bearer of this letter, a man known to you, did not want to travel without a letter from me, so I have written a few things that Your Grace may relate to Our Most Holy Lord. The emperor has arrived in Steiermark and assembled the nobles of the region so that all may be prepared if it comes to war. They declared themselves quite willing, and the matter was arranged accordingly. King Ladislaus has sent his envoys to the Emperor. They have arrived and will be heard today. In favour of the Elect of Passau are the *Kammermeister*,[2] Magister Ulrich Sonnenberger, and I.[3] We endeavour to our greatest ability to get the matter expedited, but we are still far [from obtaining it] since the Elect is little inclined to show humility. I do not know what will happen. We do what we can, and if the matter is settled, I shall immediately send letters to Our Most Holy Lord and to Your Grace. As I have said elsewhere, the Austrians want peace, but the Hungarians are against it. We do not know yet if the ratification[4] will occur [as planned]. In Hungary, many bandits have gathered and occupied a mountain as a base for their raids.[5] It is difficult to subdue them.[6] King Ladislaus requests a postponement of his entry into Bohemia. The Prussians have sent envoys here asking for a postponement of the case with their subjects. They expect a judgement to be made at the Feast of Saint John, and some bishops from there will come. The Archbishop of Trier[7] has his envoys here, requesting and urging the emperor to travel to Suabia.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 520, 534.
[2] Hans Ungnad.
[3] Sonnenberger and Piccolomini were, not uninterested parties since when the elect was confirmed, the first was to take over his provostship of Freising and the second his Parish of Irdning.
[4] Of the Peace of Wiener Neustadt.
[5] Axamit, Peter [Aksamit] of Kosov (-1458): Bohemian mercenary leader in the 1450s. See Szalay, p. 62.
And his companion Talafus.
[6] King Ladislaus had tried in vain, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 519-520.
[7] Jakob von Sierck.

[2] In Vratislavia omnes Judaei in vincula conjecti referuntur, quia in sacramentum domini debacchati dicuntur. Puto id inventum esse ad extorquendas novello regi pecunias. Frater Johannes de Capistrano in Polonia profectus asseritur, regis litteris provocatus. Rochezana inter Bohemos dietim redditur insolentior. Johannes astronomus existimat haeresim Bohemicam ex siderum mala conjunctione futuri anni augmentum habituram. Deus, quae meliora sunt, plebi suae annuat.

Vale et sanctissimi domini pedibus commendatum me facito. Ex Grez, die 3. Junii 1453.

[2] In Wroclaw,[1] all the Jews have reportedly been cast into chains because they are said to have blasphemed against the Lord's sacrament.[2] I think this is a fabrication designed to extort money for the new king.[3] Brother Giovanni da Capistrano[4] is said to have gone to Poland at the king's[5] invitation.[6] In Bohemia, Rokycana[7] grows more and more insolent. The astronomer Johannes[8] estimates that the Bohemian heresy will increase during the coming year due to an infelicitous conjunction of the stars. May God grant his people what is for the best.

Farewell, and commend me at the feet of Our Most Holy Lord. From Graz, 3 June 1453.

[1] Breslau.

[2] The persecution of the Jews of Wroclaw 1453. Wroclaw had the second largest Jewish community in East Central Europe, after Prague. The Jews of the city worked primarily as moneylenders and traders. See http://geschichtsquellen.de/werk/1988.

[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous who intervened directly in the affair, see *De Persecutione Judaeorum: Postea mandante rege Boemiae atque Ungariae Ladislao …omnes fere Judei in Wratislavia detenti sunt et capti* https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/pagetext/2725338

[4] Capistrano, Giovanni da (1386-1453): Franciscan friar and preacher. Saint. Died after the battle of Belgrade, 1456.

[5] Kazimierz IV [Jagiellon] (1427-1492): Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1440 and King of Poland from 1447 to his death.

[6] Giovanni da Capistrano arrived in Breslau on 21 August 1453

[7] Rokycana, Jan (ca. 1396 - 1471): Bohemian Hussite theologian and a leader of the Bohemian reformation.

[8] Johann Nihil or Johann Schindel.

327. Letter to Juan Carvajal (7 June 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 116v-117r*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 40.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 98, pp. 172-173 (on the basis of W1).*
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{116v} Patri optimo et colendissimo domino Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Scriptum a me est his diebus et sanctissimo domino nostro et tuae dignationi semel et iterum regem {117r} Ladislaum ad ingressum Bohemiae dilationes quaerere. Id nunc, quomodo successerit, paucis absolvam. Conventus in Praga totius regni habitus est. Ad eum legati Ladislai venientes in audientia publica dixerunt regem libenter, ut condictum esset, velle ad coronationem proficisci, sed quia nondum pax firmata esset[4] cum Caesare, necessarium sibi videri transitum ejus differri usque ad Nativitatis Dominicae festivitatem, idque petebant regni proceres aequo animo ferre. Deinde secretam audientiam coram baronibus[5] habuerunt, in qua magnopere rogarunt regi dilationem dari, cui non esset argentum ad subeundos viarum sumptus neque decorum videri tantum regem non magnifice regnum ingredi. Bohemi ad ea dixerunt conventa Viennae servanda esse, regnum non posse diutius sui regis absentiam ferre. Si non posset rex maximum apparatum habere, mediocrem sumeret. Atque ita legatos dimisere, ut qui nullam vellent coronationis prorogationem concedere. Inter se tamen concluserunt, si rursus dilatio peteretur, 20 aut 30 dierum indutias[6] non esse negandas. Sic res illae pendent.

[2] Gubernator Bohemiae navem, quo vult, impellit, regnum ex arbitro ducit, pacem tenet, jus reddit, omnibus terrori est. Inter alia, quae Bohemi ex rege petunt, hic articulus est: de beneficiis ecclesiasticis regni Bohemiae ne quam Romanus pontifex potestatem habet. Id[7] documenti causa refero, quia mala mens, malus animus illorum est. Noster Procopius ad coronationem sui regis proficisci vult et forsitan illic remanebit, quia gubernatori carus est et aliis baronibus acceptus, neque inutilis erit apostolicae sedi illic manens. Nos hic sub expectatione conclusionis pacis sumus. Cum Pataviensi electo tractatum habemus, forsitan concordia fiet. Eum magister Ulricus Sonenbergher et magister camerae ducunt. Ego utrique parti, quae bona existimo, nitor suadere. Alia non occurrunt.

Cupio sanctissimi domini nostri pedibus commendari. Ex Grezia, die 7. Junii 1453. Servulus vester Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

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[1] DV, 238-239
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Patri … dicit *corr. ex* Cardinali Sancti Angeli. Reuerendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[4] *corr. ex* foret cod.
[5] ~~tantum~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~se minime~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~auisamen~~ *seq.* cod.

327. Letter to Juan Carvajal (7 June 1453, Graz).

Context: *King Ladislaus was lacking the funds for a splendid coronation voyage to Prague.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs the cardinal about the negotiations between the Bohemians and the king and between the imperial court and the Elect of Passau.*[1]

To the Excellent Father and Worshipful Lord, Juan, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Some days ago, I wrote to Our Most Holy Lord and to Your Grace that King Ladislaus is requesting a postponement of his entry into Bohemia. I shall now briefly report what has happened. A diet of the whole kingdom was held in Prague.[2] King Ladislaus' legates arrived and declared, in a public audience, that - as stipulated - the king would gladly proceed to his coronation, but since the peace with the Emperor had yet to be confirmed, he deemed it necessary to postpone his journey to the Feast of the Lord's Birth, and he asked the kingdom's nobles to accept this. Afterwards, the legates had a secret audience with the barons, in which they insisted that a postponement be granted to the king since he did not yet dispose of the funds to cover the travel costs, and it was proper for so great a king to enter his kingdom in magnificence. The Bohemians replied that the agreements of Vienna must be kept and that the kingdom could no longer bear the absence of its king. If the king could not come in splendid style, he would have to settle for something more modest. So, the envoys were dismissed with the message that the barons would not grant a postponement. However, between them, they agreed that, in case a delay was requested again, they would not refuse a postponement of 20 or 30 days.[3] There the matter stands for now.

[2] The Governor of Bohemia[4] steers the ship of state as he pleases and governs the kingdom as he sees fit. He keeps the peace, administers justice, and makes all fear him. Among the Bohemian requests of the king is this article: the Roman Pontiff must have no power over the ecclesiastical benefices of the Kingdom of Bohemia. I report this to show that their attitude and intentions are evil. Our Prokop[5] wishes to attend the coronation of his king and possibly stay there,[6] for the governor[7] likes him and he is acceptable to the barons. It would also be useful for the Apostolic See if he remained there. Here, we are still awaiting the conclusion of the peace. We are negotiating with the Elect of Passau, and an agreement may be reached. Magister Ulrich Sonnenberger and the *Kammermeister*[8] are conducting the negotiation. For my part, I strive to persuade both parties to do what I consider to be for the best. There are no other matters to report.

I wish to be commended at the feet of Our Most Holy Lord. From Graz, 7 June 1453. Your humble servant, Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 520, 534.
[2] 8 May 1453. See RTA, 19/1: p. 533.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Georg Podiebrad.
[5] Rabenstein (Rabstein), Prokop Pflug von (c. 1420-1472): Bohemian Catholic noble. Chancellor of Bohemia, 1453-1458. Previously, chancery official at the court of the emperor. Close friend of Piccolomini.
[6] In Prague, at the royal court.
[7] Georg Podiebrad.
[8] Hans Ungnad.

328. Letter to Johann Nihili (13 June 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 117r-117v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 41.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 99, pp. 173-175 (on the basis of W1).*
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{117r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni Nihili Bohemo, astronomo perdocto, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Hoc mane, dum missam[4] audirem, retulit mihi Johannes Hinderbachius, et tuus amicus et meus socius, audivisse te huc ad nos venisse. Id erat mihi voluptati cupiebamque te quam primum visere et alloqui. Sed dum quaero rei veritatem, invenio te nondum venisse, sed litteras a te missas esse, quas tui loco avide vidi, in quibus multa complexus es et ornate et prudenter, quamvis te ais timere, dum ad me scribis, ut symphoniaci meliore musico praesente[5] trepidant ludere. Quod a te non est formidandum, cujus scripta non apud me indoctum solum[6], sed apud omnes doctissimos commendari possunt.

[2] {117v} Intellexi, quae de Bohemia scripta sunt tibi[7]. Cupio et opto omnia tua esse felicia, consulere tamen non audeo in tanta re. Turbulentum est regnum Bohemie, nihil adhuc ibi certum est. Haereticorum[8] quam catholicorum melior est conditio. Nescio, quid erit in adventu regis. Mala indicia sunt, quando haereticis committitur rerum summa. Super his tamen nihil consulo. Vellem esse tecum et audire ad longum omnia et disputare de singulis et cuncta ruminare. Tunc, etsi sum hebes ingenio, tamen possem ex circumstantiis rerum aliquid dicere, quod ad rem tuam faceret, quam meam duco. Neque enim tibi consilium darem, quod ipse non susciperem, si tuis essem in terminis. Dabis igitur mihi veniam, si non consulo aperte, dum non habeo plenam rerum notitiam.

[3] De Caesare nostro non est mihi dubium, quin tibi provisurus sit cum tempore, nam te amat et magnifacit. Ego illi virtutem tuam etsi commendo, non tamen tantum dicere possum, quantum vellem, et quantum res exposcit. Sed meus animus ad bonum tuum promovendum semper est paratissimus. Quomodo res tuae Romae sint expeditae, non scio, quia litterae clausae sunt, ut intellexisti. Optavissem apertas fuisse, sic enim profuturas magis existimavissem. At quod non est factum, poterit aliquando fieri. Scio, quia Romani pontificis in te bonus et sincerus est zelus. Noster[9] Procopius ad comitem Ciliae missus in dies rediturus expectatur. De Prutenis accepi, quae scribis. Placet te fecisse verbum de me[10] Varmiensi. Ego, ubi potero, justitiae et aequitati faveam. Gravia mihi videntur, quae de Praga scribuntur, et paritura novitatem. Deus bene omnia pro suo arbitrio diriget, quamvis nobis ejus consilii ignotae sint causae.

Vale et cura ad nos venire, si commode potes. Ex Grez, die 13. Junii 1453. Tuus Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

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[1] DV, 239-240
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Johanni Nihili. Venerabilis vir, amice optime cod.
[4] ~~in missa~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] *supralin.* cod.
[6] *supralin.* cod.
[7] *supralin.* cod.
[8] ~~adhuc~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~d.~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~domino~~ *seq.* cod.

328. Letter to Johann Nihili (13 June 1453, Graz).

Context: *Nihil had informed Piccolomini of the politically fraught situation in Prague.*
Subject: *Piccolomini can give no advice since he does not know enough about the Bohemian situation.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Johann Nihil the Bohemian, learned astronomer.

[1] As I was hearing mass this morning,[1] Johann Hinderbach,[2] your friend and my companion, told me he had heard you had arrived here. I was delighted and wanted to see and speak with you as soon as possible. But inquiring if it was true, I found that you had yet to come but sent a letter, which I read avidly in your place. In the letter, you speak elegantly and circumspectly[3] about many things, though you say that when you write to me, you feel as nervous as members of an orchestra having to play in the presence of a more skilled performer. But you have no reason to fear since your writings may be commended not just to an unlearned fellow as I but also to the most learned men.

[2] I understand what has been written to you about Bohemia. I desire and wish you to be happy in all things, but this matter is so grave that I do not dare to give you advice. The Kingdom of Bohemia is in turmoil, and nothing there is sure. The heretics[4] have a better position than the Catholics. I do not know what will happen when the king[5] arrives. It is a bad sign that the governance is entrusted to heretics,[6] but I have no advice for you in that matter. I should like to be with you to hear [what you have to say] and discuss and consider at length the general situation and the individual issues. Though I am not clever, I might then, having considered the circumstances, have something to say to your advantage, which I consider my own. For I would never give you advice that I myself would not follow, were I in your situation. You will forgive me for not advising you openly, while I do not have full knowledge of the matter.

[3] As for our emperor, I am sure he will eventually provide for you, for he is fond of you and esteems you. Though I commend your qualities to him, I cannot say as much as I would and the matter itself demands. But I am always eager and ready to promote your welfare. I do not know how your affair progressed in Rome, for the letter is closed, as you know. I wish it had been open, which would have been more helpful. But what has not been done now may be done later. I know the Roman Pontiff's disposition towards you is good and his devotion sincere. Our Prokop[7] has been sent to the Count of Celje[8] and is expected back any day now. Concerning the Prussians, I see what you write. I am glad you have spoken about me to the Bishop of Warmia.[9] I shall further justice and equity wherever I can. What you write about Prague seems most serious to me and fraught with political peril. God will direct all for the best according to his will, though the reasons for his plans are unknown to us.

Farewell, and do come to us if it is convenient. From Graz, 13 June 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

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[1] Piccolomini's chaplain probably said the morning mass.
[2] Johann Hinderbach (1418-1483): At the time a secretary of Friedrich III. After a distinguished career at Friedrichs court, he became bishop of Trient in 1465. Friend of Piccolomini.
[3] In the fraught political climate, letter-writers would naturally be circumspect.
[4] The Hussites.
[5] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[6] The governor, Georg Podiebrad, was a Hussite.
[7] Prokop von Rabenstein.
[8] Ulrich II.
[9] Franz Kuhschmalz [Resel] (d. 1457): Bishop of Ermland 1424 to his death.

329. Letter to Antonio de Goppo (14 June 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 117v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 41.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 100, pp. 175-176 (on the basis of W1).*

{117v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, boni patri domino Antonio, episcopo Tergestino, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Susceptis litteris tuis evestigio Caesaream majestatem accessi remque tuam exposui petens, ut et dominio Venetorum[4] pro manutentione libertatis tuae et antiquarum consuetudinum scriberetur et sanctissimo domino nostro in tuum et capituli vestri favorem litterae mitterentur, quas res majestas ipsa libenter concessit mandavitque ad meum nutum scribi. Litterae commissae sunt expedienturque quamprimum, sed tabellarius tuus expectare illas noluit. Jam[5] per alium, qui primo ad te venerit, certum nuntium mittentur. Si qua alia possum pro te[6], paratus sum et voluntarius.

[2] Insuper, quia decanus tuus instat pro pontificali, quod habeo penes me, rogo velis eum hortari, ut patientiam habeat, dum sum in his partibus, quia saepe ipso indigeo propter officium legationis. Liber non est perditus neque deterioratus, sisque[7] certus[8], quia quamprimum ex his regionibus recedam, quod non[9] puto diu differre, mox librum ipsum remittam. Nec alia impraesentiarum.

Te[10] omnipotens bene feliciterque conservet mei memorem[11]. Cupio salutari meo nomine ser Antonium de Leo, cancellarium, ser Franciscum Stella et alios amicos.

Ex Grez, die 14. Junii 1453. Vester Eneas, episcopus Senensis.

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[1] DV, 240
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Antonio, episcopo Tergestino. Reuerendissime in Christo pater, amice honorande cod.
[4] ~~et domino nostro sanctissimo~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ideo WO
[6] *corr. ex* tua reverenda paternitate cod.
[7] *corr. ex* sitque cod.
[8] ~~tua reverenda paternitas~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~erit diutius~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] *corr. ex* dominationem vestram cod.
[11] ~~Ex Grez~~ *seq.* cod.

329. Letter to Antonio de Goppo (14 June 1453, Graz).

Context: *The Venetians had endeavoured to reinforce their claim of ecclesiastical authority over the diocese of Trieste, and the Bishop of Trieste had therefore asked the papal legate, Piccolomini, to intervene.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Bishop Goppo that he had obtained imperial letters in favour of the diocese. Moreover, he asks for an extension of his "loan" of a pontifical belonging to the cathedral of Trieste.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the good Father and Lord, Antonio,[1] Bishop of Trieste.

[1] When I received your letter, I immediately went to His Imperial Majesty and explained the matter to him, requesting that letters be written to the Dominion of Venice in defence of your liberty and ancient custom, and to Our Most Holy Lord[2] on behalf of you and your chapter.[3] His Majesty readily consented and asked me to write the letters as I saw fit. The letters have been ordered[4] and will be expedited as soon as possible. However, your messenger would not wait for them, so they will be sent by the first reliable messenger to go to you. If I can do anything else for you, I am ready and willing.

[2] Another thing: your dean insists that I return the pontfical[5] I have with me. Please ask him to bear with me as long as I stay in this region, for I often need it for my functions as a legate.[6] The book has not been lost or damaged. You may be assured that I shall return it as soon as I leave this area, which I do not intend to postpone for long. There is nothing else at present.

May Almighty God keep you in prosperity and health. Do remember me. Please greet Ser Antonio de Leo, the Chancellor, Ser Francesco Stella, and my other friends from me. From Graz, 14 June 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] Goppo, Antonio de (d. 1486): Bishop of Trieste from 1451 to his death.
[2] The pope.
[3] From dependence on Venetian ecclesiastical authority, which the Venetians had presumably endeavoured to reinforce.
[4] From the imperial chancery.
[5] Pontifical: liturgical book for the use of a bishop.
[6] As a papal legate, Piccolomini would be invited to perform certain solemn ceremonies like consecrations and blessings. For this, he would need a pontifical, and having none such in his quality as legate, he had brought with him the pontifical he used as Bishop of Trieste. This passage shows that Piccolomini would regularly be the main celebrant of episcopal liturgical functions. Presumably, his successor as Bishop of Trieste, had another pontifical at his disposal, otherwise he would have a problem …

330. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (22 June 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 119v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 44.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 101, pp. 176-177 (on the basis of W1).*

{117v} Clarissimo et optimo patri domino Jacobo, archiepiscopo Treverensi, sacri imperii principi electori, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Venerabilis vir, scholasticus Confluentinus, familiaris tuus[4] ad Caesarem veniens tuas mihi litteras reddidit, benevolentia et humanitate plenas, quas ingenti cordis laetitia suscepi. Est enim mihi singulare gaudium, cum me intelligo in tua memoria locum habere. Laboravi ad ea, quae dignatio tua scripsit, ferventi animo. Quomodo autem res ipsae expeditae sint, scholasticus idem plene referet. Ego optassem in omnibus ad unguem tuo desiderio satisfactum, sed hac vice non potuit plus obtineri. Gaudeo tamen, quia Caesarem tuae dignationi affectissimum intelligo, nec dubito, quin majora in dies[5] ab ejus majestate consequaris. Multa et magnifica verba de te[6] locutus est ipse Caesar plurimumque in tua virtute et benevolentia confidit decrevitque mittere unum ad loquendum cum te de his rebus, quas Johannes de Lysura, vir oculatissimus, in Novacivitate attigit. Velit dignatio tua, cum ille venerit, toto pectore rem aggredi. Spero multa illinc nasci posse bona et in imperio et in tua ecclesia. Faxit Deus, ut cito Caesarem ad partes Alamaniae superiores conducere valeamus. Non dubito, quin tua dignatio prima sit, quae ejus consilia dirigat, quae res mihi erit[7] jucundissima scienti tuas suasiones ad commune bonum tendere. Denique illud peto ex te in agendis apud Caesarem, dum ejus curiam sequor, ne me velis exoneratum esse, sed mihi imperes et ad me scribas, quia mei conatus ad tua placita numquam deerunt. Nec putes me praemium exposcere, nam praemium ipsum mihi ingens est, cum tua dominatio dignatur in tuis[8] me uti rebus mihique praecipere. Ac tantum hac vice.

Commendo me tuae dignationi, cujus mandata volens executurus expecto. Ex Grez, die 22. Junii 1453[9].

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[1] DV, 244
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Clarissimo … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Treverensi Jacobo. Reuerendissime in Christo pater, domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[4] familiaris tuus *corr. ex* servitor vester cod.
[5] majora in dies *corr. ex* in dies majora cod.
[6] *corr. ex* uestra reverendissima paternitate *et passim* cod.
[7] *corr. ex* esset cod.
[8] *corr. ex* suis cod.
[9] ~~Seruulus uester Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

330. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (22 June 1453, Graz).

Context: *Archbishop von Sierck of Trier was a dangerous and clever opponent of the alliance between the emperor and the pope that Piccolomini worked so intensely to maintain. On the other hand, the archbishop's desire to strengthen the authority of the Empire was of interest to the imperial court if it did not lead to diminishing the emperor's power. So, the archbishop was clearly a person to be reckoned with and handled with care as Piccolomini was obviously endeavouring to.*

Subject: *Piccolomini informs von Sierck that a particular request of his had not been fulfilled as he wished, but that the emperor is well disposed towards him, and he intimates that the emperor will heed his advice in the matters of the Empire.*[1]

To the noble and excellent Father, Lord Archbishop Jakob of Trier, Prince-elector of the Holy Empire, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Your familiar, the venerable scholastic[2] from Koblenz, has come to the emperor and delivered your kind and courteous letter to me, which delighted me immensely. Indeed, it is a particular joy for me to know that I have a place in your memory. I have worked hard on the matter, which Your Grace wrote about. The same scholastic will report to you how the matter was expedited. I would have wished your desire to be fulfilled in all particulars, but no more could be obtained at this time. However, I am glad to see that the Emperor holds Your Grace in the highest regard and am sure you will obtain more from His Majesty. He spoke much and glowingly about you, your qualities and benevolence, and he decided to send someone to discuss the matter with you that Johann Lieser, a most perspicacious man, mentioned here in Neustadt. Please engage in this matter wholeheartedly when he comes. I hope that much good will result from it both for the Empire and for your own church. God give us that we may soon be able to bring the emperor to Upper Germany. I am sure Your Grace will be the first to influence his plans, which would be most joyful to me, knowing that your counsel will be for the common good. Finally, I ask that in your dealings with the emperor, you do not spare me as long as I follow his court, but write your wishes to me, which I shall always endeavour to fulfil. Do not think that I seek a reward, for it is an immense reward in itself that Your Grace deigns to use me and request my services in your affairs. This must suffice for now.

I commend myself to Your Grace, whose wishes I am always waiting to fulfil. From Graz, 22 June 1453.

[1] The reform and strengthening of the Empire would become an important topic of discussion at the Diet of Regensburg in Spring 1454 (see CRDM, 4: 92-102, 149-150.

[2] Walther Quiddenbaum.

331. Letter to Johann Lieser (25 June 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 119v-120r*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 45..*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 102, pp. 177-179 (on the basis of W1).*

{119v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, viro admodum perito Johanni de Lysura, decretorum doctori, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Ex Roma tuae litterae mihi redditae sunt, quas libenter accepi, cum ex illis tuam in mea promotione diligentiam non vulgarem intellexerim. Inde tibi et domino meo reverendissimo Treverensi gratias ago, qui me veluti suam creaturam dignatus est promovere. Quidquid sequatur, scio suas commendationes mihi utiles esse meque in altum tollere, nam tunc homines existimantur, cum a viris existimatis commendantur. Sed mitto ista, cum satisfacere tantae benignitati nequeam. Solum me dico perpetuum esse mancipium domini mei Treverensis et tuum in quacumque re fidelem servum. In rebus, quas modo scholasticus Confluentinus apud Caesarem[4] prosecutus est, quid egerim ex ipso intelliges. Voluntas magna[5], potestas parva[6] fuit. Non tamen omnino res incassum ivit, in tempore meliora sperare licet. Non uno die Roma magna fuit, tempus omnia peragit.

[2] De re, quam in Novacivitate coepisti, mittetur cito unus, qui cum[7] Treverensi tecumque agat. Tu ita rem curabis, ut voluntas Caesari siet quantocius ad imperium[8] proficisci.

[3] {120r} De novis harum partium haec habeto[9]: in Hungaria nova turbatio nata est. Axamit Bohemus, latro insignis, in eas regiones dilapsus, quas olim Giskra occupavit, cum non parvo praedonum comitatu quinque munitiones fortissimas construxit, castra duo, quae fuerant Giskrae, expugnavit totamque sibi terram censualem fecit. Fertur exercitum habere 5 milium pugnatorum, omnibus stipendium praebet, praedam inter omnes aequaliter dividit tantumque his dat, qui ipsa die divisionis veniunt, quantum qui pondus diei et aestum tulerunt. Evangelio namque, ut Bohemis est mos, ad litteras haeret, sensum negligit. Multi ex vicinis regionibus ad eum concurrunt. Rex Ladislaus regno suo timens intelligensque nonnullos Hungaros illi faventes esse, exercitum convocat famamque publicam facit adversus Axamit arma se sumere.

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[1] DV, 244-245
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Uenerabilis uir, amice honorande cod.
[4] ~~curam~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] *corr. ex* bona cod.
[6] *corr. ex* modica cod.
[7] ~~reverendissimo domino meo~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] *corr. ex* vos cod.
[9] *corr. ex* reverendissimo domino meo Treverensi referre poteris cod.

331. Letter to Johann Lieser (25 June 1453, Graz).

Context: *See the preceding letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Lieser for his and his archbishop's support in Rome and informs him of the situation in Hungary.* [1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the most learned Johann Lieser, Doctor of the Decrees[2].

[1] I was delighted to receive your letter from Rome about your extraordinary diligence in promoting my affairs. I thank you and my Most Reverend Lord of Trier,[3] who deigned to further my cause as if I were one of his own. Whatever follows, I know his recommendations are helpful to me and my career, for men are esteemed when they are commended by esteemed men. But I set this aside since I cannot repay such great kindness. I simply declare myself to be forever the servant of My Lord of Trier and your own faithful servant in all matters. Concerning the affairs that the scholastic[4] from Koblenz raised with the emperor,[5] you will hear from him what I did in the matter. The will was great, but the power was small. However, the enterprise did not fail completely, and we may hope for better times. Rome did not grow great in one day; time accomplishes all.

[2] Regarding the matter you took up in Neustadt,[6] someone will soon be sent to discuss it with the Archbishop of Trier and you. Please handle the matter in such a way that the emperor will resolve to travel soon to the Empire.

[3] And here is some news from these parts. In Hungary, there is a new upheaval: Axamit the Bohemian,[7] a notorious bandit, has invaded the territories once held by Jiskra[8]. With a large following of marauders, he has built five strongholds, conquered two fortresses that previously belonged to Jiskra, and made the whole territory pay taxes to him. He reportedly has an army of 5,000 soldiers. He pays them all a salary, and the booty is divided evenly between all: those who arrive on the day of distribution receive as much as those who bore the burdens and heat of the day. For, as is the Bohemian custom, he clings to the letter of the Gospel[9] and ignores its meaning. Many from the neighbouring regions are flocking to him. Fearing for his kingdom and seeing that many Hungarians support Axamit, King Ladislaus has summoned an army and publicly announced that he is going to war against Axamit.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 520.
[2] Canon Law.
[3] Jakob von Sierck.
[4] Walther Quiddenbaum.
[5] See the preceding letter.
[6] See the preceding letter.
[7] Axamit.
[8] Jiskra z Brandýsa, Jan (c. 1400-1469): Moravian noble and mercenary captain. Piccolomini had met him personally at the imperial court in 1443. See DVI, ch. 43 and HB, p. 478-482.
[9] Matthew, 20, 1-16

[4] Sed quidam arbitrantur altiori eum consilio moveri. Dicunt enim gubernatorem Johannem Huniat parum regi oboedire, nam 24 milia[1] aureorum in annum ad cameram regiam promisit. Quod superat, sibi retinet. Regnum pro suo arbitrio regit, hunc magnum, illum parvum facit. Itaque Ladislaus regis nomen habet, Johannes rem. Id comiti Ciliae non est gratum, qui sperat Ladislao regnum obtinente se futurum, quod modo Johannes est, sed non potest gubernatorem cuncta[2] tenentem propellere. Bellum ei indicere grave est. Excogitatum est igitur adversus Axamit congregari exercitum ex Austria, Moravia, Hungaria regemque personaliter proficisci. Ubi congregati barones omnes fuerint, tunc Johannem facile posse deprehendi compellique regni castra restituere. Quae res non parum in se discriminis habet, nec credibile est id gubernatorem latere cavereque sibi, qui, cum potentia et astu valeat, non sinet se deprehendi. De hoc consilio Ladislai magnus rumor est. Mihi tamen non est res explorata. Videant ea hi, quorum de capitibus agitur[3].

[5] Hoc tantum dicere certo possum oratores terrae[4] Prutenorum, qui ad Caesarem veniebant fidemque publicam Ladislai regis habebant, apud Moraviam latrones incidisse excussosque bonis omnibus vix ab illis fuisse dimissos, nonnullis eorum occisis.

[6] Pax inter Caesarem et Ladislaum dudum tractata atque promissa neque ratificata est neque rupta. Stamus[5] inter spem et metum. Mala voluntas hostium non sinit confirmari pacem. Bellum geri non permittit adversa regni Hungariae fortuna, quamvis nonnulli putant Ladislaum, postquam exercitum congregaverit, repetiturum a Caesare, quae sua sunt illaturumque bellum, nisi petita reportet[6].

Sed vale tandem meique memoriam habete. Ex Grez, die 25. junii 1453. Vester Eneas, episcopus Senensis.

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[1] ~~in annum~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] *corr.* ex arma cod.
[3] *corr. ex* geritur cod.
[4] ~~Pruscie~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~in dubi~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] quamvis nonnulli … reportet *add. in marg*. cod.

[4] However, some believe that Ladislaus has an ulterior motive. They say that Governor János Hunyadi shows too little obedience to the king and that, having promised 24,000 gold ducats a year to the royal treasury, he keeps the rest for himself. He governs the kingdom as he sees fit, now raising up one man and now bringing down another. Thus, Ladislaus is only a figurehead, while János has the real power. This situation is unacceptable to the Count of Celje,[1] who hopes that when Ladislaus acquires the kingdom in reality, he himself will become what János is now. However, he is unable to overthrow the all-powerful governor, and declaring war against him would be rather difficult. So, they have devised a plan to assemble an army against Axamit from Austria, Moravia, and Hungary and to have the king take part personally. When all the barons have assembled, János may easily be seized and forced to return the royal castles. This plan is quite risky. The governor most likely knows of it and, being cautious, powerful, and crafty, he will not let himself be caught. Rumours are running concerning Ladislaus' plan. I am not sure what the facts are. Let those take care whose heads are concerned.

[5] The only thing I can say for certain is that the Prussian envoys travelling to the emperor with a safe conduct from King Ladislaus were attacked by robbers in Moravia and stripped of all their possessions. Several were killed, and the others have not yet been released.[2]

[6] The peace between the emperor and Ladislaus that has already been negotiated and promised has neither been ratified nor broken. We stand between hope and fear.[3] The ill will of the enemy[4] prevents the confirmation of the peace, whereas the troubled situation in the Kingdom of Hungary prevents them from waging war - though many think that when Ladislaus has gathered his army, he will demand what is his from the emperor and go to war against him if he does not get it.

Farewell, and keep me in your memory. From Graz, 25 June 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] Ulrich II.

[2] See Voigt: *Geschichte*, 8: p. 804.

[3] Actually, the emperor might not be dissatisfied with this situation, since the non-ratification of the peace meant that he did not have to fulfil the concessions he had made to obtain the it. (RTA, 19/1: p. 520).

[4] The Hungarians in general and Count Ulrich von Celje in particular.

332. Letter to Dietrich von Mörs (25 June 1453, Graz)

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 120v*[1] [2] **; X1, f. 98r.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 46.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 103, pp. 179-180 (on the basis of W1).*

{120v} Domino Theoderico Coloniensi. Reverendissime[3] in Christo[4] pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem.

[1] Non scribo saepe dignationi vestrae[5], quia non occurrit necessitas neque in vanum occupare occupatum principem juvat. Nunc quia familiaris meus, vir bonus Henricus[6] Steinhoff[7] , presbyter vestrae diocesis, ad vestram dignationem partesque suae originis proficiscitur, non putavi indignum, aliquid pro eo scribere ad vestram reverendissimam paternitatem eumque illi facere commendatum, ut si qua in re[8] vestro praesidio indigeat, id ei non desit, sed suae[9] probitatis intuitu et mea intercessione favor sibi opportunus[10] exhibeatur.[11] Quamvis enim mea parvitas[12] nihil censenda sit, tamen scio humanitatem vestram me inter suos habere mihique bene velle et aliquid pro me facere non gravari. Itaque praesumpsi hac vice hunc honestum presbyterum, de me optime meritum, meis litteris[13] commendare, atque haec causa scriptionis fuit. Deinde officii mei esse putavi, quae nunc apud nos sunt novitates sacrae dominationi vestrae nota efficere, ut statum harum partium non[14] minus quam vestrarum turbatum intelligendo, temporis malignitatem tanto feratis[15] aequius, quanto communius mala contingunt. Nova, quae hic habentur, hujusmodi sunt: in Hungaria[16] etc.

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[1] DV, 246
[2] *Autograph.*
[3] *corr. ex* reuerendissime W1
[4] ~~patri et domino~~ *seq.* W1
[5] ~~qui se~~ *seq.* W1
[6] H. X1
[7] *omit.* X1
[8] in re : iure X1
[9] ~~suam~~ *seq.* W1
[10] ~~exhibea~~ *seq.* W1
[11] ~~scio / quamvis enim parvus~~ *seq.* W1
[12] parcitas X1
[13] ~~efficere commendatum~~ *seq.* W1
[14] *omit.* X1
[15] feracius X1
[16] quae hic … Hungaria *omit.* X1

332. Letter to Dietrich von Mörs (25 June 1453, Graz)

Context: *A familiar of Piccolomini would be going to Cologne.*
Subject: *Piccolomini recommends his familiar to the archbishop and takes the opportunity to send him news from the imperial court.*

To His Lordship Dietrich of Cologne.[1] Most Reverend Father in Christ, My Worshipful Lord. After humble recommendation.

[1] I do not often write to Your Grace, as there is no need to and no benefit in bothering a busy prince. But now that a familiar of mine, the excellent Heinrich Steinhof,[2] a priest from your diocese, is about to travel to Your Grace and the region of his birth, I thought it would be worth writing something to Your Most Reverend Paternity and to commend him to you, so that if he should need your help in any matter, he would enjoy your timely favour out of regard for his own goodness and my intercession. My insignificance may not deserve it, but I know that, in your kindness, you consider me one of your own and will not feel importuned to do me a favour. Therefore, I have now presumed to recommend this worthy priest, who has deserved well of me. That is the reason for this letter. However, I also consider it my duty to inform Your Holy Lordship of news from here. Hearing that the situation in these regions is as tumultuous as in yours, you may bear more equably the evils of the time, as the misfortunes are shared. The news from here is as follows: In Hungary, etc.[3]

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

[2] Steinhof von Plettenberg, Heinrich: A familiar of Piccolomini. Brother of Johann Steinhof von Plettenberg (see next letter).

[3] The letter continues with the news from Hungary etc. as in the preceding letter, sect. 3-6.

333. Letter to Johann Vrunt (26 June 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 120v[1] [2] **; X1, ff. 97v-98r.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 47..*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 104, pp. 180-181 (on the basis of W1).*
Note: *W1 has Johann Vrunt (in Cologne) as the addressee and X1 Giovanni Campisio (in Siena). The internal evidence points to Vrunt.*

{120v} Domino Johanni Frunt. Venerabilis vir, amice et frater amantissime[3].

[1] Quid sit, quod ad me non scribis, nequeo suspicari, nam et vivere te audio et amare me et habere tabellarios, qui huc veniunt frequenter, non ambigo. Itaque veniente ad te familiari meo Henrico, Johannis, quem nosti, fratre, excitare te volui, ut scribas aliquando teque mei memorem ostendas, nam etsi, quod[4] pollicebaris in Portu Naonis fieri non potuit, non tamen est, cur nostra benevolentia laesa sit. Ego te, non tua diligo. Tua virtus aeterna est. Amor, qui ab ea proficiscitur, non potest esse caducus. Rogo igitur, scribe ad me saepius meque rescribere coge et amicitiae Viennensis habe memoriam. Hunc Henricum tuae[5] amicitiae commendatum cupio. Nova, quae apud nos sunt[6], his paucis verbis habe[7]: in Hungaria etc.[8]

Vale mei memor et ama[9] ex veteri more. Datum in Grez, die 26. Junii 1458[10].

[1] DV, 246
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Domino … dicit : Eneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni Campisio, philosopho, salutem plurimam dicit. Venerabilis vir, amice et frater amantissime X1
[4] etsi ostendas quod : et quod si X1
[5] tene X1
[6] ~~paucis~~ *seq.* W1
[7] habete et X1
[8] in Hungaria *omit.* X1
[9] *corr. ex* amas W1
[10] ~~Tuus Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* W1

333. Letter to Johann Vrunt (26 June 1453, Graz).

Context: *Picolomini's correspondence with his friend, Johann Vrunt, town secretary of Cologne, had apparently stagnated.*

Subject: *Profiting from his familiar's mission to Cologne, Piccolomini takes the initiative to restart his correspondence with Johann Vrunt.*

To Herr Johann Vrunt.[1] Venerable friend and beloved brother.

[1] I cannot imagine why you are not writing to me, though I hear that you are alive and still love me, and though you undoubtedly have frequent messengers coming here. Therefore, since my familiar Heinrich[2], a brother of Johann[3] whom you know, is coming to you,[4] I wanted to urge you to write to me again sometime and show that you remember me. What you promised in Pordenone[5] could not be done, but that should not harm our friendship. It is you I love, not your possessions. Your virtue is everlasting, and the love which springs from it cannot fail. So, I ask you to write more often, force me to reply, and remember our friendship from Vienna.[6] The news from here is, in brief: In Hungary, etc.

Farewell. Remember me and love me as always. Given in Graz, 26 June 1458.

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[1] Vrunt, Johann (Frundt) (-1465): Protonotary of the city of Köln (1442). A close friend of Piccolomini. See Diemar. See also Heinig, ad indicem.

[2] Heinrich Steinhof von Plettenberg.

[3] Steinhof von Plettenberg, Johann: 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.

[4] Cologne, see the preceding letter.

[5] It is not known when Piccolomini and Vrunt were in Pordenone together and what Vrunt had promised.

[6] Piccolomini and Vrunt had been together at the imperial court in Vienna several times.

334. Letter to Goro Lolli (1 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 121r-122r*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 48..*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 105, pp. 181-184 (on the basis of W1) .*

{121r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit Gregorio Lollio Senensi, doctori legum[3].

[1] Mirabar, Gregori amantissime, quid[4] fieri posset, quod ad me non scriberes. Querebar amicis omnibus[5], arguebam te multis litteris, admonebam excitabamque neque sine causa, nam post[6] meum ex domo recessum ultra[7] annum exul unas tantum litteras abs te acceperam. Nunc autem invenio te scripsisse ad me saepius, sed scripta tua in via diu retenta sunt. Quomodo id factum sit nescio. Deus his veniam det, qui me frustra habuerunt. VII dies sunt, cum litterae tuae mense Martio Senis scriptae[8] ad me venerunt. Hodie vero tres simul epistolae ex tuis mihi redditae sunt ab Venetiis missae, quibus intelligo non te culpabilem, qui diligenter scribis, sed bajulos fallaces fuisse. Mitto nunc ista et ad ea, quae scribis, venio.

[2] Optavi te mihi saepius[9] scribere, nunc vellem te numquam ad me dedisse litteras. Conturbasti enim me tuis litteris, quibus me de morte genitricis tuae non mihi quam tibi minus dilecte certiorem fecisti. Nequeo dicere, quanto me dolore affeceris. Scribere ista sine lacrimis non possum. Heu me miserum, qui dulcissimam matrem perdidi. Fuit illa mihi eo loco, quo Victoria, quae me genuit. Nimis acerba est mihi haec commemoratio. Video paulatim meos omnes deficere, pater meus tuusque obiit, tuusque obiit, patrui et avunculi nostri viam universae carnis ingressi sunt, amitae naturae concesserunt. Cogito, jam me fata deposcere. Timeo, ne in exilio moriar. Cogito dietim redire, multa obviant. O me miserum, qui neque patrem vidi morientem neque amitam aeque ac matrem amatam luce migrantem videre et ultima verba dicentem audire potui. Spero tamen illis, quia bene vixerunt, piorum loca patere. Sed transeo ista, quae me nimis cruciant. Si talia de patria sum auditurus, malo numquam ad me quisquam scribat, quamvis et acerba et dulcia sunt amicis scribenda.

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[1] DV, 247-249
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … legum *corr. ex* Gregorio Lollio, doctori legum Senensi cod.
[4] *em.*; qui cod.
[5] amicis omnibus *supralin.* cod.
[6] ~~sex men~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] *corr. ex* intra cod.
[8] ~~mihi~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~scrips~~ *seq.* cod.

334. Letter to Goro Lolli (1 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *In June 1453, Piccolomini was in a despondent and resigned mood. His influence at the imperial court and the papal curia was waning, and his career seemed at a dead end. Little did he know that the news of the Fall of Constantinople was already spreading through Europe to shortly afterwards reach the imperial court, propelling him into the forefront of events and boosting a career that would, in a few years, lead to the cardinalate and the papal throne.*

Subject: *Piccolomini laments the death of his aunt, assures Lolli that he wishes to return soon to Siena, asks for his discrete observation of the administration of his diocese, and comments on some family matters.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Goro Lolli of Siena, Doctor of Laws.

[1] My dearest Goro, I have been wondering why you have not been writing to me. I complained to all our friends, I rebuked you in many letters and admonished and urged you [to write] and not without reason, for since I left home[1] and went into exile more than a year ago,[2] I have only received one letter from you. However, now I find you have written to me often, but that the letters have been delayed for a long time on the way. How that happened, I do not know. May God forgive those who caused me such anguish. Seven days ago, your letter written in March in Siena arrived, and today three letters sent via Venice were delivered to me simultaneously. So, I see that you write diligently and are guiltless and that it is the letter carriers who are at fault. I leave that aside and come to the content of your letters.

[2] I wanted you to write often, but now I almost wish you had not. I have been crushed by the letter where you tell me about the death of your mother,[3] whom I loved as much as you. I cannot say how pained I am. I cannot write this without tears. Alas, how wretched I am to have lost the sweetest of mothers.[4] She was to me like Vittoria, who bore me.[5] Remembering her is too bitter. I see all my relatives disappear, one by one: my father[6] and your father[7] have died; our paternal and maternal uncles have gone the way of all flesh; our aunts have yielded to nature. I believe that the fates must now be wanting me. I fear to die in exile. Every day, I wish to return, but there are so many obstacles. O wretched me, who saw neither my father dying nor my beloved aunt and mother[8] leave the light and hear her last words. I hope that the abodes of the pious are open to them, for they lived good lives. But no more of this; it pains me too much. If I must hear such news from our country, I wish nobody would ever write to me - although friends must share both what is bitter and what is sweet.[9]

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[1] The episcopal palace in Siena.
[2] About 1 May 1452.
[3] Bartolema Tolomei Lolli, step-sister of Piccolomini's father.
[4] His aunt.
[5] Forteguerri Piccolomini, Vittoria (1385-1455): Married Piccolomini's father in 1403.
[6] Silvio Piccolomini.
[7] Lolli, Niccolò: Piccolomini's uncle, married to his father's sister. Piccolomini lived with the family during his studies in Siena.
[8] The aunt.
[9] See Bisaha: *From,* pp. 66-67.

[3] De meo reditu, ut breviter agam tecum, speravi me praeterita quadragesima Senas reverti, id quod mihi cordi fuit[1]. Quod non veni, in causa fuerunt hujus terrae divisiones et scripta Romani pontificis, qui me apud Caesarem manere jusserunt. Equidem, si tu me domum repetere cupis multum, ego maxime idem desidero, qui me durum exilium agere et vitam morti similem ducere sentio. Omnis mihi dies annus est, studeo ad reditum semper. Scribo frequenter Romano pontifici, ut me revocet aut redeundi licentiam impartiatur. Id nondum potui obtinere. Confido tamen[2] prope diem futurum, quod volo. Ad proximum autumnum, nisi fallor, obtinebo[3] libertatem remeandi, quod faciam, ut tibi, ut matri, ut ceteris amicis, ut populo satisfaciam, ut ecclesiae debitum reddam, ut mihi et animae meae vivam.

[4] Quod autem plura me Senis manentem ex Romano pontifice consecuturum sperem quam hic morantem, non me decipio. Nunc etsi non multum, tamen aliquid Romanus praesul cardinalesque me existimant intuitu Caesaris non mea virtute. At cum Senis fuero, neque papa neque cardinales mei memoriam habebunt. Novi curiae mores et sanguinem praelatorum. Non me decipio, non sentio in hac re tecum, ut prope papam vivens pluris existimer. Favorem Romana curia, non homines quaerit. Habet multos, qui me virtute superant, at qui Caesari cari sint, non habet praelatum Italum nisi me. Ideo[4] momenti alicujus ducor, {121v} ac cum Caesaris curiam reliquero, quia non ero utilis nec carus habebor. Scio haec palpoque manibus ita futurum. Nec tamen minus redire festino. Satis mihi domi est. Satis duco me meae civitatis episcopatum habere. Senex sum, diu vixi, multa vidi, restat jam quiescere et id aevi, quod superat, inter necessarios[5] dulcemque sanguinem patriae vivere. Jam mihi non est alium desiderium, quam ut ossa ei terrae restituam, quae dedit. Non spero jam plura neque desidero. Deus me altius erexit quam merui. Utinam[6] mors mihi hac dignitate, quam teneo, digna contingat.

[5] De monasterio Turris dudum intellexi, quae acta sunt. Non fuit res mihi nimis molesta, quia prius cogitata a me fuerat. Non latet me ingluvies illorum hominum: habeant, teneant, devorent omnia. Satis est, si nos vivere sinunt neque nos viventes deglutiunt. Quod[7] putas aliter rem potuisse transire, si praesens fuissem, longe falleris, nam si non timeor apud Caesarem, minus Senis timebor[8]. Ego quidem Senas[9] ea mente revertar, ut quod sum, id maneam usque ad mortem[10] neque honore neque opibus augendus, bonum animum habiturus, si non minuar. De hoc si tu aliud sentis, differo tecum certamen ad meum reditum. Credo, cum me latius audieris, sententiae meae haerebis.

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[1] ~~se~~ *seq.*cod.
[2] ~~id~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~faculta~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~parvi~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~dul~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~me~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~speras me si sese~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~E qui~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~reversurus~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~si non~~ *seq.* cod.

[3] I shall tell you briefly about my return. I hoped and indeed fervently wished to return to Siena this past Lent. That I did not come was due to the conflicts in this region[1] and letters from the Roman Pontiff instructing me to remain with the emperor. You may greatly wish me to come home, but I desire it even more, for exile is hard on me, and I feel as if my life were a kind of death. Every day feels like a year to me,[2] and I am constantly striving to return. I frequently write to the Roman Pontiff asking for my recall or permission to return but without success.[3] But I believe the day I long for is approaching. If I am not mistaken, I shall be given the liberty to return next autumn, and I shall certainly do that both to satisfy my mother, my other friends, and the people, give my church its due, and live for myself and my soul.

[4] Concerning any hope I might have of gaining more from the Roman Pontiff by residing in Siena than by remaining here,[4] I do not fool myself. At present, I have some influence with the Roman Bishop and the cardinals due to their regard for the emperor and not because of my own worth. But when I come to stay in Siena, neither the pope nor the cardinals will remember me. I know the Curia's and the prelates' mindset.[5] I do not delude myself, and I do not agree with you that I would be appreciated more if I lived close to the pope. The Roman Curia seeks favour, not men.[6] It has many men with greater abilities than me, but the only Italian prelate it has among those dear to the emperor is me. So, now I am of some importance, but when I leave the emperor's court, I shall no longer be useful and therefore no longer esteemed [at the papal court]. I palpably know that this is what will happen. Nonetheless, I am still going to return soon. It will be enough for me to be home. It will be enough for me to be the bishop of my city. I am now an old man,[7] I have lived long, I have seen much, and now I should settle down and spend the rest of my life among my kin and the sweet blood of my country. My only desire now is to return my bones to the land that gave them. I neither hope nor desire anything more. God has raised me higher than I merited. May the high office I now have merit a worthy death.

[5] Concerning what happened with the monastery of Torre, I heard of it some time ago. It did not bother me overly since I had foreseen it. I am well aware of the greed of these men: they will have, keep, and devour everything. It is enough that they let us live and do not consume us alive. You believe that the matter would have ended differently if I had been there, but in this you are gravely mistaken, for if I am not feared at the emperor's court, I will be even less feared in Siena. I shall return to Siena with the intention of remaining what I now am until death—seeking neither greater wealth nor honor - and I shall consider myself fortunate if my standing is not diminished. If you feel differently on this matter, I postpone our dispute until my return. I think that when you have heard me at greater length, you will agree with me.

[1] The Austrian rebellion against the emperor and subsequent conflict with King Ladislaus the Posthumous, the emperor's cousin, and the Hungarians.

[2] Bisaha: *From,* p. 67.

[3] Bisaha: *From,* p. 67.

[4] At the imperial court in Austria.

[5] "sanguinem"

[6] Bisaha: *From,* p. 67.

[7] Piccolomini was 47 old years at the time.

[6] Antoniam viro desponsatam gaudeo, nam virum bonum doctumque illi spero contigisse, multumque tuo judicio in hac re tribuo. Tu illum mihi commendasti, tuam opinionem plures mihi confirmaverunt. Ego illum allocutus, quantum sapio, inveni dignum hominem, quem nostrum esse vellemus. Liberasti et me magna molestia, quia Franciscam, sororem tuam meamque, nobili viro promissam affirmasti. Bonum opus operatus es. Quieta jam omnia sunt. Restat[1] tibi de uxore aliquando provideamus. Rem Beltrami absolutam audivi libenter. Itaque molesta mihi et jucunda scripsisti, at multo plus fellis quam mellis hac vice tua scripta tulerunt. Nihil enim haec leta ad molestiam de morte tuae matris sunt. Sed illis, quae natura statuit, obviare non possumus. Toleranda magis quam arguenda sunt. Diu scivimus et nos et nostros morituros. Praeparare animos ad ea debuimus. Culpa nostra est, quod imparati reperimur.

[7] De vicario accepi, quae scripsisti. Sororia tuis litteris[2] Bartholomaeus[3] mihi significavit. Credo te tua sapientia satis armatum contra sinistras suspiciones. Non est, quod me tibi excusare velim, qui nihil erravi. Tu scis capita hominum esse diversa. Ut vultus hominum, ita et animi dissimiles. Scripsit ille ad me saepe, se meum esse vicarium, optare se juris reddendi plenam habere facultatem, ne cujuspiam imperio a via juris recedere cogeretur. Laudavi ejus propositum. Scripsi, ne quemquam[4] decretorum et canonum {122r} auctoritati praeferret justumque se omnibus exhiberet. Id non credidi solum, sed scivi tibi non esse adversum, neque enim me latet, te ea velle et prosequi, quae sunt honesta, teque meum honorem maxime cupere. Itaque, cum illa scripsi, tunc potissime scribere me intellexi tuum consilium et audiendum et sequendum, cui, quae justa sunt, sola placent. Verum, quia, ut ais, alio modo res recipitur, rogo te, ne multum hoc ponderes[5] dissimulesque donec redeam, quia non est mea intentio diu abesse. Credo te credere tuum pedem mihi cariorem esse cujuscumque extranei capite. Si putarem me[6] longo tempore abfuturum[7], scriberem nunc meam voluntatem. At quia animus mihi est, quam primum redire post autumnum, malo per me ipsum quam per alios haec terminare negotia. Invenies certe, quia non sum erga te meosque mutatus[8].

[8] Bartholomaeum canonicum semper credidi[9] bonum virum et credo hodie. Non est, cur aliud opiner. Res meas suae fidei commisi. Si quando scribo, ut ejus actionibus intendas, non ad suspicionem id tendit, sed quia plures oculi plura vident. Bonum existimo te quoque ejus facta prospicere et domui consulere meae.

[9] De bello regis Aragonum nihil ex vobis aut aliis quibuscumque inteligere valeo. Cuperem tamen scire, ut res se habent, sic enim de meo reditu melius deliberare possem. Nos modo his in regionibus pacem habemus. In Hungaria surrexit quidam latro nomine Axamit, qui secum habet 5000 hominum magnasque rapinas agitat. Rex Ladislaus coegit exercitum, ut adversus eum iret. Nunc videtur mutasse propositum velleque Bohemiam intrare, ut ibi coronetur, nam Bohemi id maxime exigunt.

Vale. Ex Grez Styriae, die 1. Julii 1453.

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[1] ~~modo~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~dominus~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~ad me~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~decre~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~sed cum homine~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~diu~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~mitterem ad te procuratorem ut de alio provideres vicario~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~dominum~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] *corr. ex* credimus cod.

[6] I am pleased that Antonia[1] is now betrothed, and I hope she is getting a good and learned husband[2]: I attach much importance to your judgement in this matter. You recommended him[3] to me, and several others have confirmed your opinion. When I spoke with him, I found him - as far as I can tell - to be a worthy man - someone we would wish to be one of us. You have also freed me from a serious concern by letting me know that Francesca,[4] your sister and mine,[5] has been promised to a nobleman. You have done well. Now, all is settled. It only remains for us to find a wife for you. I heard with satisfaction that the matter of Beltramo[6] has been settled. Thus, you have written both sad and happy things to me, but this time your letter brought me more gall than honey, for the good news counts for nothing compared to your mother's death. But we cannot prevent nature's course. It must be borne rather than resisted. We have known for long that both we and those dear to us are mortal. So we ought to prepare our souls for that, and it is our own fault if we are caught unprepared.

[7] I hear what you say about my vicar[7]. Bartolomeo[8] has written similarly. I believe that your intelligence arms you against sinister suspicions. I have no need to excuse myself to you, for I have committed no error. You know how different people are: their minds are as dissimilar as their faces. The vicar has several times written to me that as my vicar he should have full powers to administer justice, lest he be forced by anyone's command to abandon the course of justice.[9] I praised his attitude. I wrote that he should put no one above the authority of the decrees and the canons[10] but show himself to be just towards all.[11] I not only believed but knew that you would agree and that you want to pursue what is honourable and that you fervently desire [to uphold] my honour. As I wrote this, I realised that your counsel should be heeded and followed, for you only wish for that which is just. But since you say it is perceived differently, I ask you to not worry about it too much but to keep a straight face until my return, for I do not intend to stay away for long. I believe you know that your foot is dearer to me than anyone else's head. If I thought I would be absent for long, I would now write what I want to be done. However, since I intend to return right after autumn, I prefer to settle these matters myself rather than leave them to others. In any case, you may be sure that I have not changed towards you and my people.

[8] I have always considered Canon Bartolomeo to be a good man and still do so, having no reason to think differently. I have entrusted my affairs to his loyalty. If I write that you should observe his actions, it is not because I have any suspicions, but because more eyes see more, so I think it would be good if you, too, would monitor his actions and look after my house.

[9] Regarding the war of the King of Aragon,[12] I cannot get any news from you or others. But I would like to know how matters stand, for thus I can better decide about my return. Right now, we have peace in these regions. In Hungary, however, a bandit named Axamit has appeared. He has 5,000 men with him and commits great raids. King Ladislaus[13] has gathered an army against him, but now it seems that he has changed his mind and wants to enter Bohemia to be crowned there, which the Bohemians strongly demand.

Farewell. From Graz in Steiermark, 1 July 1453.

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[1] Antonia Guglielmi, daughter of Piccolomini's sister, Caterina, and her husband, Bartolomeo Guglielmi.
[2] See letter 338:1.
[3] Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (RTA, 19/3: p. 352, n. 6)
[4] Francesca Lolli.
[5] Piccolomini's cousin.
[6] Unidentified. Also mentioned in letter 316: 2.
[7] Rafaele Primadizi.
[8] Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa, see letter 338:7.
[9] The letters are not extant.
[10] Canon law.
[11] See letter 313.
[12] Alfonso V.
[13] Ladislaus the Posthumous.

335. Letter to João Fernandes da Silveira (ca. 1 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 122r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 49.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 106, pp. 184-185 (on the basis of W1).*
Literature: *Hack.*

{122r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni Fernandi, legum doctori Portugallensi, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Venientem ad te familiarem tuum ex hoc loco nolui meis litteris vacuum reverti. Quae scribam, non sunt alia, nisi quia cupio tibi bene esse teque memoriam mei habere. Nos in pace sumus, non tamen certa: miseria hostium nos quietos esse sinit. In Hungaria surrexit quidam latro nomine Axamit, qui habet secum 5000 hominum multaque spolia facit. Ejus causa Ladislaus rex exercitum induxit, ut illum expugnaret. Postea Bohemi venientes petiverunt eum ire Pragam coronationis sollemnia celebraturum: nisi id ageret[4], non bene eum habiturum illo in regno dicebant. Itaque, mutato proposito, rex ille Pragam ire decrevit intra mensem coronamque suscipere. Hoc nobis medio tempore pacem tribuit. Serenissima imperatrix bene valet et Caesar.

Oro me commendes serenissimo[5] regi Portugalliae meque suum facias.[6] Dominum Lupum meo nomine salvum dici cupio. Vale et me ama perpetuo, nam tu a me maxime amaris.

[1] DV, 249
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Johanni Fernandi de Portugallia. Eximie doctor, amice honorande. Post mille salutes cod.
[4] ~~mala~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~domino~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~similiterque d.~~ *seq.* cod.

335. Letter to João Fernandes da Silveira (ca. 1 July 1453,[1] Graz).

Context: *During negotiations in Naples in December 1450, Piccolomini had made the acquaintance of the Portuguese commissioners in the matter of the emperor's marriage with Leonora of Portugal.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks to be remembered and sends news from the imperial court.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to João Fernandes,[2] Portuguese Doctor of Laws.

[1] Since your familiar is now returning to you [in Portugal], I did not want him to leave without a letter from me. What I write is nothing other than to express my wish that you are well and still remember me. Here, we have peace, though not a stable one: the enemies' troubles leave us in tranquillity. In Hungary, a bandit named Axamit has appeared. He has 5,000 men with him and commits widespread plunder. Because of him, King Ladislaus had gathered an army to destroy him, but then the Bohemians came and demanded that he go to Prague to celebrate his solemn coronation. If he did not, they said it would not go well for him in the kingdom. So the king changed his mind and decided to go to Prague within a month to be crowned. In the meantime, we shall have peace. The Most Serene Empress[3] is well and so is the Emperor.

Please commend me to the Most Serene King of Portugal[4] and assure him of my devotion. I also wish you to convey my greetings to Lord Lopo[5]. Farewell, and love me always as I love you.

[1] Date missing, but presumed by Wolkan to be the same as the preceding letter (WO, 3: 1, p. 185, n. b).

[2] Fernandes da Silveira, João: one of the two Portuguese commissioners in the matter of the emperor's marriage with Leonora of Portugal.

[3] Leonora de Portugal (1434-1467): Married the emperor in Rome, 1452. See Piccolomini's description of her in the oration *"Quamvis grandes materias"* of 10 December 1450 (COR, 4: 14, 15-19).

[4] Afonso V (Avis) (1432-1481): King of Portugal from 1436 to his death.

[5] Lopo de Almeida (1416-1486): Courtier and diplomat of Afonso V., the second Portuguese commissioner.

336. Letter to Juan Carvajal (10 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 122v-123r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 50.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 107, pp. 185-187 (on the basis of W1).*

{122v} [Aeneas, episcopus Senensis[3],] Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, patri colendissimo, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Cognosco ex litteris tuis[5] episcopum Salzburgensem vel suum procuratorem de meis actibus esse conquestum, nam ea tangis, quae ab ipso mihi scripta sunt. Ago tuae dignationi gratias, quae me paterno affectu commonitum facit. Verum, ut scias, quo pacto me gero in legatione, mitto cum praesentibus copiam litterarum mearum, quas eidem Salzburgensi rescripsi. Non est mea intentio, vel sibi vel alteri cuipiam inferre gravamen. Utinam sciret tua sapientia, quae a me gesta sunt omnia: invenires me parce usum auctoritate et nonnisi vehementer requisitum.

[2] Utcumque sit, non est, cur multa faciam verba, quando hac me legatione brevi spoliare curabo. Multa me scripta ex Senis vocant; nisi redeo cito Senas[6], omnia mea[7] ruunt, labitur domus, agri deseruntur[8], arescunt vineae, populus omnis mihi maledicit, necessarii mei nequeunt absentiam meam diutius tolerare. Ob has causas decrevi, lapsa aestate, petere licentiam a Caeesare saltem ad tempus. Spero me illam habiturum ad 6 menses, si non longiorem. Tunc cessabit legatio mea, quamvis etiam nunc, quoad exercitium cessat, nisi quod nudius tertius rogante Caesare abbati Runensi ecclesiolam quandam consecravi, de qua puto rumorem audieris, quia archidiaconus de Gravelino praetendit se laesum. Sed abbas habet licentiam sedis apostolicae, itaque non curo suas querimonias. Haec de legatione sint dicta.

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[1] DV, 250-251
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *em.; omit*. cod.
[4] Johanni …dicit *corr. ex* Domino Sancti Angeli Reuerendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[5] ~~reverendissimum dominum, dominum~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *corr. ex* domum cod.
[7] *supralin.* cod.
[8] *corr. ex* vastantur cod.

336. Letter to Juan Carvajal (10 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *At this time, Piccolomini was not only in a despondent mood because of his lack of influence in imperial affairs but also frustrated by his office as a papal legate, which kept him from returning to Siena.*

Subject: *Piccolomini replies to the complaint of the Archbishop of Salzburg against his acts as a papal legate. He informs the cardinal that he intends to bring his legatine mission to an end in order to return to Siena and settle the affairs of his diocese, sorely in need of his episcopal care. He complains of the cardinals' lack of sympathy with his request to be freed from paying the annates for the See of Siena, and of the lack of response to his request for absolution to one of his familiars. Finally, he informs the cardinal of the situation in Bohemia and Hungary, and the development of the court trial between the Prussian League and the Teutonic Order. The tenor of the letter is one of general frustration.* [1]

[Enea, Bishop of Siena], sends many greetings to Juan, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, Most Worshipful Father.

[1] I see from your letter[2] that the Bishop of Salzburg[3] or his procurator[4] has complained about my acts [as legate], for you mention some affairs that he has written to me about. I thank Your Grace for advising me with paternal affection. However, that you may know how I conduct myself in this legatine mission, I attach a copy of the letter[5] I wrote to the bishop. It is not my intention to trouble him or anybody else. I do wish, however, that Your Wisdom knew all that I have done, for then you would find that I have used my authority sparingly and only when urgently required.

[2] In any case, there is no reason to say much about it since I intend shortly to be relieved of my legatine mission. Many letters from Siena call me back: if I do not return soon, all I have will fall apart, the [episcopal] residence will collapse, the fields will be abandoned, and the vineyards will dry out. All the people curse me, and my relatives can no longer bear my absence. Therefore, I have decided to ask the emperor for a leave of absence after the summer. I hope to get six months, if not longer. My legatine mission will then end, and indeed, I would have ceased to exercise it now except that three days ago, I consecrated - at the emperor's demand - a chapel[6] for the abbot of Roun. You will probably hear about it since the archdeacon of Gratwein[7] claims that his rights have been infringed by this act. But the abbot has permission from the Apostolic See, so I do not concern myself about the archdeacon's complaints. No more about my legation.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 535.
[2] Not extant.
[3] Siegmund von Volkersdorf.
[4] I.e., by letter or through his procurator in Rome.
[5] Letter 296.
[6] The Ulrichskapelle at Ulrichsberg in Roun (WO).
[7] Erhard Kornmetz, parish priest in Gratwein (WO).

[3] Puto ante tres menses esse apud te et de his atque aliis loqui latius, nam Senas petiturus necessario prius Romam veniam, quia Florentia non patet iter. Tunc quoque videbo, si tantam ex collegio sacro[1] merui gratiam, ut annatae possim oneribus liberari, quamvis audio aliquos esse, qui me hoc indignum beneficio dicunt, quia cum Basiliensibus non perseveravi in adversitatibus, quasi melius sit in malo permanere quam ab illo recedere. Et illi fortasse, qui haec locutus est, ita contigit, nam perseverasse sibi auctio dignitatis fuit, aliis vero paupertatis et miseriae cumulus. Sed de hoc praesens loquar.

[4] De meo familiari absolvendo numquam merui habere responsum. Video non esse necesse me repetere, quod non libenter auditur. Qui nihil petit, numquam repulsum patitur. Hoc me deinceps remedio uti oportebat, si nolo gravis mihi ipsi et amicis esse.

[5] Scripsisti expectare te pacem sancti Georgii. {123r}At ego jam diu scripsi, res esse mutatas: dilatio recepta fuit ad Festum Sancti Johannis Baptistae, sed neque tunc consummata res est neque pacem neque bellum habemus. Australes pacis cupidi sunt, Hungari contra. Sed his quoque datum est, quod agant.

[1] supralin. cod.

[3] I intend to be with you within three months, and then we can talk more about this and other matters, for I must come to Rome before Siena since the way via Florence is not open.[1] Then I shall see whether I have merited such favour from the Holy College[2] that I might be freed of the burden of the annates.[3] I hear, though, that some consider me unworthy of such a favour since I did not remain with the Basileans during their troubled times,[4] as if it were better to remain with them in [their] wickedness than to abandon them. But this is what he who said it did, and remaining with the Basileans actually advanced his career,[5] whereas others who remained fell into poverty and misery. But I shall say more about this when we meet.

[4] Concerning the absolution of my familiar,[6] I have apparently never merited a response. I understand that I should not ask for something that is not agreeable. He who never asks is never rebuffed. I shall follow this course[7] in the future, lest I burden myself and my friends.

[5] You wrote that you expect the peace to be declared at the Feast of Saint George, but I have already written to you a long time ago that the situation has changed[8]: the ratification was postponed until the Feast of Saint John the Baptist but did not happen then, either, so now we have neither peace nor war. The Austrians desire peace, the Hungarians are against it - but they, too, have plenty to occupy them.

[1] Because of a state of war involving Firenze and Siena on opposite sides.
[2] The College of Cardinals.
[3] The annates, Piccolomini was due to pay for the See of Siena.
[4] This accusation would have been quite astonishing. When Piccolomini is accused of opportunism in this connection, it is rather for staying with the council and the antipope for 4-5 years after its transferral to Ferrara.
[5] It could be either Cardinal Jean d'Arces or Cardinal Guillaume-Hugues d'Estaing, both of whom remained with the council in Basel after Pope Eugenius transferred it to Ferrara (1438). Both had later (1444) been appointed cardinals by antipope Felix V, and even later (1449) reappointed cardinals by Pope Nicolaus V in connection with the settlement of the schism.
[6] Fincinus. See letters 290: 18 and 404: 1.
[7] To not ask.
[8] See letter to the pope, 319: 3.

[6] Axamit Bohemus cum quinque, ut ajunt, milibus latronum Hungariam ingressus aliqua castra cepit, munitiones aedificavit, spolia multa abduxit conflixitque resistentes Hungaros. Ejus causa indixit rex Ladislaus exercitum famamque fecit velle se ire adversus hostes, at Australes noluerunt, ut erant jussi, exercitum cogere. Misit tamen rex mille de suis Australibus in Hungariam, ipse cum sua curia jam intrare debet Moraviam, deinde ad Festum Michaelis ait se velle[1] ire Pragam coronamque accipere, quod Bohemis tardum videtur, maxime Catholicis, quibus Georgiconis imperium grave est. Dominus de Rosis jam aegre fert praeferri sibi Georgium. Putabat enim, quia in campo contra Novam civitatem fuit, totam sibi Bohemiam committi debere. Sed Ladislaus ab eo regnum recipere vult, qui potest dare, itaque Georgius omnia potest. Nunc minores ex Praga depulsi sunt, ut sperent Catholici sub novo rege novas invenire mutationes.

[7] Pruteni de ordine hic sunt, agitaturi judicium cum adversariis de liga, sed alia pars abest, nam legati venientes in Moravia cum multis bonis capti sunt neque adhuc dimissi, quamvis rex Ladislaus, sub cujus fide miseri decepti sunt, ad eorum liberationem vehementer intendat. Haec habui, quae modo scriberem.

Cupio recommendari domino nostro sanctissimo, ad cujus pedes cito me praesentare decrevi[2], visitaturum semel suam sanctitatem antequam moriar. Vale in domino optime. Ex Grez, die 10. julii 1453.

[1] ~~intrare~~ *seq.* cod.

[2] ~~non tamen molestaturus suam sanctitatem~~ *seq.* cod.

[6] Axamit the Bohemian has reportedly entered Hungary with 5,000 brigands. He has taken some fortresses, built strongholds, taken much plunder, and fought the Hungarians who resisted him. Because of this, King Ladislaus mobilised an army and announced that he would go against the enemies. However, the Austrians did not want to raise an army as they had been commanded.[1] The king then sent 1,000 of his men into Hungary. He himself is now to enter Moravia with his court and then proceed to Prague to receive the crown at the Feast of Saint Michael. This seems too late to the Bohemians especially to the Catholics who feel oppressed by Georg's rule.[2] Lord Rosenberg[3] is dissatisfied that Georg is preferred to him, for he thought that since he had participated in the siege of Neustadt,[4] he would be entrusted with the whole of Bohemia.[5] But Ladislaus wants to receive the kingdom from him who can give it, and therefore Georg remains all-powerful. The [Friars] Minor[6] have now been expelled from Prague, but the Catholics hope for changes under the new king.

[7] Representatives of the Prussian Order are here now for the court trial with their adversaries from the League.[7] However, the other party is absent, for as their representatives were travelling through Moravia, they - with many possessions - were captured and have not yet been released. The poor men's safe conduct from King Ladislaus was broken, so the king has now intervened energetically to obtain their release.[8] This is what I have to write for now.

Please commend me to Our Most Holy Lord, at whose feet I have decided to present myself soon, intending to visit His Holiness once more before I die. Live well in the Lord. From Graz, 10 July 1453.

[1] The Austrians feared the army would be used against the emperor, see later letters.
[2] The Governor of Hungary, Georg Podiebrad, was the leader of the Hussite party.
[3] Oldřich II. z Rožmberka, [Ulrich II von Rosenberg]
[4] At the side of the Austrians demanding the release of King Ladislaus from the emperor's wardship (1452).
[5] As governor, replacing Podiebrad.
[6] Franciscans.
[7] The Prussian League against the Teutonic Order.
[8] On this affair, see CRDM, 4: 3.3, 9.3, 9.5.

337. Letter to Stefano Caccia di Fara (12 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 123r-123v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 51.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 108, pp. 188-189 (on the basis of W1).*

{123r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Stefano de Novaria, jurisconsulto, amico bono, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Gratissimae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae, quas novissime ad me scripsisti. Res enim Italiae ex illis intellexi, quae prius incognite mihi fuerant. Legi eas imperiali majestati non sine tua commendatione et laude. {123v} Rogo, in eo scribendi officio perseveres; sic enim et Caesari rem gratam facies, nam qui ad verum atque ad ordinem res Italas nobis scribat, praeter te nemo est. Alii somniando scribunt. Tuae litterae vigilantis hominis sunt. Sed accipe nunc vicem meam, non tamen aequalem, nam tibi par esse non possum.

[2] Habeto tamen ex me aliqua. Pax, quae ratificari debuit, adhuc pendet neque bellum est neque pax vera. Silent tamen inter nos arma. Causa est, quoniam Australes cupidi pacis sunt, Hungari contra. Rex Ladislaus, puer et anceps, quid agat in tanto negocio, non capit[4]. Subsistit igitur neque bello neque paci respondet. Nos quoque silemus, quoniam castra possidemus, neque provocabimus adversarios, etiam si mille annis taceant. Hungaris[5] novum flagellum supervenit: Axamit, homo Bohemus, cum 5000 latronum Hungariam infestans, adversus quem Hungari profecti saepe prostrati sunt. Nunc major apparatus in eos fit. Rex quoque ex Austria mille mittit eo milites fuitque intentionis per se ipsum in exercitum ire. Postea mutavit propositum, quia Australes noluerunt consentire in exercitum comparandum, timentes, ne[6] fieret contra imperatorem sub colore Axamit. Ipse vero rex in Moraviam modo proficiscitur, deinde ad Festum Michaelis ingredi Bohemiam decrevit. Provincia illa suo more nutat. Catholici solito magis vexantur. Deus illa negotia respiciat.

[3] Hic habentur nova horribilia de perditione Constantinopolis, quae utinam falsa sint!

[4] Quod cupis committi tibi negotia aliqua Caesaris, fiet me procurante, si quid erit tua cura dignum faciamque te consiliarium appellari. Verum ego spero brevi tecum esse. Res meae Senensis ecclesiae praesentiam meam exigunt. Itaque decrevi licentiam petere eundi domum et ibi ad aliquos menses manendi. Id faciam circa Michaelis Festum, quando mitius est in Italia caelum. Tunc transitum Roma faciam et te cupide videbo.

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[1] DV, 251-252
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Stefano de Novaria. Venerabilis et eximie doctor. Post salutes plurimas cod.
[4] non capit : nescit WO
[5] ~~tamen~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~id~~ *seq.* cod.

337. Letter to Stefano Caccia di Fara (12 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *Stefano Caccia di Fara had written to Piccolomini from Rome,*[1] *offering his services to the emperor and sending news from Italy.*

Subject: *Piccolomini informs Stefano that he will support his request if anything suitable comes up and arrange for him to be given the title of counsellor. He sends him news from the imperial court and, for the first time, mentions the Fall of Constantinople, news of which had just reached the imperial court.*[2] *He also touches upon the affair of the annates and Campisio's appointment as Bishop of Piacenza.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Stefano from Novara, jurist and good friend.

[1] I was delighted to receive your recent letter since it gave me information about the situation in Italy that I had not previously known. I read the letter to His Imperial Majesty, praising and commending you to him. Please continue to do this, which will please the emperor, for you are the only one who writes to us reliably and properly about Italian affairs. Others write as if they were dreaming, but your letters are those of a person fully awake. I now return the favour though not on the same level, for I cannot match you.

[2] Still, here is some news from me. The peace[3] should have been ratified, but the ratification is still pending, and there is neither war nor true peace. However, the arms are silent for now. The reason is that the Austrians fervently desire peace while the Hungarians oppose it. King Ladislaus, still a boy and wavering, does not know what to do in such an important affair. So he procrastinates and will decide neither for peace nor war. We, on our side, say nothing, for we have the fortresses [in Hungary] and will not provoke our adversaries even if they should remain silent for a 1,000 years. However, a new scourge has hit the Hungarians: Axamit the Bohemian is harassing Hungary with 5,000 brigands, and when the Hungarians go against him, they are defeated. Now a major campaign is being prepared against them: the king[4] would send 1,000 soldiers into Hungary from Austria, and it was his intention to accompany the army in person. Now, he has had to change his mind, for the Austrians did not consent to join such an army, fearing that Axamit was used as a pretext to mobilise it against the emperor. So, instead, the king now goes to Moravia and has decided to enter Bohemia at the Feast of Saint Michael. That province is unstable - as is their custom - and the Catholics are harassed more than usual. May God take care of these matters.

[3] Here we have received horrifying news of the fall of Constantinople - if only it were false![5] [6]

[4] You want to be entrusted with some of the emperor's affairs. I shall see to it if anything suitable occurs, and I will arrange for you to be given the title of counsellor.[7] But I hope to be with you shortly since the affairs of my Church of Siena require my presence. I have, therefore, decided to request permission to go home and stay for some months. I shall do so around the Feast of Saint Michael when the weather is gentler[8] in Italy. Then I shall continue to Rome, where I shall very much want to see you.

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[1] Letter not extant.

[2] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 21.

[3] Between King Ladislaus and the Emperor.

[4] King Ladislaus.

[5] Constantinople fell to Mehmed II on 27 May 1453. News of the fall reached Venice on 29 June and Rome on 8 July (Setton, 2: pp. 138-139). It had reached the imperial court in Graz by 12 July (Setton, 2: p. 150).

[6] Bisaha: *From,* p. 67.

[7] In 1444, Piccolomini had arranged for Stefano's appointment as a royal advocate (letter 150).

[8] I.e., cooler.

[5] De promotionibus Mediolanensi et Placentina admodum laetatus sum. Id tamen mihi amarum est, quod Placentinam dubiam dicis. Spero tamen viro bono et docto non defuturum Dei auxilium[1].

[6] De annatis scripsisti me multum debere reverendissimis dominis meis Firmano et Sancti Angeli, at ego non intelligo me liberatum adhuc. Tunc vere tenebor, cum rem absolutam accipiam, quamvis illorum patrum alia sunt multa in me merita, propter quae omnia[2] ipsis debeo, quibus oro iterum et iterum me commendes.

Vale et[3] Petro de Noxeto, viro optimo et maximo, commendatum me facito. Ex Grez, die 12. Julii 1453. Tuus Eneas, episcopus Senensis.

[1] ~~vale~~ *seq.* cod.

[2] ~~illis de~~ *seq.* cod.

[3] ~~domino~~ *seq.* cod.

[5] I was overjoyed at the appointments to Milan[1] and Piacenza,[2] so I am much disappointed that you say that [the appointment to] Piacenza is in doubt. I do hope that God will not fail to help such a good and learned man.[3]

[6] You write that, in the matter of the annates[4], I owe much to my Most Reverend Lords of Fermo[5] and Sant'Angelo,[6] but I understand that I have not yet been freed from that obligation. I shall remain in uncertainty until I hear for sure that the matter has been settled, though these two Fathers have shown me many favours, for which I owe them everything. Please commend me to them again and again.

Farewell, and commend me to Pietro da Noceto, that excellent and great man. From Graz, 12 July 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] Niccolò Amidano (see letter 311).
[2] Giovanni Campisio (see letters 289 and 310).
[3] Giovanni Campisio.
[4] The annates Piccolomini owed to the papal treasury for his appointment to the See of Siena.
[5] Domenico Capranica.
[6] Juan Carvajal.

338. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (13 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 124r*[1].
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 110, pp. 202-203 (on the basis of W1).*

{124r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, filio suo dilecto, domino Bartholomaeo de Massa, legum doctori praestabili[2].

[1] Sex mensibus, postquam Senis scriptae fuerunt, restitutae sunt nobis litterae tuae, quas licet veteres tamen avide legimus, cum loqui tecum, quem habemus carissimum, videremur. Est nobis voluptati, quod Antoniam tibi placere ais suosque mores laudas. Speramus in dies acceptiorem tibi futuram, si modo vestigia parentum secuta fuerit, namque, ut de sorore nostra taceamus, in qua commendanda[3] posset nos fallere sanguis, quis Bartholomaeo patre modestior, quis suavior, quis amantior? Utinam juvenesceret homo ille, sed nimis jam senio confectus est. Omnia per aetatem labuntur, animus quoque fit tempore debilior. Juvenescunt tamen in filiis et quodam modo renascuntur homines, quando paternos habitus saepe liberi referunt. Tenes, quid dicere velimus. Antoniam sua virtus et imitatio paterna non sinet non esse gratam. Nec plura de hac.

[2] De vicario cognovimus, quae scripta sunt a te et a domino Gregorio. Quoniam brevi ad vos redire studemus, non est cur mala super eo dicamus. Habet dominus Gregorius mentem nostram. Multa tolerare oportet homines, compati quoque alterutrum convenit, cuique suum vitium est: vivendum sine socio fuerit, qui vitium habenti noluerint conversari. Neque corpora since macula neque animi sine menda reperiri facile possunt. Cum[4] Bartholomaeo procuratore cupimus computum fieri, ne cum venerimus ejus rei curam habeamus. Novimus eum bonum esse virum, sed nemo est, qui non egeat adjutore. Ideo te hortamur, cum per occupationem licet, superintendas domui nostrae. De frumento saepe mentem nostram intellexisti. Credimus vos, quae meliora sunt, agere vivimusque animo quietiori, dum te curare simul cum Nanne res nostras intelligimus.

Commendamus tuae fidei matrem et sorores nepotesque ac neptes nostras. Bartholomaeo socero, ut[5] nostro nomine multas salutes dicas bonumque animum facias[6], optamus, quem loco patris habemus plurimumque videre[7] optamus. Franciscum, ejus filium, salvere jubemus. Antonium nepotem, si quando errat, acriter corripito et ad studium incendito. Amicis nostris[8], Mariano Sozino, Georgio Andrenzio, Francisco Patritio, Thomasio et Antonio ac Guidoni Piccolominibus ne taedeat nostra vice salutes dicere et vale optime. Ex Grezio, die 13. Julii 1453.

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[1] DV, 253
[2] Aeneas … prestabili *corr. ex* Domino Bartholomeo de Massa, legum doctori, civi Senensi. Eximie doctor, fii carissime cod.
[3] ~~nos~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~domino~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] *supralin.* cod.
[6] ~~omnibus~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] videre WO
[8] ~~dominis~~ *seq.* cod.

338. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (13 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa was engaged to Piccolomini's niece Antonia, thus becoming part of the Piccolomini family network.*
Subject: *Piccolomini commends his niece and asks de Massa to interest himself in his household affairs.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to his beloved son, Ser Bartolomeo de Massa,[2] distinguished Doctor of Laws.

[1] Your letter[3] was delivered six months after it was written in Siena. But though it was old, we read it eagerly since we seemed to be speaking with you, who are most dear to us. We are glad that you are pleased with Antonia[4] and her character.[5] We expect you will grow more and more fond of her if only she follows in the footsteps of her parents, for (saying nothing about our sister to whom blood[6] makes us partial) who is more modest, sweet and loveable than her father, Bartolomeo? I wish he could grow younger, for he is already consumed by old age. Age defeats all, and time weakens the mind. However, men regain their youth and are somehow reborn in their offspring since children often continue their fathers' ways. You know what we mean. Antonia's qualities and imitation of her father ensure that she will be loveable. I shall say no more of this.

[2] Concerning our vicar,[7] we have seen what you and Ser Goro write. Since we intend to return to you shortly, there is no need to make critical comments here. Ser Goro knows what we think. Men must tolerate much, and we should have compassion for each other. Each of us has his faults, and we must live without companions if we cannot accept people with weaknesses. It is not easy to find flawless bodies and faultless souls. We wish our procurator Bartolomeo to settle the accounts lest we must take care of it when we return. We know him[8] to be a good man, but all need a helper. Therefore, we invite you to keep an eye on our household as far as your occupations allow it. Concerning the grain, you have often heard what we think. We know you will do what is best, and we live more tranquilly knowing that you and Nanni[9] are managing our affairs.

We entrust our mother, sisters, nephews and nieces for your faithful care. Please encourage and greet from us your father-in-law Bartolomeo,[10] whom we consider a father and should much like to see. Also, greet his son Francesco. And when our nephew Antonio[11] errs, correct him severely and urge him to study.[12] Please also greet our friends Mariano Sozzini, Giorgio Andrenzio, Francesco Patrizi, and Tommaso, Antonio and Guido Piccolomini.

Live well. From Graz, 13 July 1453.

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[1] Strnad: *Francesco*, p. 112, 118.
[2] Bartolomei Pieri de Massa: Husband of Piccolomini's niece, Antonia.
[3] Not extant.
[4] Antonia Guglielmi de Massa: daughter of Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi and Bartolomeo Guglielmi.
[5] See letter 334:7.
[6] I.e., family relationship.
[7] Rafaele Primadizi.
[8] The vicar.
[9] Nanni Todeschini: Piccolomini's brother-in-law, married to his sister Laudomia.
[10] Bartolomeo Guglielmi.
[11] Antonio Todeschini Piccolomini (1435-1492: Son of Piccolomini's sister, Laudomia, and Nanni Todeschini. He had an extra-ordinary career, due to his uncle, Pope Pius II, who was fond of him. Future Duke of Amalfi.
[12] See letter to Antonio of November 1442 (EPI, 2 / 36).

339. Letter to Francesco Tolomei (13 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 124r*[1] **.
Editions A: *KO, 161*[2].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 111, pp. 203-204 (on the basis of W1).*

{124r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Francisco de Tholomeis, juris pontificii doctori, salutem plurimam dicit. Venerabilis et eximie doctor, amice et frater amantissime[3].

[1] Tuas litteras, postquam Senis datae sunt sex mensibus, accepimus, in quibus de collatione cujusdam ecclesiae mentionem facis cupisque tuum probari factum. Quid ni[4] probemus? Aut quid a te fieri potest non probatu dignum? Placent nobis omnia, quae facis, laudamus probamusque singula, nam etsi rationem facti nullam afferas, vides quantum virtuti tuae tribuimus, ipsa nos auctoritate moveres. Habeto bonum animum. Non est, cur tua gesta rescindere cupiamus. Viveremus quippe securiores, si te vices nostras[5] semper ducere sciremus, tibi namque nihil honestate et animarum salute novimus esse antiquius. Sed mittimus haec, quoniam prope diem te visere atque amplecti speramus. Interea cupimus[6] novello episcopo Grossetano commendatos nos facias, cujus promotionem avide intelleximus, etsi nemo ex nostris de re illa nobis scripserit. Vicarium nostrum tuae caritati acceptum esse commendatumque cupimus, cui[7], cum novissime scripserimus, non fuit modo necessum litteras multiplicare.

Vale et nos ama et nostra cura, ut soles, scitoque te nobis esse carissimum. Ex Gretio Stiriensi, die 13. Julii 1453.[8]

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[1] DV, 253
[2] DV, 142r. *Not collated*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Francisco de Tholomeis, canonico Senensi cod.
[4] *supralin.* cod.
[5] nostra WO
[6] ~~reverendo patre~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~non~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] Magister Nicolaus de Weyssenburga habet tertium et quartum sexternos in Wienna *add. infra, in fine paginae* cod.

339. Letter to Francesco Tolomei (13 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *Francesco Tolomei[1] had asked for[2] Piccolomini's approval of his conferral of some ecclesiastical benefice.*
Subject: *Piccolomini assures Tolomei that he has his full confidence.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Francesco Tolomei, Doctor of Pontifical Law. Venerable and distinguished doctor, beloved friend and brother.[3]

[1] We received your letter from Siena six months after it was sent. In it, you mention the collation of a certain church and ask for our approval. Why should we not approve it? Is not all you do worthy of approval? We are pleased with all your actions, and praise and approve each of them. You do not give the reason for your action, but now you see how much we appreciate your qualities; your authority alone would persuade us. So, take heart: we have no wish to annul your acts. Indeed, we should be more at peace if we knew you would always be acting on our behalf, for we know that nothing matters more to you than honesty and the salvation of souls. But we shall say no more of this since we hope to see and embrace you very soon. In the meantime, we ask you to commend us to the new Bishop of Grosseto[4]: we were delighted to hear about his advancement – though none of ours wrote to us about it. We warmly recommend our vicar[5] to your charity. We wrote to him recently, so it is unnecessary to write to him again now

Farewell. Love and care for us as always, and know how very dear you are to us. From Graz in Steiermark, 13 July 1453.

[1] Francesco Tolomei: Sienese canon. Confidant and relative of Piccolomini.
[2] Letter not extant.
[3] Brother here means remote cousin, the Tolomei and Piccolomini families being variously related.
[4] Giovanni Agazzari.
[5] Rafaele Primadizi.

340. Letter to Nicolaus V (19 June and 12 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *Second version: W1, ff. 124v-126v[1] [2] **.*
Editions A: *KO, 162; Weiss, 43.*
Editions B: *RTA, 19/1: pp. 21, 535 (extracts); WO, 3: 1, 109, pp. 189-202 (on the basis of W1).*

{124v} Nicolao quinto, universali papae, domino nostro sanctissimo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, commendatum se facit[3].

[1] Invitus quidem, beatissime pater, quae adversa sunt, scribo, sed compellit me debitum officii mei, qui, jussu pietatis tuae[4] Germaniam incolens, quaecumque accidunt, sive secundae sive adversae sortis novitates, apostolico teneor culmini notas facere. Sane per hos dies nova res in Hungaria exorta est, quamvis mala et adversa paci bonisque moribus, tamen scitu digna et admirabilis, quam tuae sanctitati referre hac epistola breviter institui.

[2] Hungaria, sicuti beatitudini tuae constare non ambigo, et ultra et citra Danubium latissimas terras occupat. Quod citra Danubium est, olim Pannonia fuit, quae ab orienti[5] Moesiam, ab occidenti Noricum habuit. Septentrionem ei Danubius, Austrum Illyrici montes excepere, quos[6] Isidorus, magno errore, ut mihi videtur, deceptus, Appenninos vocitat. Quae trans Danubium Hungaria jacet, pars Scythiae prius erat duasque gentes habuit, Gepidas, qui contermini Germanis fuerunt, et Dacos - non qui nunc Daci vocantur, quorum rex ad Oceanum Germanicum inter Sueciam ac[7] Saxoniam latissimo regno sed palustri potitur, nam hi Dani melius appellantur - sed qui ea loca tenuerunt, quae nunc Transsilvani occupant, vicina Tartaris in coronae speciem montibus cincta. In hac parte Hungariae, quae Gepidarum fuit, adhuc territorium est, quod Sepusium appellant pro Gepudio, ubi aquae rivus habetur, in quo mersa ferri materies[8] in cuprum vertitur.

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[1] DV, 254-258

[2] *The ms. contains two versions of this letter. The first, short, version, dated 19 June 1453, in Piccolomini's own hand (W1, ff. 118r-119r; edited by WO, 3: 1, pp. 189-196 ff.) largely corresponds with sections 1-6 in the later, long version, dated 12 July. The later, long version, in a scribal hand (W1, ff. 124 sqq.) contains an updated account of the troubles in Hungary to which is added an account of the Fall of Constantinople.*

[3] Nicolao … facit corr. ex Nicolae papae quinto maximo et sanctissimo sacerdoti cod.

[4] *KO uses 2. plural in address*

[5] oriente KO

[6] quo KO

[7] et WO

[8] materia KO

340. Letter to Nicolaus V (19 June and 12 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *Recent developments in Central Europe and the Fall of Constantinople.*
Subject: *In a letter drafted on 19 June, Piccolomini reported on developments in Hungarian, Bohemian and Prussian affairs. After news of the Fall of Constantinople had reached the imperial court, he added, on 12 July, a long section on this event, describing it in terms reminiscent of the classical* urbs capta *narrative, and formulating a brief proposal for papal action. He would reuse terms and passages from this narrative in his later letters, orations, and other writings on the Fall of Constantinople.*

To Nicolaus V, Universal Pope, Our Most Holy Lord, Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

1. Situation in Hungary

[1] Holy Father, I write only reluctantly about bad misfortunes; yet my office obliges me, residing in Germany on Your Piety's orders, to inform Your Apostolic Highness of all that happens, good or bad. And recently, an astonishing disturbance has occurred in Hungary that is worth knowing, even though it threatens peace and decency, which I have decided to report briefly to Your Holiness.

[2] As I am sure Your Holiness knows, Hungary consists of vast lands on both sides of Donau. The part on this side of Donau was once called Pannonia,[1] stretching from Moesia[2] in the east to Noricum[3] in the west. Its northern limit is formed by the Donau, and its southern by the mountains of Illyria[4], which Isidore[5] - quite erroneously, I believe - called the Apennines. The part of Hungary beyond Donau was once part of Scythia[6] and was inhabited by two peoples, the Gepids,[7] neighbours of the Germans, and the Dacians.[8] They were not those we call Dacians today, whose king possesses a large but marshy[9] kingdom[10] by the Germanic Sea, between Sweden and Sachsen (they would more properly be called Danes)[11]. The Dacians of old held the territories now occupied by the Transylvanians, close to the Tartars and surrounded by a circle of mountains. In the part of Hungary that belonged to the Gepids lies the territory called Sepusium[12] (for Gepudium). There is a river in which they bathe metallic matter and thus transform it into copper.[13]

[1] Province of the Roman Empire. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pannonia_Prima#/media/File:Pannonia03_en.png

[2] Province of the Roman Empire. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RomanEmpire_117_-_Moesia_Superior_and_Moesia_Inferior.svg

[3] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Noricum#/media/File:Roman_Empire_-_Noricum_(125_AD).svg

[4] In Antiquity, a region in the Western part of the Balkan Peninsula, inhabited by tribes known asthe Illyrians.

[5] Isidoro de Sevilla (c. 560-630): Hispano-Roman scholar, theologian and Archbishop of Seville. Author of the *Etymologiae* (an important encyclopedia).

[6] Scythia: the Greco-Roman name for a region in Eastern Europe corresponding to the Pontic steppe, inhabited by the Scythians.

[7] Gepids: East Germanic tribe living in the area of modern Romania, Hungary and Serbia.

[8] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dacia#/media/File:Dacia_82_BC.png

[9] Piccolomini had this notion from Tacitus: *Germania*, 5

[10] Denmark.

[11] In this, Piccolomini was quite correct. See Cotta-Schønberg*: De Daniae*, p. 93.

[12] Sepusium or Scepusium is the Latin name of the region Szepesség (Zips, Spis).

[13] For a more extensive description by Piccolomini of Hungary's geography, see his EUR, ch. 1.

[3] Gleba illic frumenti ferax, auri et argenti divites venae, multum pecoris, aer salubris, terra optimis comparanda, nisi sua se ubertate corrumperet: verum latrones, ex omnibus provinciis per circuitum depulsos, ipsa soli invitat fecunditas. Illuc enim velut asylum impunitatis habeant omnes, qui domo vel propter flagitium vel propter seditiones exulant, armati sese recipiunt censualesque sibi accolas reddunt. Saepe illic, dum Sigismundus imperavit, latronibus receptacula patuere, neque Alberto Caesare raptoribus ea regio caruit. Sub rege Poloniae pax miseris incolis ignota fuit.

[4] Giskra Bohemus, non alto loco natus, multa vi animi et corporis eam provinciam magna sibi ex parte subegit. Multa ibi proelia varia fortuna confecit, saepe cum paucis magnas hostium suorum copias fudit, saepe victor, raro victus. Tandem Hungariae proceres ipsumque regni gubernatorem, mortuo rege Polonie pacem ex se petere compulit civitatesque regionis illius diutinae ac miserandae servitutis jugo contrivit. Novissime autem, cum Ladislaus, Alberti filius, paternum regnum suscepisset, Giskramque data pecunia, Sepusinis oppidis cedere suasisset, spes erat quieturam terram atque post longas belli calamitates dulcis tandem otii suavitatem fruituram.

[5] Sed minime ita visum est superis: novus latro nova proelia miscet. Nempe inter montes et silvas, quae Poloniam Hungariamque disterminant, diu latrocinatus est Bohemus quidam, obscura domo vilibusque parentibus ortus, sed audax homo, manu atque ingenio promptus, laboris patiens periculique[1] contemptor, cujus multa facinora referuntur, qui cum sericeam[2] duploidem domino, cui serviebat, olim furatus esset, cognomento Axamit appellatus est, quod Latine villosum sericum[3] sonat. Hic postquam Giskram Sepusio amotum audivit terramque milite vacuam[4] agnovit, congregata non parva latronum manu, quasi in ejus locum suffectus regionem invasit duabusque arcibus, natura et arte munitis, partim vi partim dolo receptis, mox ruricolas in apertis villis commorantes ferro atque igne deterritos, ministrare victui necessaria, pecunias dare menstruas ad omnemque nutum praesto esse coegit, cumque munitiones {125r} aliquot locis opportunis construxisset atque in his praesidia collocasset, civitates quoque munitas sibi tributarias reddidit.

[1] periculisque WO
[2] siriceam cod.
[3] siricum cod.
[4] ~~intellexit~~ *seq.* cod.

[3] The soil there is fertile for grain, the veins are rich in gold and silver, there is an abundance of cattle and a healthy climate, and the land might easily compare to the best of lands were it not spoiled by its very abundance: its fertility attracts bandits expelled from all the neighbouring regions. In Hungary, all who are exiled from their home country because of crimes or sedition may, as it were, seek asylum there from punishment: they come armed and force the inhabitants to pay taxes to them. When Sigismund[1] ruled, robbers found refuge there, and also under Emperor Albrecht,[2] the region was plagued by raiders. Under the Polish king,[3] too, the inhabitants had no peace.

[4] Jiskra the Bohemian,[4] a man of humble origins but great mental and physical strength, seized a large part of that province for himself. He fought many battles there, with varying success: he often defeated large enemy troops with scanty forces, most often the victor and rarely the loser. When the Polish king[5] died, Jiskra finally forced the Hungarian nobles and the governor of the realm[6] to seek peace from him, and he subjected the cities of that region to long and wretched servitude.[7] Recently, however, when Ladislaus,[8] the son of Albrecht,[9] inherited his paternal kingdom, he persuaded Jiskra to hand over the cities of Sepusium in exchange for a sum of money. Then, there was hope that the region would have peace and enjoy a blessed calm after the disasters of a long war.

[5] But the heavenly powers did not agree: a new bandit started a new fight. For a long time, a certain Bohemian had plundered the mountainous and forest-covered region separating Poland and Hungary. He was born of an obscure house and humble parents, but he is an audacious man, energetic and intelligent, able to sustain hard labour, and contemptuous of danger. They tell of his many exploits. He once stole a silk doublet from a lord he served, and therefore, he was given the nickname Axamit, which means “shaggy silk”. Hearing that Jiskra had left Sepusium and that the region was free of troops, he gathered a large force of brigands and invaded the region as if he were Jiskra’s replacement. Having - partly by force and partly by deceit - taken two fortresses fortified by nature and art, he soon terrified the peasants in the open villages with sword and fire and forced them to provide the necessary victuals, to pay him a monthly sum, and to obey his every command. He built strongholds in some suitable places and placed garrisons in them, and afterwards, he forced also the fortified towns to pay taxes to him.

[1] 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). See DVI, ch. 23.

[2] Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439): Duke of Austria (Albertinian line) as Albrecht V (1404). King of Hungary and Croatia (1437). Elected King of the Romans (Germany) in 1438. DVI, ch. 24.

[3] Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon) (1424-1444): King of Poland from 1444 and of Hungary from 1444. Died at the Battle of Varna.

[4] Jan Jiskra.

[5] Wladyslaw III.

[6] Janos Hunyadi.

[7] Engel, pp. 290-291. Szalay, pp. 127-128, 135-137.

[8] King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

[9] Emperor Albrecht II.

[6] Deinde astutus homo, quia in potenti regno diu crassari sine magnis copiis se non posse intellexit, ad ingenium Bohemicum rediens, pulchram fallaciam commentus est, qua latrones universos ex proximis regionibus ad se traheret. Omnibus enim, qui sub eo militare vellent, stipendia publicavit, homini equestri in hebdomadam aureum nummum, pedestri mediam partem ac tributorum et spoliorum omnium aequam cuique distributionem. Quidquid enim ex tributis rapinisque corraditur, in communi reponitur cumque praefinitum divisonis adest tempus, emerita cuique stipendia persolvuntur; quod superat, viritim dividitur atque, ut mos Bohemorum est ad evangelii corticem cuncta referre, tantum consequuntur, qui ultima die mensis in societatem belli veniunt, quantum qui mensem integrum arma tulerunt. Sic enim evangelium velle ait, in quo ultimi venientes his[1], qui prima hora venerant, operari comparantur.

[7] Qua re cognita, omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus domo propulit, ad Axamit confugiunt. Ex quibus ille jam 5,000 pugnatorum conflavit exercitum ac not Sepusinis tantum, sed universis Hungaris terribilem formidabilemque se praebet. Neque Johannes Huniad, gubernator, hujus hominis impetum compescere potest, qui etsi majores saepe motus sedaverit majoresque hostes regnum ingressos deleverit, non tamen modo latronis hujus obviare conatibus audet, cui et nonnulli regni barones clam manus porrigere perhibentur, quibus gubernatio Johannis diuturnior graviorque videtur. Ob quam rem interpellatus est Ladislaus rex, ut in Hungariam adversus latrones proficiscatur, nisi regni magnos motus subditorumque varias clades audire velit. Hic autem, etsi Bohemis iturum se Pragam promiserit, tamen, quia majori periculo prius occurrendum putavit, exercitum tota Austria atque Moravia congregari mandavit, publice dictitans adversus Axamit personaliter se velle proficisci.

[8] Persuaderi tamen populo non poterat regem puerum adversus latronem ductare exercitum, sed opinabantur nonnulli hanc esse comitis Ciliae et Johannis, gubernatoris Hungarie, tegnam, qui pacem cum Caesare tractatam habere ratam nequaquam volunt nec militem congregare possunt, cupientibus otium Australibus. Ideo, quasi Axamit exterminaturi ingentes habere copias studebant, quas congregatas in Caesarem verterent. Quidam vero altiori consilio rem pensitantes in caput Johannis cudendam fabam existimabant, qui parum regi paret nec amplius quam quattuor viginti milia florenorum, ut ajunt, in annos singulos regali aerario contribuit. Quod superat, sibi retinet regnumque pro suo arbitratu gubernat, hunc extollens, illum humilians, ut imperium apud eum, regni titulus apud Ladislaum esse videatur.

[1] *supralin.* cod.

[6] Being intelligent, he realised that he could not for long freely in this powerful kingdom for long without large forces. So, with Bohemian cunning, he devised a neat stratagem to attract all the bandits from the neighbouring regions. He announced pay of all who would fight with him: mounted soldiers would receive a gold ducat per week, and foot soldiers the half. Moreover, they would all get an equal share of the tributes and spoils. All that the tributes and plunder bring in is placed in common, and when the time for distribution arrives, the salaries earned are paid. Then, the rest is distributed individually, and since the Bohemian custom is to follow the Gospel literally, those who join the war band on the last day of the month receive as much as those who fought the whole month. This is what the Gospel commanded, Axamit said, for in the Gospel, the day labourers who came last received as much as those who arrived during the first hour.[1]

[7] When this became known, all whom crime, poverty, and guilt had driven from their homes fled to Axamit. With these men, he increased his army to 5,000 fighters and became a terrible and formidable threat not only to the Sepusians but to all Hungarians. Even Governor János Hunyadi is unable to oppose Axamit's attacks, for though he has often overcome major uprisings and destroyed strong enemies invading the kingdom, he does not dare to confront this bandit, who is known to have the secret support of some of the kingdom's barons who consider that János' rule is oppressive and has lasted for too long. Therefore, King Ladislaus[2] was urged to march into Hungary against the bandits. If not, he would hear of great disturbances and disasters in the kingdom. The king had already promised the Bohemians to go to Prague, but considering that he would have to first take care of the greater danger, he ordered an army to be gathered from all of Austria and Moravia, publicly announcing that he would march against Axamit in person.

[8] However, the Austrians could not be persuaded that the boy king[3] would lead the army against the bandit, and many thought this was a ploy devised by the Count of Celje[4] and János, Governor of Hungary, because they do not want the peace negotiated with the emperor to be ratified and are unable to gather soldiers since the Austrians want peace and quiet. Therefore, on the pretext of destroying Axamit, the count and the governor endeavoured to gather a large force that, in fact, they intended to use against the emperor. But others, thinking further, believed that a plot was being prepared against János himself because he was not obedient enough towards the king and did not contribute more than 24,000 florins annually to the royal treasury. The rest he keeps for himself and governs the kingdom as he wills, raising up some men and demoting others: it would appear that he has the power, whereas Ladislaus only has the royal title.

[1] Matthew, 20.
[2] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[3] Ladislaus was 13 years old at the time.
[4] Ulrich II von Cilly.

[9] Judicabant igitur aliqui comitem Ciliae locum ejus appetere neque posse ad eum pervenire, nisi Johannem fraude circumveniat. Eum igitur commentum esse, ut convocentur omnes ex Hungaria, Austria Moraviaque barones in exercitum ad praesentiam regis. Causam convocationis Axamit abunde praebere, non posse Johannem non comparere, comparentem autem in vincula recipi compellique, regni quaecumque bona sibi usurpaverit, regi reddere tumque comitem voti compotem fieri. Quae res mihi haud verosimilis esse visa est, neque enim facile decipi gubernator potest, oculatus homo et amicis prudentibus circumdatus. Frustra quippe jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum. Utcumque foret, Australes, insidias veriti, sine conventu terrigenarum delectum habere militum negaverunt. Comes autem, qui multis non ignorat invisum {125v} se esse, congregationem multitudinis veluti pestem vitavit, ne ut ante Caesaris, sic et tunc suum jugum excuteret. Itaque carere exercitu maluit quam convocando populum regnum suum in dubio ponere. Ne tamen nihil omnino fecisse videretur, mercenarios milites aere publico mille conduxit atque in Hungariam misit, qui se copiis gubernatoris adjungentes in Axamit vaderent. Quomodo autem res acta inter illos sit, nondum exploratum habeo. Timendum est, ne fortuna latronibus faveat, ut saepe malis quam bonis est melior.

[10] Interea Bohemorum legati Viennam venere petiveruntque regem ad eos quamprimum iter facere coronamque regni accipere; nisi hoc ageret, mutationes in Bohemia timendas[1]. His responsum est regem ad Festum Sancti Michaelis iturum, prius - etsi maxime velit - non posse, multis in Austria Moraviaque negotiis occupatum et auro excussum non habere comitatum regi convenientem; cum tempore fieri omnia. Legati, quamvis responsi eos taederet, illud tamen in Bohemiam relaturos se promisere. Interea fratres Sancti Francisci, qui per Sigismundum Caesarem post multas Husitarum clades ad Pragam reducti fuerant, conante Rochezana, repulsi sunt. Sacerdotes, si qui bene de fide sapiunt, infinitis contumeliis afficiuntur. Omnia in manu haereticorum habentur, neque illic Christiana religio, postquam Bohemi baptismum susceperunt, magis umquam oppressa fuit, quam modo, neque praedia neque corpora tueri possunt, qui fidem orthodoxam sequuntur. Ex arbitrio perfidi et hominum, qui vivunt, sceleratissimi Rochezanae cuncta geruntur. Ladislaus enim rex Georgio gubernatori potestatem regni in clericos laicosque concessit. Is vero, quia communionis labem induit, Rochezanae, quem maxime timet, nihil contradicit. Temporalia solum curat, spiritualia Rochezanae permittit.

[1] ~~dicentes~~ *seq*. cod.

[9] Some therefore believed that the Count of Celje sought to take János' place, but could only obtain it by deceit. This is why he had contrived to summon all the barons from Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to join the army and the king's presence. With Axamit providing abundant reason for the summons, János would have to appear, and when he did, he would be arrested and forced to return those crown properties he had appropriated to the king; thus, the count would achieve his goals. However, this does not seem plausible to me, for the governor is not a man to be easily deceived: he is clever and surrounded by intelligent men. In vain does one spread the net in the sight of the birds. However that may be, the Austrians, fearing a secret plot, refused to raise troops before an assembly of the inhabitants was held. But the count, knowing he is hated by many, avoided a large assembly as a plague, lest they would throw off his yoke as they had previously thrown off the emperor's[1]. Therefore, he would rather not have an army than imperil his own rule by summoning a popular assembly. But lest it appear that he had done nothing, he hired 1,000 mercenaries at public cost and sent them into Hungary to join the governor's troops and go against Axamit. How that campaign turned out, I do not yet know. I fear that fortune may favour the bandits since she often favours the evil men more than the good.

2. Situation in Bohemia

[10] In the meantime, Bohemian envoys came to Vienna requesting that the king come to them as soon as possible to receive the crown of the kingdom. If he did not, they warned, political unrest was likely in Bohemia. They were given the answer that the king would come for the Feast of Saint Michael, and that, although he fervently desired to, he could not come before, being occupied with many affairs in Austria and Moravia. Moreover, he was short of funds to ensure a courtly company fit for a king. But all would be done in time. The envoys were frustrated by the answer but promised to bring it back to Bohemia. Meanwhile, the Franciscan Friars, whom Emperor Sigismund (after many defeats at the hands of the Hussites) had brought back to Prague, have been expelled at the instigation of Rokycana.[2] Priests who hold the true faith[3] are subjected to infinite harassments. The heretics[4] hold everything in their power, and never since the Bohemians were first baptised has the Christian religion been so oppressed there as now. Neither the estates nor the lives of the orthodox Catholics[5] are safe. All is done at the will of the perfidious Rokycana, the most wicked of all men alive today, for King Ladislaus has given the kingdom's power over clerics and laymen alike to Georg[6]. But Georg, being tainted with the stain of communion [under both species],[7] is in great fear of Rokycana and never contradicts him. He concerns himself only with temporal matters, leaving the spiritual to Rokycana.

[1] The Austrian rebellion against Friedrich III.
[2] Jan Rokycana
[3] I.e., being Catholics, not Hussites.
[4] The Hussites.
[5] Those who followed the pope as opposed to the Hussite heretics.
[6] Georg Podiebrad.
[7] Utraquism.

[11] Sic regnum illud nobile et olim opulentissimum ab haereticis ex integro gubernatur, quod ante hunc diem inauditum est. Quamvis enim Hussitarum rabies primas in regno partes aliquando possederit, semper tamen aliquot civitates atque barones ecclesiae Romanae ritum servantes extra imperium illorum mansere. Nunc omnis nobilitas omnisque plebs Georgio paret. Hic princeps, hic caput habetur, nec dubium est, quin mores dominantis imitari servientes studeant. Inde malum ingens regno imminet et vicinis regionibus immensa calamitas, nisi rex Ladislaus cito Bohemiam ingrediatur rebusque modum adhibeat meliorem, quod futurum multi sperant. ego cum videro, tunc credam. Dolenda sunt haec, que modo narro, sed protestatus sum ab initio de rebus adversis me verba facturum.

[12] Pergam igitur[1], non ut molestus sim tuae sanctitati, sed uti solium apostolicum[2], quantum valeo nihil ignorare sinam, quae Germanos inter agantur. Dum Bohemi atque Hungari, quae dicta sunt, gerunt, Pruteni, qui adversus magistrum[3] Ordinis Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum certum inter se non laudandum foedus pepigerant, vocati ad judicium Caesaris, legatos ex se primarios homines delegerant, qui, majestatem Caesaream accedentes, causam suam tuerentur. Sed fuit his iter per Moraviam, latronibus inhabitatam terram, ubi tanto quisque nobilior ducitur, quanto spolia majora commisit. Ibi homines intercepti sunt excussique rebus omnibus, aliquibus eorum occisis, in captivitatem deducti, quamvis et Caesaris et Ladislai regis publicae fidei litteras haberent, sicque dicta judicii die circumducitur neque spes est justitiae locum fieri; procedere namque adversus absentes, qui comparere non possunt, nulla ratio patitur. Proferri dies sine consensu partium non potest, quando ex compromisso res agitur, neque procuratores magni magistri consensum prorogationi adhibent.

[13] Quoad tamen Caesar potest ad concordiam navat operas. Sunt enim aliqui ex parte civitatum, qui et juri stare non possunt, compositionis tamen admittendae potestatem habent. Neque in hac re magna spes est, civitates enim {126r} foedus dimittere, religiosi permittere nolunt. Quod si rebus infectis hinc partes abeant, magnum discidium magnumque malum instat. Religio potens est, armis, amicis, auro abundans, neque civitates nudae sunt. Quinque et quinquaginta simul oppida juncta sunt. Civitates imperii, quas vocant stagnales, cum his sentiunt opemque pollicentur. Rex quoque Poloniae vicinus civitatum partes adjuturus timetur, qui saepe religioni et magno magistro fuit infestus. Viri seniores, cum vetera mente revolvunt, admodum verentur, ne Bohemis Pruteni similes fiant, indeque magnus ille et clarissimus Teutonicorum ordo pellatur. Haec ad extrema Germaniae pertinent et ad Oceanum versa, parum mediterraneos movent homines.

[1] ultra WO

[2] solium apostolicum *corr. ex* vestrum solium cod.

[3] magistrum WO

[11] Thus, that noble and once opulent kingdom is entirely ruled by heretics, which has never happened before. For although the Hussite madness has, for some time, dominated the kingdom, there were always cities and barons keeping the rite of the Roman Church and not obeying the Hussites. Now, however, all the nobility and all the common people follow Georg. He is considered their leader and head, and there is no doubt that those who serve imitate the ways of their ruler. Therefore, a great evil looms over the kingdom, and immense disaster threatens the neighbouring regions, unless King Ladislaus soon goes to Bohemia and changes conditions there for the better, which many hope will happen. As for me, I will believe it when I see it. What I am saying here is sad, but I declared in the beginning [of this letter] that I would be speaking about unpleasant matters.

3. Situation in Prussia

[12] I continue, not because I wish to sadden Your Holiness, but so that I, to the best of my ability, can let the Apostolic Throne know what happens in Germany. While the Bohemians and Hungarians were doing what I have related above, the Prussians, who had made an unacceptable pact against the [Grand] Master[1] of the Teutonic Order of Saint Mary, had been summoned to the emperor's tribunal and appointed some high-ranking men to go to His Imperial Majesty and defend their cause.[2] But their journey took through Moravia, a region infested with robbers, where the more spoils you take, the nobler you are considered to be. There, the men were assaulted and robbed of all their possessions. Some were killed, and the others were carried into captivity, despite holding safe conducts from both the Emperor and King Ladislaus. Thus, when the day for the trial arrived, they were not there, and there was no hope for passing a judgement, for when the procedure is based on an agreement between the two parties, one cannot proceed against those who are absent and cannot appear, and the date of trial can only be postponed with the consent of both parties. Yet the procurators of the Grand Master did not agree to a postponement.[3]

[13] The emperor, however, strives to reconcile the parties. Some of the [Prussian] cities do not insist on a judgement, but on the other hand, they do not have the powers to accept a settlement of the conflict. So there is no great hope that the cities will abandon their pact, and the Order will not accept it. But if the parties leave without a result, a major conflict and evil threaten. The order is powerful and has many weapons and friends and much money, and neither are the cities powerless. 55 cities have joined the alliance, and the Hanseatic cities[4] support them and have promised help. It is feared that the neighbouring King of Poland[5] will also support the cities since he has often been an enemy of the Order and its Grand Master. When older men consider the matter, they much fear that the Prussians will imitate the Bohemians and expel the great and noble Teutonic Order. These matters concern the farthest coastal regions of Germany and do not interest men from the Mediterranean region.

[1] Erlichshausen, Ludwig von (1410 - 1467): Grandmaster of the Teutonic Knights from 1449 to his death.

[2] On this affair, see CRDM, 3.3 and 9.3 and 9.5.

[3] Voigt: *Geschichte*, pp. 325-327.

[4] "civitates stagnales"

[5] Kazimierz IV.

[14] Sed quid illud horribile novum modo allatum de Constantinopoli? Tremit manus, dum haec scribo, horret animus neque tacere indignatio sinit neque dolor loqui permittit. Heu miseram Christianitatem. Pudet jam vitae, feliciter ante hunc casum obiissemus! Italia, Germania, Gallia et Hispania magna ex parte salva, proh pudor, ab effeminatis Turcis inclytam urbem Constantinopolim capi permittimus. Credo haec iam tuae pietatis aures accepisse: egredior Germaniam et Graeciam pergo. Turcorum imperator magnis militum copiis Constantinopolim proximis his diebus obsidione terra marique cinxit atque admotis machinis et insultu ter facto expugnavit. Populum omnem gladio extinxit, sacerdotes diversis tormentorum generibus excarnificavit neque sexui neque aetati pepercit. Quadraginta et amplius milia personarum illic occisa referuntur. Qui res gestas ad nos ex Rascia venientes enarrant Palaeologum, qui apud eos imperavit, capite mulctatum, filium ejus erectum fuga in Pera modo obsessum ajunt. Nolo ista sigillatim[1] prosequi, quae per alios et melius et verius sanctitati tuae conscripta esse non ambigo. Satis est mihi cum tua pietate de tanta Christianitatis ruina dolere.

[15] Urbs, quae post Constantinum in annos 1100 et ultra duraverat neque umquam in potestatem venerat infidelium, spurcissimorum Turcorum hoc infelici anno direptioni[2] patuit. Roma quoque post suam conditionem in anno 1164 per Gothorum regem Athlaritum direpta refertur, sed hic, ne templa sanctorum violarentur, edixit. Turcos autem in ecclesias Dei saevituros quis dubitet? Doleo templum illud toto terrarum orbe famosissimum Sophiae vel destrui vel pollui. Doleo infinitas sanctorum basilicas opere mirando constructas vel ruinae vel spurcitiae Maumethi subjacere. Quid de libris dicam, qui illic erant innumerabiles, nondum Latinis cogniti? Heu, quot nunc magnorum nomina virorum peribunt! Secunda mors ista Homero est, secundus Platoni obitus. Ubi nunc philosophorum aut poetarum ingenia requiremus? Extinctus est fons musarum. Utinam tantum nobis superaret ingenii, ut hanc calamitatem dignis vocibus deplorare possemus. Admodum ista cor meum urgent atque expungunt.

[1] *em.*; sigillatum cod.

[2] *em.;* directio cod.

4. Fall of Constantinople[1]

[14] But what about the horrific news from Constantinople? My hand trembles as I write this; the soul shudders, and indignation bids me to speak while pain prevents it. Alas, poor Christianity![2] We are ashamed to live and should happily have died before this catastrophe! While Germany, France, and most of Spain were safe, we - oh shame! - allowed the illustrious City of Constantinople to be captured by the effeminate[3] Turks! I believe Your Piety has already heard it: I leave Germany and pass on to Greece. With great forces, the Turkish ruler[4] recently[5] laid siege to Constantinople by land and sea and conquered it, having brought in machines of war[6] and launched three assaults. He killed the whole population, tortured the priests to death, and spared neither sex nor age. They say that more than 40,000 people were killed.[7] These events have been reported by people coming from Rascia.[8] They also tell us that the Paleologue emperor[9] was beheaded and that his son took refuge in Pera, now under siege.[10] I shall not describe these events in detail since others have undoubtedly informed Your Holiness about them better and more correctly than I can. It is enough to mourn, with Your Piety, such a great catastrophe for Christianity.

[15] In this accursed year, the City of Constantinople, which had lasted for 1,100 years[11] and never fallen into the hands of the infidels, was sacked by the foul Turks. Rome, too, is reported to have been sacked[12] in the year 1164 by the Gothic King Alaric,[13] but he ordered that the temples of the saints should be spared.[14] But who can doubt that the Turks will ravage God's churches? I grieve that Hagia Sophia, the most famous church in all the world, has been ruined or polluted. I grieve that saints' basilicas without number, built with wondrous skill, should suffer ruin or desecration by Mehmed[15]. What shall I say about the countless books[16] housed there and not yet discovered by the Latins? Alas, how many great men's names will disappear! This is Homer's[17] second death; this is Plato's[18] second demise.[19] Where shall we now look for the genius of philosophers and poets? The fount of the Muses flows no longer. Would that we had the eloquence to adequately lament this catastrophe. Holy Father, these events lie heavily on my mind.

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[1] See also the emperor's letter to the pope (written by Piccolomini) of 10 August 1453 (WO, 3: 1, pp. 577-580).

[2] Bisaha: *From*, pp. 67-68.

[3] In his writings, Piccolomini entertains the paradox of effeminate vs ferocious Turks, see Bisaha: *From Christians*, pp. 84-85.

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

[5] "proximis diebus": almost two months before.

[6] Most importantly: powerful canons (built by German engineers!).

[7] Bisaha: *From*, p. 68.

[8] Serbia.

[9] Konstantinos XI Dragases Palaeologos (1405-1453): Byzantine emperor from 1449 to his death.

[10] Bisaha: *From*, p. 102.

[11] Constantinople was founded by Emperor Constantine I the Great in 330 as the new capital of the Roman Empire.

[12] The Visigoth Sack of Rome, 24 August 410.

[13] Alaric (c. 370-411): First King of the Visigoths, from 395 to 410.

[14] Halsall, p. 216: *Alaric ordered that anyone sheltering in a church was to be spared (something much cited by Christian apologists) but nevertheless the Goths looted the city for three days;* James, p. 57: *Alaric ordered his men not to violate the sanctuary of the basilicas of St Peter and St Paul.*

[15] Or: Muhammad, i.e. Muhamedan. Bisaha: *From*, p. 68.

[16] Works of classical Greek or Roman authors.

[17] Homeros: Ancient Greek poet. Reputed to be the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.*

[18] Platon (c. 428 - c. 348 BCE): Greek philosopher.

[19] Bisaha: *From*, p. 68.

[16] Sanctissime pater, video simul et fidem et doctrinam deleri, idque nostra desidia accidit, qui solum praesentia respicimus. Quod si ferventiores ad rem Christi publicam animos adhiberemus, haec profecto nefanda clades inferri nobis minime potuisset. Certus sum, quia maerore magno tua sanctitas est affecta multumque rei hujus deplorat eventum, neque ab re quidem. Nemo est enim, cui magis tanti mali fama quam tuae pietati sit obfutura, nam scriptores omnes, qui apud Latinos Romanorum pontificum gesta referent, cum ad tuum tempus fuerit ventum, in hanc sententiam de tua gloria scribent: "Nicolaus papa quintus, natione Tuscus, sedit annis tot; patrimonium ecclesiae ex tyrannorum manibus {126v} vendicavit; divisam ecclesiam unioni reddidit; Bernardinum Senensem in catalogo sanctorum adnumeravit; palatium Sancti Petri construxit, basilicam ejus mirifice reparavit; jubilaeum celebravit; Fridericum tertium coronavit." Pulchra haec et decora de tuo nomine praedicabuntur, sed illud omnia funestabit, cum in fine adjicietur: "At hujus tempore urbs regia Constantinopolis a Turcis capta direptaque est" - nescio an diruta incensave dici poterit, quamvis in manu hostium data minus exusta nobis quam integra[1] possit obesse.

[17] Itaque luet tua fama sine tua culpa, qui, etsi totis conatibus opem ferre miserae civitati studuisti, non tamen Christianis regibus persuadere potuisti, ut arma simul capescentes commune fidei negotium adjuvarent. Negabant tantum esse periculum, quantum dicebatur. Mentiri Graecos mendicareque pecunias arbitrabantur, omnia ficta vanaque reputabant. Fecit tua beatitudo, quod potuit. Nihil est quod tuae clementiae possit impingi, sed tamen impinget hoc tuo nomini posteritas rerum ignara, cum tuo tempore Constantinopolim amissam didicerit. Timui semper hoc, beatissime pater, cum multa ex sententia tuae gloriae succedere animadverterem, ne sinistrum aliquid emergeret, quod felicitatis cursum impediens lacrimabilem afferret materiam. Ecce, quod timui: ex duobus Christianitatis luminibus alterum jam videmus erutum[2], orientalis imperii eversam sedem, Graecam omnem gloriam extinctam cernimus.

[1] ~~dici~~ *seq.* cod.

[2] *em.* WO; erectum cod.

[16] Most Holy Father, I see that faith and doctrine are being destroyed and that this happens because of our passivity since we are only concerned about what is present.[1] If we had been more zealous in Christ's cause, we would never have suffered this unspeakable catastrophe. I am sure that Your Holiness is profoundly saddened and greatly laments this disaster, and for good reason, for it harms Your Piety's reputation more than anyone else's. In the future, all Latin writers who recount the deeds of Roman pontiffs for Latin, when they come to your time, will write in this manner about your glory: "Pope Nicolaus V, of the Tuscan Nation, ruled for so and so many years[2]; he reclaimed the Church's Patrimony from the hands of the tyrants;[3] he restored union to the divided Church;[4] he inscribed Bernardino of Siena in the catalogue of saints;[5] he rebuilt the palace at Saint Peter's and wonderfully restored the basilica; he celebrated a Jubilee;[6] he crowned Friedrich III as emperor."[7] [8] All these beautiful and noble things will be said about you, but they will be tragically overshadowed by what follows, "In his time, the royal City of Constantinople was conquered and sacked by the Turks." However, I do not know if it has been entirely destroyed and burnt down, for it may have suffered somewhat less at the hands of the enemies than first reported.[9]

[17] Thus, your reputation will suffer through no fault of your own. Though you have done all to help this wretched city, you could not persuade the Christian kings to go to war together in defence of the common Faith. They denied that the danger was as great as claimed. They thought the Greeks were lying and begging for money, and they believed that all the reports were fictive and empty.[10] Your Beatitude did what you could.[11] Nothing can be reproached Your Clemency. And yet, an ignorant posterity will blame you anyway when it hears that Constantinople was lost in your time. Most Holy Father, when I heard of your many glorious successes, I always feared that something bad would happen, which would cause tears and interrupt the course of your good fortune. Now, what I feared has happened, and we see one of the two eyes of Christianity torn out,[12] the seat of the Eastern Empire overturned, and all the Greek glory extinguished.

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[1] Short-sighted polticians were then - as now - mostly concerned with problems of the present and not overly concerned with problems in the future.

[2] Since the pope was still alive, Piccolomini could evidently not give the length of his pontificate.

[3] He recovered church lands from local lords who had appropriated it as their own.

[4] Ending the schism created by the rump council in Basel and its antipope, Felix V.

[5] Nicolaus V canonised Bernardino da Siena in 1450.

[6] The Jubilee Year of 1450.

[7] The last imperial coronation in Rome, 1452, and the second last imperial coronation performed by a pope.

[8] This notice is written in the lapidary style of the *Liber Pontificalis.* Piccolomini actually wrote the vitae of four popes, Gregorius XII, Johannes XXIII, Martinus V and Eugenius IV, possibly as a continuation of the *Liber Pontificalis* (See DVI, p. 22).

[9] "quam nobis integra possit obesse".

[10] Piccolomini is speaking about the many Byzantine appeals for Western help made by the Byzantines in the generation before the final catastrophe.

[11] Nicolaus' efforts for the Byzantine cause were actually hampered by the Greek rejection of the union between the Latin and the Greek churches, proclaimed in Florence in 1439, which was a precondition for the papal assistance to Byzantium.

[12] Bisaha: *From*, p. 70.

[18] Majores nostri Jerosolymam, Accaron, Antiochiam perdiderunt: fateor ingens malum, sed nulla clades modernae ruinae comparanda est. In Asia et in aliena possessione nostri veteres urbes amisere; nos in Europa, in nostro solo, inter Christianos, potentissimam urbem, orientalis imperii caput, Graeciae columen, litterarum domicilium, ab hostili manu sivimus[1] expugnari. Jam regnat inter nos Maumethus. Jam nostris cervicibus Turcus imminet. Jam nobis clausus est Euxinus et Tanais inaccessibilis factus. Jam Valachis Turco parere necessum est. Inde ad Hungaros, inde ad Germanos Turcorum gladius penetrabit, et nos interim domesticis quatimur odiis: reges Franciae et Angliae inter se litigant, Germani principes invicem bella gerunt, raro Hispania tota quiescit, Italia nostra pacis expers de alieno jure contendit. Quanto melius tantum armorum tantumque militiae in hostes fidei verteremus?

[19] Verum, beatissime pater, non scio, cui magis quam tuae sanctitati haec cura debeatur. Tuum est jam assurgere, scribere regibus, mittere legatos, monere, hortari principes atque communitates in aliquem communem locum aut veniant aut mittant, nuncque, dum malum est recens, Christianae rei publicae consulere festinent, pacem aut indutias inter socios fidei componant atque junctis viribus adversus salutiferae crucis inimicos arma moveant. Spero equidem, si tua sanctitas suo ex more hoc negotium fervido et ardenti animo totoque corde promovendum acceperit, et Deum et homines assensuros futurumque brevi, ut insolentiae suae Turcos poeniteat, atque in altum Christiana fides emergat.

[20] Haec habui, que nunc ad tuam pietatem scriptione digna putarem. Et quamvis de tanto et tam arduo negotio majores viros, quam ego sim, loqui deceat, quia tamen Christianus sum, nihil a me alienum puto, quod Christianae religionis utilitatem concernat, nec ambigo, quae per me scribuntur, cuncta pietatem tuam in partem accipere meliorem. Nec alia modo.

Recommendo me tuae pietati, quam pius et optimus Deus ad felicem ecclesiae[2] statum diu ac votive sospitem et laetam conservet. Ex Grezio Stiriensi, die 12. Julii 1453.

[1] *corr. ex* sinimus cod.

[2] sue *add.* WO

[18] Our forefathers lost Jerusalem, Akron, and Antioch, which was certainly a catastrophe. But no catastrophe compares with the present disaster. Our forebears, formerly, lost cities in Asia[1] and on foreign soil, but we, today, in Europe on our own soil and among Christians, have allowed that most powerful city, the capital of the Eastern Empire, the pillar of Greece, the home of learning, to be captured by enemy hands.[2] [3] Muhammad[4] now reigns among us. The Turk now threatens our necks. The Black Sea[5] has been closed to us, and the River Don[6] made inaccessible. Now, the Wallachians[7] must obey the Turks. Later, the Turkish sword will penetrate Hungary and Germany. And what are we doing about it? We are plagued by domestic[8] hostilities: the kings of France and England are at war,[9] and the German princes are fighting against each other. Spain is rarely tranquil, and our Italians know no peace but fight to conquer others' lands. Would it not be much better to turn so many arms and soldiers against the enemies of the Faith?[10]

[19] But, Most Holy Father, I do not know whose responsibility in this whole matter is greater than Your Holiness'. You must rise up, write to the kings, send legates, admonish, and exhort the princes and communities to come in person or send representatives to some meeting place[11] to speedily, while the disaster is still fresh, take counsel for the Christian commonwealth, make peace or a truce with their fellows in the Faith, and with joint forces go to war against the enemies of the Cross of Salvation.[12] Indeed, I expect that Your Holiness will, in Your accustomed manner, fervently, zealously, and wholeheartedly undertake this task, that God and men will agree, that the Turks will soon regret their insolence, and that the Christian Faith will be raised high again.

[20] This is what I had that was worthy of report to Your Piety. In this important and difficult matter, greater men than me should speak. But since I am a Christian and consider nothing foreign to me that concerns the good of the Christian religion,[13] I am sure Your Piety will accept all this as written with the best of intentions. No more for now.

I commend myself to Your Piety. May the Pious and Best God[14] long keep you safe, sound, and happy for the good of the Church. From Graz in Steiermark, 12 July 1453.

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[1] Minor?

[2] Bisaha: *From*, p. 70.

[3] An example of the rhetorical device of antithesis.

[4] Muhammad (c. 570-632): Prophet. Founder of Islam. - Or Mehmed?

[5] Euxinus.

[6] Tanais.

[7] Vlachs.

[8] Note Piccolomini's use of the term "domestic" to designate wars between European kingdoms, underscoring his conception of Europe as a geopolitical unit confronted by the Turks.

[9] The 100 Years War.

[10] Bisaha: *From*, p. 71.

[11] As Pius II, Piccolomini would summon the European powers to the Congress in Mantua 1459, doomed to fail.

[12] This blueprint for papal action in the crusade matter was followed by Calixtus III and Pius II himself, but with rather disappointing results.

[13] A Christianised paraphrase of the Terentian expression: *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

[14] A Christianised version of the classical epithet of Jupiter: Optimus Maximus.

341. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (21 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 127r-131r[12] **.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *AC, vol. 2/2: nr. 3536; RTA, 19/1: pp. 23, 535, 542 (extracts); WO, 3: 1, 111, pp. 204-215 (on the basis of W1).*
Translations: *RE, 75, pp. 306-318.*

[1] DV, 259-268

[2] *Autograph.*

341. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (21 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*

Subject: *As the preceding letter, except that the crusade theme is much developed and that Piccolomini asks the cardinal to use his influence in Rome in support of a papally summoned crusade.*

Note: *The part of the letter concerning the crusade was probably based on an oration by Picolomini to the emperor's council on the Fall of Constantinople (see sect. 23:* I have spoken at length to the emperor on this matter, not privately but in a public meeting of his council. I found him willing and exceedingly eager. Indeed, many of the senators present cried profusely as they heard me exhorting and the emperor replying*). It is clearly an oratorical text and contains specific oratorical devices (e.g., the apostrophe,*[1] *when in sect. 17 he suddenly directly addresses the Christian religion.) This letter includes most of the themes that Piccolomini would develop in his later crusade orations at the German diets (1454-1455) and the Congress of Mantua (1459). It contains a proposal for a papal programme of action, and it is remarkable for its insistence on the Fall of Constantinople as a cultural disaster consigning the Greek letters to oblivion.*[2]

[1] COR, 1: 7, 9, 3.

[2] On this letter, see AC, vol. 2/1, nr. 2932.

{127r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Nicolao, sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae tituli sancti Petri ad Vincula presbytero cardinali ac pontifici Brixiensi, domino suo colendissimo[1].

[1] Venit ad me hac ipsa hora, qua scribo, vir bonus et tui observantissimus, Ernestus[2], protonotarius imperialis, ostendens mihi litteras tuas, in quibus sibi de quodam theolonio ecclesiae tuae transmutando facis mentionem, de qua re nonnihil simul locuti sumus, nam et meam quoque operam tua dignatio requirere videbatur. Non est, quod nunc ad hoc respondeam, quia nondum Caesari verbum feci. Decrevi cum ceteris servitoribus tuis, quos in hac curia plures habes, rem ipsam[3] Caesareo culmini exponere et commendare. Quod responsi habebo, tibi[4] illud quantocius notum efficiam, cui servire in omnibus sum obnoxius, atque utinam tantum possem, quantum vellem. Nec plura de hoc[5].

[2] Propero ad alia: reverendissimus pater archiepiscopus Salzburgensis quandam pridem capellae fundationem confirmavit in valle Murzae, in loco non remoto a sancto Laurentio, ubi per invocationem divini nominis et per merita sancti Leonardi plurima dicuntur fieri miracula. Confirmavi et ego fundationem ipsam ex auctoritate commissionis meae, ut qui populi devotionem augendam magis ac magis existimavi. Deinde accepi dignationem tuam, cum per id locorum transitum faceret, prohibuisse, ne capella ulterius aedificaretur, neve divina illic officia celebrarentur. Itaque cum rustici et incolae loci ad me redirent atque remedium peterent, dixi non decere me neque posse contra tanti patris decretum aliquid agere, remisique illos a me vacuos. Ipsi autem post aliquot dies per nobiles de Stupemberg ad praesentiam Caesaris introducti graviter questi sunt pium opus divinum sanctumque apud eos coeptum impediri dixeruntque murmur esse magnum in plebe, cujus devotioni obviam iretur. Vocavit igitur me Caesar ad se petivitque, votis ut annuerem et nobilium et popularium indulgeremque capellam aedificari et divina ibi celebrari officia, addens se magnum habere in sanctum Leonardum devotionem. At cum ego non esse mei muneris affirmarem tua facta rescindere, petivit saltem permitterem ad tres menses celebrationem ibi divinorum haberi, ut interim tua dignatio consuli posset, et ita feci. Nescio, an illi rustici adhuc miserint ad te[6]. Quomodocumque autem sit, precor rescribere mihi digneris, quae causa moverit tuam mentem ad hujusmodi interdictum, ut secundum illud ego quoque excusare me possim, quia non auderem neque vellem quovis pacto tuis adversari sententiis. Mihi tamen in valle illa dictum est et affirmatum nihil illic esse mali et omnia ad laudem Dei fieri et bonam esse populi rectamque devotionem, sed plebanum Sancti Laurentii, ecclesiae tuae canonicum, pro suo privato jure adversari. Utcumque sit, meum non est de tuis actibus judicare, qui sequi debeo, non praeire, nec alia de causa certitudinem peto, nisi ut excusare me Caesari et aliis supplicantibus efficacius possim.

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[1] Reverendissimo domino … colendissimo *corr. ex* Domino cardinali sancti Petri. Reuerendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime / Nicolao cardinali sancti petri pio et optimo patri Eneas episcopus Senensis saluem plurimam dicit cod.

[2] Hernestus cod.

[3] ~~intendere~~ *seq.* cod.

[4] *corr. ex* vestrae dignitati cod.

[5] ~~unum est~~ *seq.* cod.

[6] *corr. ex* tuam presentiam cod.

To the Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, His Lordship Nikolaus, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, with the title[1] of Presbyter Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, and Bishop of Brixen, His Most Worshipful Lord.

[1] Just as I was writing to you, Ernest[2], an imperial protonotary and a good man, one most devoted to you, came and showed me your letter concerning the conversion of a toll exacted by your church.[3] We spoke about it at length since Your Grace seemed to require my assistance. I shall not answer you on this matter now, having yet to talk with the Emperor about it, for, in consultation with your many other servants at this court, I have decided to refer and commend the matter to His Imperial Highness. As soon as I have his answer, I shall inform you, whom I must serve in all matters - I wish I could do as much as I would. But no more about this.

[2] Now I hasten to other matters. The Most Reverend Father, the Archbishop of Salzburg,[4] has previously approved the foundation of a chapel in the Murza Valley, not far from Sankt Laurentius,[5] where the invocation of the divine name is reported to have effected several miracles thanks to Saint Leonhard´s merits. I, too, confirmed the foundation, by the authority of my function as a papal legate, since I considered that such a chapel would serve to increase the people's devotion. But then I heard that Your Grace - while passing through this area – had forbidden the further construction of the chapel and the celebration of divine services there. When the peasants and inhabitants of the region returned to me seeking remedy, I, therefore, said that I neither should nor could do anything against such a great Father's[6] decision and sent them away empty-handed. However, after some days, the same people were brought into the emperor's presence by the nobles of Stupemberg, where they complained bitterly of being prevented from the pious and holy work they had undertaken. They also said the people were greatly disturbed that their devotion [to Saint Leonhard] was forbidden. The emperor then summoned me and asked me to agree to the wishes of the nobles and the commoners and allow the chapel to be built and divine services to be celebrated there. He added that he himself had a great devotion to Saint Leonhard. When I answered that my office did not allow me to annul your acts, he asked me to permit the celebration of divine offices there for three months so that, in the meantime, Your Grace could be consulted. This I did. I do not know if the peasants have sent messengers to you, but in any case, I ask you to write to me what moved you to issue this prohibition so that I can use it to excuse myself since I would not dare or want to oppose your decisions in any way whatsoever. People have assured me that there is no evil in this valley, that all is done in praise of God, and that the people's devotion is commendable and proper. However, the parish priest of Sankt Laurentius, a canon of your church, opposes them for some private reason. However that may be, it is not up to me to judge your acts: I must follow you, not precede you. I only ask for information to better excuse [my refusal] to the emperor and the supplicants.

[1] Cardinalitial title church in Rome.
[2] Ernst Breitenbach, see Reinle, p. 470.
[3] At Klausen.
[4] Siegmund von Volkersdorf
[5] WO, 3: 1, 1, p. 205, n. a.: St. Ulrichs- und Leonhardskirche bei Oberndorf in Stanz (Weiss, a.a.O 288).
[6] The cardinal.

[3] Nunc ad novitates venio. Pruteni de ordine Sancte Mariae sunt apud nos in curia petuntque judicium adversus communitates, quae ligam contra se fecerunt. Pars adversa oratores miserat, sed illi apud Moraviam, latronum patriam, intercepti sunt spoliatique bonis omnibus in vincula conjecti, propter quam causam dicta dies judicii necessario circumducitur. Nescio, an illi poterunt in brevi reddi libertati. Rex enim Ladislaus, sub cujus salvo conductu capti sunt, ad eorum liberationem obnixe operam dat petivitque jam Brunnam personaliter propinquusque est ei latroni, qui illos detinet. Puto in curia sua multos esse, qui scelus hoc, ne puniatur, adjutantur, ut sunt mores hominum: alii amicitia, alii pecunia muneribusque deliniuntur. {127v} Quaecumque autem finem captivi habeant, non video hac vice terminum causae Prutenorum imponi posse.

[4] Rex ipse Ladislaus in Bohemiam iturum se ad Festum Michaelis promisit, quamvis Bohemi id citius expetiverint. Georgius ibi plenam gubernationem habet multumque Rochezanae favet. Catholici oppressi sunt, haeretici dominantur. Minores monachi, qui tempore Sigismundi Pragam redierant, instante Rochezana denuo pulsi sunt. Dominus de Rosis et alii, qui fideles creduntur, parum vocis[1] habent. Temporalia regni Georgius, spiritualia Rochezana gubernat. Nescio, quid fiet in adventu regis. Puto, quia tenentes tenebunt, nam puer non poterit mutare regimen.

[5] In Hungaria quoque Johannes vaivoda gubernat, sed ibi latro quidam Axamit nomine, homo Bohemus, cum 4.000 hominum infestare patriam coepit, castella quaedam expugnavit, munitiones erexit, spolia multa abduxit, resistentes Hungaros aliquot conflixit. Nunc adversus eum totum regnum est occupatum, atque hinc factum est, ut nos pacem habeamus, nam licet Hungari tenere conventa nolint, non tamen audent, aliis impliciti bellis, nos invadere. Australes autem libenter pacem ratificarent[2], sed non[3] audent invitis[4] Hungaris[5]. Quibus ex rebus eo deducta res est, ut pacem sine pace habeamus.

[6] De Pataviensi ecclesia silentium est. Timeo, ne diuturniorem vacationem ejus esse contingat, quando electus humiliare se Caesari penitus respuit. Ego, quid ibi dicam, nescio. Malo silere quam male loqui[6].

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[1] vocis WO
[2] ~~tenerent~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~autem~~ *seq.* cod
[4] ~~inconsultis~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~quicquam aggredi~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] Licet iterum incipi. ~~accepi regem Ladislaum in ea re atque aliis legatos suos Romam missurum.~~ *add. in marg.* cod.

[3] Now I come to the news from here. The Prussians of the Order of Saint Mary[1] are here at court, seeking judgement against the cities that have formed a league against them.[2] The opposing party[3] had sent envoys to represent them, but they were captured in Moravia, a land of bandits, robbed of all their belongings, and cast into chains. Therefore, the scheduled court day must be postponed. I do not know if they will regain their freedom soon. King Ladislaus, despite whose safe-conduct they were taken prisoners, has intervened energetically to obtain their liberation. He has gone to Brno and is close to the bandit who keeps them prisoners. I suspect that many at his court are endeavouring to prevent this crime from being punished. This is the way of men: some are swayed by friendship, others by money or gifts.[4] Whatever happens to the captives, I do not see how the Prussian affair can be settled at this time.

[4] King Ladislaus has promised to go to Bohemia at the Feast of Saint Michael, although the Bohemians had requested an earlier arrival.[5] Georg[6] is entirely in charge and much favours Rokycana.[7] The Catholics are oppressed, and the heretics dominate. The Franciscans, who had returned to Prague under Sigismund, have finally been expelled at Rokycana's instigation. Lord Rosenberg[8] and others believed to be loyal [Catholics] have little influence. Georg governs the temporal sphere, and Rokycana the spiritual. I do not know what will happen when the king arrives. I suspect that people will keep the power they have, for being only a boy, Ladislaus will not be able to change the regime.

[5] In Hungary, the governor is Voivode János.[9] But there, a Bohemian bandit named Axamit has begun to ravage the country with 4,000[10] men.[11] He has captured some castles, built strongholds, taken much plunder, and fought the Hungarians who made resisted him. Now, the entire kingdom is moving against him, which is why we[12] have peace for now, for though the Hungarians do not wish to keep the agreements,[13] they do not dare to attack us since they are engaged in other wars. The Austrians would gladly ratify the peace but do not dare to do so against the will of the Hungarians. The result is that we have peace without a [ratified] peace.

[6] There is silence concerning the Church of Passau. I fear that it will stay vacant for a long time since the [Bishop]-elect[14] absolutely refuses to submit to the Emperor. Not knowing what to say, I prefer to remain silent than speak inadvisedly.

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[1] The Teutonic Knights.
[2] See preceding letter, 12-13.
[3] The cities.
[4] Piccolomini may be intimating that the Teutonic Order is buying support for their cause at court and may not wish the bandits who captured the cities' envoys to be punished.
[5] See preceding letter, 10-11.
[6] Georg Podiebrad.
[7] Jan Rokycana.
[8] Ulrich II von Rosenberg.
[9] János Hunyadi.
[10] In earlier letters, Piccolomini had written 5,000.
[11] See preceding letter, 3-9.
[12] The emperor's lands.
[13] The peace treaty between the emperor and King Ladislaus of April 1452.
[14] Ulrich von Nussdorf.

[7] Transeo ad majora, quae magis urgent. Quamvis res orientis satis notas et nimis, heu, nimis notas dignationi tuae, non dubitem, non[1] tamen ab re arbitror[2], de illis cum tua pietate et colloqui et condolere, qui partes illas olim vidistis, et quantum inde Christianae religioni possit emergere praejudicium optime nosti. Quomodo se habeat Graecia ad reliquam Europam non ignoras. Thraciae situm scis, Constantinopolitanae urbis magnitudinem, murorum molem, adjacentis maris et terrae qualitatem pulchre tenes. Quae sit Turcorum potentia, quae Latinorum negligentia, non latet tuam dignationem. Sed cur haec tam longius prosequor? Nempe quia infelix, infaustum, durum, horrendum[3] ad nos delatum est nuntium Constantinopolim expugnatam[4], Peram Turcis deditam, classem Christianorum, quae opem[5] ferre obsessis ibat, victam interceptamque esse.

[8] Ajunt enim, qui de Rascia ad nos veniunt, imperatorem Turcorum pridie kalendas Junias {128r} ad urbem Constantinopolitanam machinas[6] bellicas admovisse insultusque trinos dedisse: primis duobus succubuisse multosque suorum amisisse[7]; deinde iratum omne militum robur - ducenta enim et amplius milia virorum in exercitu fertur habuisse - muros adire atque conscendere scalas jussisse ipsumque inter[8] pugnatores profectum aliis minatum, aliis praemia pollicitum, tertium insultum magna vi summoque conatu[9] aggressum, tandem fatigatis magis quam victis[10] oppidanis rupto cujusdam veteris portae muro urbem introisse, datis edictis, ut a sex annis supra omnes utriusque sexus personae necarentur. Imperator[11] novae Rome captus, mox capite truncatus asseritur. Sacerdotes et universi monachi diversis tormentorum generibus[12] lacerati necatique sunt, reliquum omne vulgus gladio datum. Tanta sanguinis effusio facta, ut rivi cruoris per urbem currerent.

[9] Sic nobilissima urbs[13] per Constantinum[14] primum condita in manus infidelium venit, ab ejus conditione anno 1130 vel circa[15]. Tanto quoque tempore [vel[16]] paulo pluri[17] senior Roma steterat, quando primum a Gothis capta[18] est. Athlaricus enim anno ab urbe condita 1164 Romam irrupit, at hic ne basilicae sanctorum effringerentur edixit. Quid autem factura sit Turcorum rabies in urbe regia non scio, suspicari[19] facile est: inimica gens nostrae religionis nil ibi sanctum, nil mundum relinquet: aut destruet nobilia templa aut certe profanabit. Heu templum illud Sophiae, toto orbe famosissimum[20], noningentis quondam sacerdotibus celebratum, mirabili opere[21], pretiosa materia constructum vel ruinae jam patet vel Maumethi spurcitiae subjacet[22]. Monachorum abdita[23], sanctorum sancta lupanaribus servient. Aut delebitur civitas nobilis aut in majus Christiani populi detrimentum Turcorum sedes efficietur. O insignis Graecia, ecce jam tuum finem. Quis non tuam indoleat vicem[24]? Plurimae olim urbes in Graecia fuerunt[25], fama rebusque potentes[26]. Legimus Thebanorum res gestas, Lacedaemoniorum et Atheniensium illustria facta[27]. Fuit Corinthiorum non contemnenda respublica[28]. Clarae olim Mycenae, Larissa potens pluresque memorables urbes, quorum, si nunc requiras muros, nec ruinas invenias: nemo solum, in quo jacuerint, queat ostendere.

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[1] ~~possum~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~illarum rerum~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~nuntium~~ *seq.* cod
[4] ~~esse~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~affe~~ *seq.* cod
[6] ~~adm~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] *em.*; admisisse cod.
[8] ~~primos pugna~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~dedisse~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~civibus~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~Consta~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] ~~afflicti~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] ~~postquam~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] ~~condita~~ *seq.* cod.
[15] *corr. ex* paulo post cod.
[16] *em.* WO
[17] paulo pluri *supralin.* cod.
[18] *corr. ex* irrupta cod
[19] ~~autem~~ *seq.* cod.
[20] ~~quo~~ *seq.* cod.
[21] ~~nob~~ *seq.* cod.
[22] ~~iam abdita~~ *seq.* cod
[23] ~~sanctaque~~ *seq.* cod.
[24] Quis non .. vicem *add. in marg,* cod.
[25] ~~ingentes~~ *seq.* cod.
[26] ~~Thebae deorum ma / ex quibus~~ *seq.* cod
[27] ~~Corinthus potentissima re~~ *seq.* cod.
[28] ~~sed ubi nunc civitates has~~ *seq.* cod.

[7] I[1] pass on to more important and urgent matters. Although Your Grace undoubtedly knows the Eastern events well - or too well, alas - I believe it is appropriate to speak about them with Your Piety and share the pain you feel since you have visited those regions[2] and well know how dangerous this situation is to the Christian religion. You know how Greece is connected with the rest of Europe. You know the location of Thrace and have a clear notion of the size of Constantinople, the mass of its walls, and the nature of the surrounding sea and land.[3] Your Grace also knows of the power of the Turks as well as the negligence of the Latins. But why do I go on at such length? Because we have now received the unhappy, inauspicious, bitter, and horrible news that Constantinople has been conquered, Pera has surrendered to the Turks, and the Christian fleet sent to assist the besieged has been defeated and taken.

[8] Travellers from Rascia[4] say that, on the 31st of May,[5] the Turkish ruler[6] moved war machines[7] to the city of Constantinople and launched three assaults. The first two failed, and he lost many men. Then, furious, he ordered the whole strength of his army - he reportedly had more than 200,000 men - to storm the walls and climb the ladders. He himself went first among the soldiers, threatening some and promising rewards to others. The third attack was strong and energetic, and, finally, the city's inhabitants were so worn down - rather than overcome - that the Turks managed to break through an old gate and enter the city. Orders were given to kill all persons of either sex over the age of six. The Emperor[8] of New Rome[9] is said to have been captured and immediately beheaded. The priests and all the monks were tortured with various instruments and killed. The rest of the population was put to the sword. So much blood was shed that rivers of gore ran through the city.[10]

[9] Thus, that noble city, founded by Constantine I, fell into the hands of the infidels about 1130 years after its foundation. Old Rome had stood for a little longer when it was first taken by the Goths, for Alaric seized Rome 1164 years after its foundation. But he forbade breaking into the basilicas of the saints. I do not know what the frenzied Turks will do with the royal city, but it is easy to guess. The Turkish people are hostile towards our religion, so it will leave nothing holy or pure there. It will destroy the noble temples, or at least profane them. Alas, the temple of Sophia, famous in the whole world, once served by 900 priests and built with consummate craftsmanship and precious materials, is now becoming a ruin or being desecrated by Mohammedans. The abodes of the monks and the holy places will be used as brothels. That noble city will be destroyed or turned into the capital of the Turks, to the immense loss of the Christian people. Oh, noble Greece, this is your end. Who will not feel your pain? Once, there were many famous and powerful cities in Greece. We read about the feats of the Thebans and the illustrious deeds of the Lacedaemonians[11] and the Athenians. Corinth was an important state. If you now search for the walls of once famous Mycenae and powerful Larissa, memorable cities, you will not even find their ruins: nobody can show you where these cities were.

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[1] For this and the following sections, see notes in corresponding passages in the preceding letter.
[2] In 1437 and early 1438, Nikolaus was a member of a mission sent by Pope Eugenius IV to Constantinople to invite the Byzantine emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople to the Council of 1439.
[3] Bisaha: *From*, p. 103.
[4] Serbia.
[5] The third and final attack took place on the 29th.
[6] Mehmed II.
[7] Incl. canons.
[8] Konstantinos XI Dragases Palaeologos.
[9] Constantinople.
[10] Bisaha: *From*, p. 85.
[11] Spartans.

[10] Sola ex tanta ruina vetustatis Constantinopolis superabat, quae de parvo Byzantii ambitu, a Pausania quondam constructo,[1] per Constantinum Caesarem in aemulatione urbis Romae ad incredibile fastigium[2] erecta[3]. Tantum mirabilium operum[4], tantum armorum, tantum litterarum, tantum gloriae habuit, ut omnium civitatum damna[5] haec urbs sola recompensare videretur. Hinc post pacem cum Gratiano factam et a Theodosio {128v} confirmatam veniens Constantinopolim rex Gothorum, Athanaricus, miratus urbis regiae splendorem ac magnitudinem velut stupens dixisse fertur: “Deus terrenus est imperator et quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit.”

[11] Et licet post divisum imperium sive translatum ad Francos, ut melius loquamur, saepe Constantinopolis in manus hostium venerit, ut tamen tuam dignationem dicere solitam memini, nunquam illa urbe Christiani[6] [7] nominis hostes potiti sunt[8], neque basilicae sanctorum destructae[9] neque[10] bibliothecae combustae[11] neque despoliata penitus monasteria. Itaque mansit usque in hanc diem vetustae sapientiae apud Constantinopolim monumentum[12], ac velut ibi domicilium litterarum esset, nemo Latinorum satis videri doctus poterat, nisi Constantinopolim per tempus[13] studuisset quodque florente Roma[14] doctrinarum nomen habuerunt Athenae, id nostra tempestate videbatur Constantinopolis obtinere. Inde nobis Plato redditus, inde Aristotelis, Demosthenis, Xenophontis, Thucydidis, Basilii, Dionysii[15], Origenis et aliorum multa Latinis opera diebus nostris manifestata sunt, multa quoque in futurum manifestanda sperabamus[16]. Nunc vero[17] vincentibus Turcis et omnia possidentibus, quae Graeca potentia tenuit, actum esse de litteris Graecis[18] arbitror. Numquam mea sententia major Graeco nomini jactura quam modo[19] contigit[20]. Xerxes et Darius, qui quondam magnis cladibus Graeciam afflixere, bellum viris[21], non litteris intulerunt. Romani, quamvis Graeciam in potestatem suam redegissent, non solum Graecas litteras aspernati non sunt, sed ultro amplexi veneratique referuntur, adeo, ut tunc quisque doctissimus haberetur, cum Graecissimus se ostenderet[22].

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[1] constructa WO
[2] ~~creuerat~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~fuerat tantumque mirabile illic o~~ *seq.* cod
[4] ~~fuit~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~haec sola~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *corr. ex* Christiane cod.
[7] ~~religionis~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~itaque~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~sunt~~ *seq.* cod
[10] ~~philosophorum~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~sed prima~~ (?) ~~haec irruptio infinitis ab infidelibus facta est~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] ~~quicum~~ *seq.* cod
[13] per tempus *supralin.* cod.
[14] ~~at nomen habuerunt~~ *seq.* cod.
[15] *supralin.* cod.
[16] ~~at~~ *seq.* cod.
[17] *supralin.* cod.
[18] *supralin.* cod.
[19] quam modo *supralin* cod.
[20] ~~quam ista est~~ *seq.* cod.
[21] ~~non litteris~~ *seq.* cod. *[sic!]*
[22] cum Graecissimus … ostenderet *corr. ex* Graeci sermonis videretur peritissimus esse. Nunc autem secus eueniet quando ad Turch cod.

[10] Only Constantinople survived the great ruin of Antiquity. Pausanias[1] extended the small town of Byzantium, and Emperor Constantine[2] raised it to incredible splendour in emulation of the City of Rome. Constantinople possessed so many wonderful works, so many arms, so much literature, and so much glory that it seemed, on its own, to make up for the loss of all the cities [of Antiquity]. Therefore, when Athanaric,[3] King of the Goths - after peace had been made with Gratian[4] and confirmed by Theodosius[5] [6] - came to Constantinople,[7] he admired the splendour and greatness of the royal city and, overcome with awe, reportedly said, "The emperor is God on Earth, and anyone who opposes him commits a mortal error."

[11] After the Empire's division - or better, its transfer to the Franks[8] - Constantinople fell into enemy hands several times, but it was never conquered by enemies of the Christian name, as I remember Your Grace used to say: never were the basilicas of the saints destroyed, never were the libraries burned, and never were the monasteries plundered. Thus, Constantinople remained, until our days, a monument of ancient wisdom and the home of letters. No Latin appeared truly learned if he had not studied for some time in Constantinople, which seemed, in our time, to have acquired the reputation for learning that Athens had at the time when Rome flourished. From there, we Latins recovered Plato and the works of Aristotle,[9] Demosthenes,[10] Xenophon,[11] Thucydides,[12] Basil,[13] Dionysius,[14] Origenes,[15] and many others, hoping to recover many more in the future. But now that the Turks have won and gained possession of all that the Greek power held, I believe that it is the end of Greek letters and that the Greek name has never suffered a greater disaster than this. Xerxes[16] and Darius[17], who once inflicted major calamities upon Greece, fought men, not letters. The Romans, though they conquered Greece, not only did not scorn Greek letters but embraced and honoured them to the extent that you had to become Grecicised to be considered a man of great learning.[18]

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[1] Pausanias (d. 470 BCE): Spartan regent and general. Captured Byzantium in 478 BCE.

[2] Constantinus I, Flavius Valerius (ca. 272-337): Roman emperor from 306 to his death. Moved the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantium / Constantinopolis (dedicated 330).

[3] Athanaric (-381): King of several branches of the Thervingian Goths.

[4] Gratianus (359-383): Emperor of the Western Roman Empire from 367 to 383.

[5] Theodosius I the Great (347-395): Roman emperor from 379 to his death.

[6] Jordanes: *Getica*, 142-145.

[7] In 381.

[8] In 800, Charlemagne was crowned by the pope as the first emperor in Western Europe since the end of the Western Roman Empire three centuries earlier. This coronation was the basis for the spurious claim of the mediaeval papacy to have transferred the Empire from the Greeks to the Franks, through its plenitude of power, thus manifesting (and partly proving) papal supremacy in all worldly affairs.

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

[10] Demosthenes (384-322 BCE): Athenian statesman and orator.

[11] Xenophon (c. 430 - c. 455): Athenian general, philosopher and historian.

[12] Thoukydides (c. 460 - c. 400 BCE): Athenian historian and general.

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

[14] It is not clear which Dionysius Piccolomimi refers to.

[15] Origenes of Alexandria (c. 185 - c. 253): Christian scholar and theologian.

[16] Xerxes I [the Great] (c. 518 - 466 BCE): King of Persia.

[17] Dareios I [the Great] (c. 550-486 BCE): King of Persia.

[18] Like Cicero, Piccolomini's admired model of Latin letters and eloquence.

[12] Nunc sub Turcorum imperio secus eveniet, saevissimorum hominum, bonorum morum atque litterarum hostium. Non enim, ut quidam rentur, Teucrorum[1] sunt soboles[2] neque Persarum, qui nunc Turci dicuntur[3]. {129r} Scytharum ex media barbariae genus profectum est, quod[4] ultra Euxinum Pirricheosque montes ad Oceanum septentrionalem sedes prius habuisse traditur, ut Aethico philosopho placet, gens ignominiosa et incognita, fornicaria in cunctis stuprorum generibus[5], lupanarium cultrix, quae abhominabilia quaeque comedit, ignara vini, frumenti atque salis, nullum diem festum agens, nisi Augusto mense, quo Caesari Octaviano censum dedit in auro littorico, non coacta, sed sponte sua, videns ceteras regiones censum praebere. Sapiunt igitur adhuc aliquid originis suae, licet in Asia multis morati temporibus aliquid pristinae deformitatis amiserint seque nonnihil excultos reddiderint. Devitant enim adhuc vinum, carnes equorum[6], vesontium vulturumque comedunt. In libidinem provoluti sunt, litterarum studia parvifaciunt, incredibili fastu superbiunt. In quorum manus venisse Graecam eloquentiam non scio, quis bonae mentis non doleat.

[13] Ubi enim modo facunda ingenia requiremus? Praecisus est[7] fluvius omnium doctrinarum[8], musarum[9] desiccatus fons. Nunc poesis, nunc philosophia sepulta videtur[10]? Fateor multis locis apud Latinos studia litterarum esse illustria, ut Romae, Parisiis, Bononiae, Paduae, Senis, Perusii, Coloniae, Viennae, Salamanticae, Oxoniae[11], Papiae, Herfordiae. Sed rivuli sunt omnes isti, ex Graecorum fontibus derivati. A fonte praecide rivus praecisus[12] arescit. Quo pacto in rivo reperias aquam, cum fontem ipsum invenias aridum? Non possum non dolere, sancte pater, cum talem fieri jacturam video litterarum.

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[1] *corr. ex* Theucri cod.
[2] *supralin.* cod.
[3] *seq.* ~~haberent enim humanitatis aliquid si soboles horum essent verum, quid ego de his acceperim apud Aethicum / Unde autem et qui sint, ut ego ex Aethico philosopho accepi, paucis referam. Aethicus ait, Turcos olim Birricheos montes ac Tarracontas insulas ad Euxinum coluisse, ad Aquilonem versus, gentem ignominiosam et in cognitam, fornicariam in tantis stuprorum generibus, lupanaribus deditam, abhominabilia omnia jumentorum, ursorum, vulturum, milvorum bubonumque carnes comedisse, vinum penitus ignorasse, neque sale neque frumento usos. Statura deformes diem festum non coluisse nisi Augusto mense ob hoc, quod temporibus Octaviani Augusti censum dederunt, in auro litorico, quod neque prius neque postea fecerunt et tunc quidem sponteque videntes vicinas regiones censum dare arbitrati sunt, quod dicitur derum nonum ortum fuisse~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] *supralin.* cod.
[5] ~~dedita~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~ult~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~do~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~neque ad fontes venire lit~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] *supralin.* cod.
[10] Nunc poesis … videtur *corr. ex* ubi nunc poesis ubi nunc philosophia requiretur cod.
[11] *supralin.* cod.
[12] *em.;* precisum cod.

[12] That will all change under the rule of the Turks, a savage people and enemies of morality and letters. Indeed, those who are now called Turks do not, as some suppose,[1] descend from the Teucrians[2] or the Persians. The Turks are a Scythian people who have come from the middle of Barbary.[3] According to the philosopher Aethicus, [4][5] they once dwelled beyond the Black Sea[6] and the Pirrichian Mountains[7] by the Northern Sea.[8] They are an infamous and obscure people, given to all kinds of sexual debauchery and the pleasures of brothels. They eat repugnant things and do not know wine, grain, and salt. The only feast they observe is the month of August,[9] during which they paid tribute to Caesar Octavian[10] in coastal gold,[11] something they were not forced to but did so voluntarily, seeing that other regions paid tribute. They are still marked by their origins, though they have lived in Asia (Minor) for a long time, have lost some of their former uncouthness, and have acquired some culture. They still avoid wine and eat the flesh of horses, bison, and vultures. They are slaves of lust, disdain the study of letters, and cultivate an incredible arrogance. Surely, any decent person would deplore that the Greek eloquence has fallen into their hands.[12] [13]

[13] Where can we now find the spirit of eloquence? The river of all learning has been cut off, and the fountain of the Muses has dried up. Poetry and philosophy have been buried. I admit that letters thrive in many places in the Latin world, such as Rome, Paris, Bologna, Padova, Siena, Perugia, Cologne, Vienna, Salamanca, Oxford, and Erfurt.[14] But they are only small brooks, flowing from Greek founts. A rivulet cut off from its spring dries up. How can you find water in a stream when its source has dried out? Holy Father,[15] I can only be deeply distressed to see this great loss of letters.

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[1] Actually, Piccolomini himself was one of them, e.g., his oration "*Audivi"* of 1436 and later orations, as late as 1447, where he used the term Teucri for the Turks (COR, 2: 1; see also COR, 1, pp. 81-82; Helmrath: *Pius,* pp. 110-111: *Enea Silvio, der zunächst auch ganz selbstverständlich von Teucri sprach, machte spätestens 1447 in Form einer Sprachreinigung ernst. Pedantisch wurden seine Briefe und Reden purgiert oft mit rhetorischer correctio. "Turci, ne dicam Teucri.*

[2] I.e., the Trojans

[3] Meuthen: *Fall,* p. 13

[4] Aethicus Ister: Pseudonymous author of a Cosmographia.

[5] Aethicus Ister: *Cosmographia,* 32. The cosmographia, a mediaeval literary forgery, is a en-tirely an extravagantly spurious work of geography. It is surprising that Piccolomini would lend it any credence except that its presentation of the Turks coincided with the needs of the cultural, political and military situation after the Fall of Constantinople. See also Helmrath: *German,* n. 76: *Enea scheint den Ister-Text unmittelbar zu kennen, vermutlich aus einem Handschriftenfund in Österreich.*

[6] Euxinum.

[7] It is uncertain which mountains are meant, but it is possibly the Caucasus. See also Piccolomini's work *De Asia*, c. 100, where he uses the term Biricchian Mountains located, together with the isle of Taraconta, close to the Black Sea

[8] Bisaha: *From*, p. 69.

[9] In the EUR, Piccolomini specifically refers to the Feast of Saturnalia.

[10] Augustus (Gajus Julius Octavianus Caesar) (31 BCE - 14 CE): Roman statesman, first emperor.

[11] See note in EUR (Bisaha/ Brown), p. 73.

[12] Piccolomini would later, on 15 October 1454, quote this whole passage almost verbatim in his grand crusade oration, "Constantinopolitana clades," at the Diet of Frankfurt (COR, 5: 22, 13). He would return to the theme in his Europa (EUR, 4).

[13] In his description of the Turkish people, Piccolomini drew heavily from the spurious text of Aethicus Ister (see Herren's edition ad indicem.

[14] University cities.

[15] Cardinal Kues. Usually, a papal title.

[14] Majores nostri putabant, quae litteris mandarentur, eorum aeternam esse memoriam. Inde poeta quidam non insulse dixerat: *"Eripiunt quemvis a mortis dente camoenae."* Et noster Naso[1] numquam se moriturum[2] opere praeclaro consummato putavit, dicens: *"Jamque opus exegi, quod non Jovis ira nec ignes, nec poterit[3] ferrum, nec[4] edax[5] abolere vetustas"*. Et infra: *"Nomenque erit indelibile nostrum[6]."* Virgilius quoque Eurialo et Niso suis versibus aeternitatem largiri posse putavit, dum ait: *"Fortunati ambo, si quid mea carmina possunt. Nulla dies umquam memori nos eximet aevo.*" Nec Flaccus aliter sensit, cum de se ipso dicit[7]: *"Exegi monumentum aere perennius regalique situ pyramidum altius, quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens possit diruere aut innumerabilis annorum series et fuga temporum[8]: non omnis moriar."* Decepti omnes sunt; moriuntur etiam musae, labuntur e memoria poetarum scriptorumque omnium quamvis[9] egregia opera. Quot jam poetas cum tempore nomen amisisse putandum est? *Nihil est sub luna*[10] *perpetuum.* Quae principium habent, his quoque finis suus est. Diu vivunt, qui[11] litteris consecrantur; non tamen immortales fiunt. Sunt novae sectae, fiunt novi litterarum caracteres, emergunt[12] ingenia diversa, quae omnia tollunt. Quidquid ante se fuit, ineptum putant.

[15] Ecce nunc Turci, litterarum et Graecarum et Latinarum hostes, ut suis litteris[13] locum faciant, nullum librum alienum esse sinunt. Hi nunc, Constantinopoli capta, quis dubitet incendio quaevis scriptorum monimenta concedentur. Nunc ergo et Homero et Pindaro et Menandro et omnibus illustrioribus poetis secunda mors erit. Nunc Graecorum philosophorum ultimus patebit interitus. Restabit aliquid lucis apud Latinos, at fateor neque id erit diuturnum[14], {129v} nisi mitiori nos oculo Deus ex alto respexerit fortunamque vel imperio Romano vel apostolicae sedi praebuerit meliorem. Cum sede Romana vivunt moriuntque Latinae[15] litterae.[16] Sed hanc quo in statu videamus, supersedeo dicere. De Constantinopoli, non de Roma sermonem inchoavimus, cum qua cadente Graecas interisse litteras et dolemus et angimur[17].

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[1] ~~cum~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~preclaro~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] *supralin.* cod.
[4] *corr. ex* aut cod.
[5] ~~poterunt~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] et infra .. nostrum *supralin.* cod.
[7] *corr. ex* ait cod.
[8] temporis WO
[9] quevis WO
[10] *corr. ex* sole cod.
[11] ~~monumentis litterarum~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] *corr. ex* surgunt cod.
[13] *corr. ex* ineptiis cod.
[14] ~~videmus imperium in extremis laborare, apostolica quoque sedes in precipiti est, nulla jam superioribus reverentia prebetur, quisque sibi dominus est nisi dextera dei lat~~ *seq.* cod.
[15] moriuntque Latinae *add. interlin.* cod.
[16] ~~que qua sublata perit omnis doctrina~~ *seq.* cod.
[17] ~~sed quid ista literarum~~ *seq.* cod.

[14] Our ancestors thought that whatever was committed to letters would be remembered forever. Hence, a certain poet[1] fittingly said, "*The muses can free anybody from the tooth of death*."[2] And our Naso[3] thought that now that his splendid poem[4] was finished, he would be immortal. He said, "*And now my work is done, which neither the wrath of Jove, nor fire, nor sword, nor the gnawing tooth of time shall ever be able to undo,"* and later, *"I shall have an undying name."*[5] And Virgil[6] thought his verses could make Euryalus and Niso immortal, saying, "*Happy! If my poetry has any power, no day shall ever blot you from the memory of time."*[7] And Flaccus[8] believed the same, saying about himself, *"I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze, more lofty than the regal structure of the pyramids, one which neither corroding rain nor the ungovernable North Wind can ever destroy, nor the countless series of the years, nor the flight of time."* [9] But they were all mistaken, for even the Muses die, and even the outstanding works of all poets and writers fade from memory. How many poets do you think have lost their fame with time? *Nothing under the moon lasts forever*.*[10]* All that has a beginning also has an end. Those consecrated by letters have a long life, but they are not immortal. New schools of thought arise, new writing styles are created, and new intellects emerge who carry all before them and consider all that came before them inept.

[15] And now the Turks, enemies of both Greek and Latin letters, will seek to make a place for their own letters, and, therefore, they will not let other books remain. Who doubts that now that they have taken Constantinople, they will burn the books they find there? So, Homer, Pindar,[11] Menander,[12] and the other famous poets will die a second time. This will be the final passing of the Greek philosophers. Some of the light will remain with the Latins, but I think it will not last long unless God looks more kindly at us from on high and grants the Roman Empire and the Apostolic See a better fortune, for the Latin letters live and die with the Roman See.[13] Still, I shall not talk about the situation of that see since we have now begun to speak about Constantinople, not Rome: we are pained and distressed that the Greek letters have fallen with Constantinople.

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[1] Beccadelli, Antonio (1394-1471): Sicilian poet, scholar and diplo-mat, later in the service of Alfonso V. Beccadelli was a friend of Piccolomi from their time at the University of Siena, and Piccolomini wrote of him: *pro vetusta consuetudine, quam Senis in adolescentia simul habuimus* (letter to King Alfonso V of 27 January 1454 – EPI, 7 / 473,). See also VO, 1, 1: p. 11.

[2] From an epigram by Beccadelli to Tommaso Tebaldi (*Cum neque-at nummos*), see Frati, p. 366.

[3] Ovidius Naso, Publius (40-17 BCE): Roman poet.

[4] The Metamorphoses.

[5] Ovidius: *Metamorphoses,* 15: 871-872 and 876.

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

[7] Vergilius: *Aeneas,* 9: 446.

[8] Horatius Flaccus, Quintus (65-8 BCE): Roman poet.

[9] Horatius: *Carmina,* 3: 30.

[10] Piccolomini substitutes the moon for the more usual sun. He had already used this sentence in a letter to Cardinal Carvajal of 13 October 1449 (letter 235: 7).

[11] Pindar (c. 522 - c. 443 BCE): Greek poet from Thebes.

[12] Menandros (ca. 341 - c. 290 BCE): Greek dramatist and writer of comedies.

[13] The papacy.

[16] Magnum est hoc detrimentum, sed multo majus illud, quod fidem Christianam comminui et *in angulum coartari* videmus, nam qui totum illum orbem occupaverat, jam ex Asia, Libyaque profligata[1] neque in Europa quiescere[2] permittitur. Multum est, quod Tartari Turcique tenent citra Thanaim et Hellespontum. Saraceni quoque apud Hispanos regnum occupant. Parum est, quod in orbe Christi nomen obumbrat[3] [4]. Terra, in qua visus est Deus noster et annis 30 et amplius homo[5] cum hominibus conversatus[6], quam miraculis illustravit, quam proprio sanguine dedicavit, in qua primi resurrectionis flores apparuerunt, jam diu propter peccata nostra crucis inimici conculcant, terra benedicta, terra promissionis, *terra lacte fluens et melle*[7] sceleratae gentis imperio paret. En ipsam Dei viventis civitatem officinasque nostrae redemptionis sanctaque loca agni immaculati purpurata cruore Saracenorum jam diu manus pedesque polluerint. An non ipsum Christianae religionis sacrarium sanctumque lectum conculcant Maumethi satellites, in quo propter nos vita nostra obdormvit in morte? Carolus Magnus multo sudore primo terram illam vendicavit, deinde perditam recuperavit Gotifridus, ad quam retinendam etiam Conradus Caesar Ludovicusque, rex Francorum, non dubitarunt, coactis exercitibus, in Asiam proficisci. At cum postea nostri principes desidiae se dederunt, neque Jerosolima neque Anthiochia neque Accaron in potestate nostra remansere. Quidquid in Asia tenuimus, turpiter amisimus. Fugientes victoriam Maumetho reliquimus: ingens jactura, maximum dedecus. Verum tolerabilius fuit civitates, quas inter hostes habuimus, amittere quam his expelli urbibus, quae nostro in solo fundatae Christianisque ante[8] fuerint[9].

[17] Quid est, quod modo amisimus? Quippe regiam civitatem, orientalis imperii sedem, Graecae gentis columen, secundi patriarchae[10] solium. Heu late patens Christiana quondam religio quomodo[11] coartaris et deficis. Ex quattuor maximis patriarchis solus tibi Romanus superat. Quo pacto jam stare potes, ex quattuor columnis, {130r} quibus omne stetit ecelesiasticum aedificium, tribus ademptis[12]? Ex duobus oculis alterum amisisti. Nisi divina te miseratio respicit, parum est, quod de tua salute speremus.

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[1] ~~in Europa~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] *corr. ex* consistere cod.
[3] *corr. ex* retinet cod.
[4] ~~jam diu est / Jerosolimam jam diu perdidimus~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] *supralin.* cod.
[6] *supralin.* cod.
[7] terra lacte … melle *supralin.* cod.
[8] Christianisque ante *corr. ex* antequam Christianis cod.
[9] ~~Constan~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~domicilium~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~deficis~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] *corr. ex* subtractis cod.

[16] This is a grave wound, but an even greater one is that the Christian Faith has been diminished and *pressed into a corner,*[1] for whereas she once occupied all that region, she has now been driven from Asia and Libya[2] and is not even allowed to be at peace in Europe: the Tartars and the Turks hold much territory this side of the river Don[3] and the Hellespont,[4] and the Saracens occupy a kingdom in Spain. The name of Christ now covers only a small part of the world. The land where our God appeared and lived for thirty years or more among men, the land he distinguished with miracles and consecrated with his own blood, the land where the first flowers of the Resurrection bloomed, that land is now long since - because of our sins – trampled underfoot by the enemies of the Cross. That blessed land, the promised land, the land *flowing with milk and honey*,[5] now is subject to an evil people. The city of the Living God,[6] the workshop of our redemption, and the holy places made purple by the blood of the immaculate lamb are now being defiled by the hands and feet of the Saracens. The holiest place of the Christian religion and the sacred bed on which He who is our life fell asleep in death for our sake is now trampled upon by the followers of Muhammad. Charlemagne[7] first claimed this land with much toil. Then it was lost, but later it was reclaimed by Godefroi.[8] Emperor Konrad[9] and King Louis[10] of France did not hesitate to defend it, gathering armies and going to Asia. But when our princes later grew indolent, neither Jerusalem nor Antioch nor Akron remained in our hands. What we once held in Asia, we have now shamefully lost. We fled and left the victory to Muhammad - an immense loss, an enormous shame! But it would have been better to lose the cities we possessed in enemy country than to be expelled from the towns situated on our own [European] soil and which were formerly Christian.

[17] But what is it that we have now lost? It is the royal city, the seat of the Eastern Empire, the pillar of the Greek people, and the throne of the second patriarchate. Alas, once far-reaching Christian religion, how are you now being pressed back and weakened? Of the four great patriarchs, now only the Roman is left to you.[11] How can you stand now when three of the four pillars supporting the ecclesiastical edifice have now been removed? You have lost one of your two eyes. Unless merciful God looks to you, we have little hope for your salvation.

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[1] Piccolomini had borrowed the concept of Europe being pressed into a corner from Flavio Biondo: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [Im. 75]: *per cujus [Europae] omnes provincias et regiones nomen floruit Christianum. Quod nomen nostris temporibus ad parvum orbis angulum coangustari et quotidie de excidio periclitari videmus*

[2] Northern Africa.

[3] Thanais.

[4] Apparently, Piccolomini considered Don and the Hellespont to be the limits of Europe towards Asia.

[5] Exodus, 3: 8.

[6] Jerusalem.

[7] Charlemagne (747-814): King of the Franks (768), King of the Lombards (774), First Emperor of the Romans (HRE) (800). Charlemagne never went to the Holy Land.

[8] Godefroy de Bouillon (ca. 1060-1100): one of the leaders of the First Crusade and the first Latin king of Jerusalem

[9] Konrad III (c. 1093 - 1152): HR Emperor from 1138 to his death. One of the leaders of the Second Crusade, with Louis VII.

[10] Louis VII (1120-1180): King of France from 1137 to his death.

[11] The rhetorical device of apostrophe.

[18] Quippe Turcorum imperator[1] Constantinopolitana potitus victoria[2] non, ut plerosque veterum fecisse legimus, desidiae sese tradidit, sed Peram mox aggressus, vicinam urbem et a Liguribus longo tempore possessam in deditionem accepit. Classem, quam summus pontifex Nicolaus cum Venetis ac Januensibus et Cathelanis in auxilium Greciae struxerat[3], sive tempestatibus actam, sive per ignorantiam locorum inclusam, sive alio quovis infortunio male[4] defensam, ut rumor est[5], intercepit. Maximas ibi opes[6], bellicorum instrumentorum[7] vim summam, armorum omnis generis ingens pondus adeptus est. Puberes omnes occidit tantisque nunc cladibus Christianum populum affecit, quantis ante hac multis saeculis inauditum arbitror. Triplicem ille sub uno tempore[8] gerit triumphum, nos triplici conflictu[9] consternati jacemus. Ferunt, qui de Venetiis ad nos veniunt, omnia ibi luctibus plena esse nullamque domum vacare maerore[10]. Hinc matronae, inde viri lugent. Aliae maritos, aliae filios, aliae fratres deflent. Nulli non propinquus ademptus est. Privatim et publice lamenta audiuntur.

[19] Consternatus senatus jam non[11] Ponticam aut Siriacam seu Creticam solum[12] [13], sed Adriaticam quoque navigationem amisisse videtur[14], neque ab re. Albaniae partem Turci tenent. Quid si nunc victoriam prosequantur[15], quo pacto Turcorum potentiae Durachium resistet, cui Constantinopolis par esse non potuit? Inde Brundusium, ex parte Italiae vicinum quis tuebitur? Claudent Adriaticum sinum? Magna jactura Veneti nominis[16], sed major Christianitatis[17], quae, superatis Venetis, non habet amplius maris imperium. Neque Cathelani aut Genuenses, quamvis potentissimi sunt, sine Venetis[18] pares poterunt esse Turcis[19]. Satis erit illis Africanorum molestias et assiduos[20] compescere impetus, quibus cum perpetuis contentionibus agitantur[21].

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[1] ~~victoria~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~minime languet non~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] *corr. ex* miserat cod.
[4] ~~rectam~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ut rumor est *supralin.* cod.
[6] ~~eripuit puber instrumenta bellica ingens~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~summam~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] *corr. ex* parvo in cod.
[9] ~~debilitati~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~Hic patrem, illae filium luget, conjuges maritos deflent amissos fratr / nemo est qui vel fratrem vel propinquum non perditum doleat, senatus ipse mente privatim publique lamenta audiuntur, namque postquam~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~… orientis insulas / Pon / Ponti …~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] *add. interlin.* cod.
[13] ~~navigationem sed ipsum mare Adriaticum videtur amisisse~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] ~~jam vicinus urbi in~~ *seq.* cod.
[15] ~~si Durachium~~ *seq.* cod.
[16] ~~neque~~ *seq.* cod.
[17] ~~nisi enim~~ *seq.* cod.
[18] ~~Turchis~~ *seq.* cod.
[19] *add. interlin.* cod.
[20] molestias et assiduos *corr. ex* impetus cod.
[21] ~~hec ego sancte pater quamvis frustra tecum loquar quando que dolentur refero et quamvis superflue multa dico vestre dignationi que omnia novit tamen~~ … ~~hec ego pie pater cum vestra vobiscum~~ *seq.* cod.

[18] Indeed, after his victory at Constantinople, the Turkish ruler[1] has not, as we read that many others formerly did, become indolent but immediately attacked and accepted the surrender of Pera, the neighbouring city, which had long been in Ligurian[2] possession. There is a rumour that he has now seized the fleet sent by Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus[3] together with the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Catalans to support Greece, whether it was wrecked by storms, cut off due to a lack of local knowledge, or poorly defended owing to some mishap. There, he has assembled great forces, powerful war machines,[4] and an immense hoard of weapons of all kinds. He has killed all able-bodied man and has now inflicted such disasters upon the Christian people as have been unheard of for many centuries.[5] He has celebrated a triple triumph, whereas we have been struck down by a triple defeat. The Venetians coming here say that the city resounds with weeping and that no house is free of mourning. Here, matrons and there, husbands are lamenting. Some women mourn their husbands, others their sons, and others again their brothers. All have lost a loved one. Private and public laments are heard everywhere.

[19] The [Venetian] Senate is rightly shocked to have lost the freedom to sail as they please, not only in the Black Sea[6], the Syrian, and the Cretan Sea, but even in the Adriatic. The Turks now hold part of Albania. If they continue their advance, how can Durazzo resist their power when even Constantinople could not? And who can protect Brindisi, its neighbour on Italian soil? Will the Turks close the Adriatic Bay? This is a great disaster for Venice, but it is even greater for Christianity, for when the Venetians are defeated, it will no longer have control of the sea. The Catalans and the Genoese are powerful [peoples], but without the Venetians, they cannot withstand the Turks. All they will be able to do is to resist the molestations and continuous attacks of the Africans,[7] with whom they are already locked in constant struggle.

[1] Mehmed II.
[2] Genoese.
[3] Nicolaus V.
[4] Canons.
[5] Bisaha: *From*, p. 82.
[6] The Pontic Sea.
[7] The Islamic Berber kingdoms of Northern Africa.

[20] {130v} Haec mihi, pie pater, et acerba[1] et miserrima videntur, ex quibus habemus de praeterito, quae doleamus, et de futuro, quae timeamus[2] [3]. Ideoque[4] dolenti condoleo[5]. Res mala est, spes multo deterior. Vidimus cladem[6] Graecorum, nunc Latinorum ruinas expectamus. Exusta est vicina domus, nunc nostra praestolatur incendium. Qui sunt jam medii inter nos et Turcos[7]? Parum terrae parumque nos hinc atque inde disjungit aquarum. Imminet jam nostris cervicibus Turcorum gladius, et nos interim intestina gerimus bella, fratres persequimur[8], et hostes crucis[9] in nos crassari sinimus[10]. Teutones cum Teutonibus,[11] irati furiunt[12]. Italum sanguinem manus Itala fundit, neque Galli neque Hispani inter se conveniunt. *Inter finitimos* viget ubique *simultas, immortale odium et male sanabile vulnus*. Opportunum[13] Turcorum ductor sibi tempus elegit. Tuto Graecos invasit, dum Latinos inter se divisos accepit. Auferat sibi mentem Deus vadendi in nos ulterius, dum sumus discordes: neque frater fratri, nec filio pater fidit[14]. Actum de nobis est, nisi divina pietas adjumento fuerit[15], sed[16] vigilantibus atque agentibus superi favent[17], ignavos fugiunt[18]. Nisi se quisque juvet, frustra[19] divinam petiverit opem[20]. Audentes fortuna juvat, timentes negligentesque procul abigit.

[21] Ob quas res licet sanctissimum dominum nostrum universumque sacri senatus ordinem ad reipublicae Christianae salutem[21] summo nunc studio intentum fore[22] confidam, magnopere tamen optarem hoc tempore tuam prudentissimam dignitatem esse Romae[23]: scio[24] currentem equum[25] calcaribus urgeres neque ullam in tanto negotio negligentiam patereris. Nunc istum, nunc illum cardinalem alloquerere neque apostolicas aures sineres esse quietas. Sperarem tua sollicitudine brevi provisionem fieri, qua non solum adversus infideles Christiana res defendi[26] [27], {131r} sed suis in sedibus Turci quaesiti, conteri[28] atque deleri possent. Puto autem in tanto negotio, aut[29] revocabitur ad urbem tua dignatio communi utilitati consultura, aut[30] certe jubebitur, suscepta legatione, Germanicam gentem[31] ad succurendum labenti fidei excitare.

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[1] *corr. ex* dolenda cod.
[2] ex quibus … timeamus *add. in marg.* cod.
[3] ~~que de preeterito nocuerunt ac de futu / quae de preterito nocu / que cum preteritis nocuerint et cum futuris nocere minantur ideo condoleo~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ideo WO
[5] ~~cuperem hoc tempore dignationem vestram~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *corr. ex* mala utcumque cod.
[7] ~~modie~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~et ab hostibus non~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~cra~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~impune~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] Teutones cum Teutonibus *corr. ex* Germani adversus Germanos cod.
[12] ~~Italum~~ *seq.* cod. *[sic!]*
[13] ~~sibi tem~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] ~~verum / at cum Deus su~~ *seq.* cod.
[15] actum de / fuerit *add. in marg.* cod.
[16] ~~agen~~ *seq.* cod.
[17] ~~audentes fortuna juvat / tor / ignavis atque negli~~ *seq.* cod.
[18] ~~infesti sunt / irati atque infe~~ *seq.* cod.
[19] ~~divinum petit~~ *seq.* cod.
[20] ~~negligentes qui / ad~~ *seq.* cod.
[21] ad rei … salutem *add. in marg.* cod.
[22] *corr. ex* esse cod.
[23] ~~fore~~ *seq.* cod.
[24] ~~enim~~ *seq.* cod.
[25] *supralin.* cod.
[26] *corr. ex* defenderetur cod.
[27] ~~sed ipsi~~ *seq.* cod.
[28] *corr. ex* deleri cod.
[29] *corr. ex* ad cod.
[30] ~~legatio ad eam mittetur. Certe mandabit vester~~ *seq.* cod.
[31] ~~excitare ad passagium excitare~~ *seq.* cod.

[20] All this, pious Father, seems bitter and disastrous to me. It gives us reason to lament the past and fear for the future. Thus, I suffer with those who suffer. What has happened is bad, but what can be expected is worse. We have seen the fall of the Greeks; now, we are waiting for the ruin of the Latins. Our neighbour's house has burnt down; now ours awaits the flames.[1] Who now stands between us and the Turks? Only a little land and a little sea separate us. The Turkish sword threatens our necks while we blithely pursue our internal wars, assail our brothers, and allow the enemies of the cross to overrun us. Germans rage against Germans, Italian hands shed Italian blood, and neither the French nor the Spaniards have peace at home. Everywhere, there is *a feud among neighbours, an undying hatred, a wound that can never be healed.*[2] The Turkish commander[3] chose a good moment. When he heard about the conflicts between the Latins, he safely attacked the Greeks. May God make him decide not to attack us further while we are disunited: brothers do not trust brothers, and fathers do not trust sons. We are finished unless Pious God comes to our aid. But the heavenly beings only favour those who are vigilant and active; they flee cowards. If one does not help oneself, one seeks God's help in vain. Fortune helps the bold and pushes the timid and negligent far away.

[21] Therefore, although I trust that Our Most Holy Father and the entire Holy Senate[4] are now focused on the safety of the Christian Commonwealth, I would greatly wish for Your most wise Grace to be now in Rome: I know that you would spur the running horse and not allow any negligence in this grave matter. You would talk to one cardinal after another and not leave the apostolic ears in peace. I would hope that your efforts might soon result in provision to be made not only for the defence of Christianity against the infidels[5] but also for seeking out the Turks in their homes[6] to crush and destroy them. I believe that, in this great matter, Your Grace should either be recalled to the City for consultations on the common good or be appointed [papal] legate with the mission to rouse the German people to come to the support of the endangered Faith.

[1] Cf. Horatius: *Epistolae*, 1: 18, 80: *tua res agitur, paries cum proxi-mus ardet.*

[2] Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 15: 33-34.

[3] Mehmed II.

[4] The College of Cardinals.

[5] In Europe.

[6] In Asia Minor.

[22] Quod si neutrum horum fieret, licet sus ego Minervam instruere praesumam, optimum tamen factu putarem ultro dignitatem tuam summo pontifici ac sacro collegio litteras dare, ut nunc in tanta rerum asperitate totis assurgant animis[1] neque pecuniis neque personis ignoscant[2], dum nova sunt vulnera, remedium quaerant neque putrescere per incuriam sinant. Vocent reges et principes in certum aliquem locum, dicant conveniendi diem, mittant legatos de latere summi pontificis[3], exponant mala, quae passa est modo Christiana respublica, monstrent[4], quae futura timentur pericula, providendi modos aperiant[5], inter Christianos aut pacem aut indutias belli componant, crucem praedicent, remissionem peccatorum polliceantur. Intonet apostolica tuba, nihil negligat, nihil hoc tempore omittat. Non est mihi dubium, si locus ac rebus accomodus nominetur, quin reges aut veniant aut mittant bonisque animis hoc fidei negotium amplectantur.

[23] Ego quidem jam Caesari non clanculum, sed in publico consilio de hac ipsa re[6] non pauca verba feci. Inveni mentem ejus et volentem et[7] apprime ardentem. Sane multi ex senatoribus, qui aderant, dum me hortantem Caesaremque respondentem audiverint, uberes lacrimas emiserunt. Vidisses senes veneranda canitie suas manus in hanc expeditionem prompto corde offerentes, et qui se mori beatos dicebant, si militantes adversus impiam barbariem caderent. Taceo robustos viros et ferventi sanguine juvenes, quibus unius diei mora in tali[8] negotio annus esse[9] videtur[10]. Arbitror et in aliorum principum curiis itidem inveniri. Neque Rhenensium nobilitatem neque Gallorum magnanimitatem neque prudentiam Italorum neque Hispanorum fortitudinem aut Anglorum audaciam[11] in tali necessitate defuturam vel ratio suadet vel animus timet. Quippe Bohemos, Hungaros, Polonos ipsa loci propinquitas admonebit.

[24] Fiet, mihi credito[12], fiet communi omnium Christianorum consensu[13] passagium, si Romani pontificis hoc tempore surrexerit auctoritas ac bonorum praedicatorum[14], inter quos esse tuam pietatem commune judicium habet[15], fideles ac disertae voces in fines orbis terrae sonuerint[16]. Neque necessarium erit, de Mathatia vel aliis exempla proponere qui[17] pro paternis legibus cum paucis adversus hostium innumerabiles copias {131v} pugnando vicerunt. Est terra nostra fecunda virorum fortium. Exercitum innumerabilem componere potest[18] (robusta juvenum pectora[19] in armis habet[20] [21]) sive viros, sive equos, sive arma requiras. Superiores Christiani sunt Turcis. Nihil est, quod nobis obsit, nisi vel negligentia vel dissensio nostra. Sive mari, sive terra pugnandum est: velimus solum, victores erimus. Sola quondam Italia Graeciam, Asiam, Libyam Egyptumque armis vicit[22]. Quid nunc adjunctis Germaniae Galliaeque viribus agat[23]?

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[11] ~~consulant neque pecunie neque~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~dum res nova est~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~aperiant mala~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] *corr. ex* dicant cod.
[5] ~~curent~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~multis~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~ardentem~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] *corr. ex* tanto cod.
[9] *add. interlin.* cod.
[10] ~~quid de rerum nobilitate puto in p~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~defore defuturum~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] credite WO
[13] *suprlin.* cod.
[14] ~~qualem~~ *seq.* cod.
[15] commune judicium habet *corr. ex* non ambigo cod.
[16] ~~non erit neceesum / pauc~~ *seq.* cod.
[17] ~~qui cum paucis adversus adversus [sic!] hostium innumerabiles copias~~ *seq.* cod.
[18] *corr. ex* licet cod.
[19] ~~nobis~~ *seq.* cod.
[20] *corr. ex* haberet cod.
[21] ~~erecta (?) neque viris neque armis require~~ *seq.* cod.
[22] *corr. ex* cepit cod.
[23] ~~Sane quotienscunque maximas vires ex / non est abbreviata neque impotens manus domini / quotienscunque Latinorum vires in unum coacte maiorum nostrorum meria (?) fuerunt~~ *seq.* cod.

[22] If none of this should happen, I would still think (and here I presume, like the pig, to instruct Minerva[1]) that it would be best for Your Grace to send letters to the Supreme Pontiff and the Sacred College, urging them to meet this great crisis resolutely, to spare neither their money nor their persons, and to seek remedies for these new wounds rather than let them fester through negligence. They should summon the kings and princes to meet in some specified place, appoint a date for the meeting, send papal legates *de latere*, explain the misfortunes now suffered by the Christian Commonwealth, show what future dangers must be feared and what must be done, make peace or at least a truce between the Christians, preach the cross, and promise the remission of sins.[2] The apostolic trumpet must sound, and nothing must be neglected or left undone at this critical hour. If a suitable time and place are announced, the kings will surely meet in person or send representatives, and they will embrace the cause of the Faith in good spirit.

[23] I have spoken at length to the emperor on this matter, not privately but in a public meeting of his council.[3] I found him willing and exceedingly eager.[4] Indeed, many of the senators[5] present wept openly when they heard my exhortation and the emperor's reply. You would have seen old men with venerable white hair readily offering to join this expedition,[6] saying they would die happy if they fell while fighting against impious barbarity. I pass over the robust men and the hot-blooded youths to whom even a single day's delay in this matter seems like a year. I believe you would find the same in the other princely courts. Reason tells us - do not fear! - that neither the Rhenish nobility nor the Gallic pride nor the Italian cleverness nor the Spanish strength nor the English boldness would be lacking in this venture. As for the Bohemians, the Hungarians, and the Poles, their very closeness [to the Turks] will move them.

[24] Believe me, all Christians will consent to a crusade if the Roman Pontiff exerts his authority and the loyal and eloquent voices of good preachers - among whom Your Piety is commonly numbered - resound to the ends of the world. It will not even be necessary to mention the examples of Matatthias[7] and others who won when they fought for the laws of their fathers with only a few men against countless hostile forces. Our country abounds in strong men. It can raise an innumerable army (having the robust hearts of young men under arms), whether you require men, horses, or weapons. The Christians are superior to the Turks. Nothing can stop us but our own negligence or discord. Whether we must fight by land or sea, we shall be victorious if only we have the will. Italy alone once defeated Greece, Asia, Libya,[8] and Egypt. What might it not achieve now when joined by the strength of Germany and France?

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[1] This Latin maxim - a pig is teaching Minerva - is used when somebody knowing too little on a subject attempts to 'school' somebody who knows a lot.

[2] To the potential crusaders.

[3] Piccolomini apparently delivered some kind of oration to the emperor's council (COR, 1: p. 70), and large sections of the present letter might very well be based on this oration.

[4] Bisaha: *From*, p. 73

[5] Councillors.

[6] Against the Turks.

[7] Mattathias ben Johanan (d. c. 166 BCE): a Jewish priest who initiated the Maccabean uprising against the Seleucid Empire. (1. Maccabees, 2).

[8] Northern Africa.

[25] Scimus[1] majorum nostrorum memoria[2], quotienscumque Latinorum vires convenerunt, orientalium populos contremuisse[3] semperque nostros exercitus remeasse victores[4], nisi forsitan aliquando peccatis populi Deus[5] iratus vel pestilentia nostros vel fame contrivit. Nam Marte manifesto semper victoria penes Latinos fuit. Quod si nunc bonis animis Christianus populus[6] non taetrae[7] avaritiae causa[8], non[9] inanis gloriae cupidus, sed Dei solum zelo accensus, pro[10] fratrum salute, pro lege Christi, pro augmento Catholicae fidei sumpserit arma, respiciet - non est dubium - ex alto dominus plebem suam laetusque super filiis hominum haereditatem suam tuebitur ac non solum de Turcis, si[11] perseverantes erimus, sed de Saracenis quoque ceterisque barbaris gentibus victrici dextera sua triumphum nobis elargietur. Haec habui, quae nunc dignationi tuae conscriberem, nimis fortasse praesumptuose. Sed traxit me fervor animi simulque putavi[12], dignitatem tuam, quaecumque a me dicuntur, in partem accipere meliorem.

Vale in Christo meique nonnumquam veluti fidelis mancipii memoriam habeto. Ex Grezio Styriae, quod Bavaricum vocant, 12. Kalendas Augusti 1453.

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[1] ~~saepe~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~Latinorum exercitum liberatamque (?) Asiam et Siriam~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~nunquam q … nec nunquam de nostris exercitu~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~nisi vel fraus~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~iratus vel fame nostros vel dolo … (?) pestilenti Deus iratus contrivit. Nam Marte aperto inauditum est~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~arma sumpserit~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] *supralin.* cod.
[8] *supralin.* cod.
[9] ~~glorie~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~lege~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~ferventes~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] ~~ad~~ *seq.* cod.

[25] We know from our forefathers that whenever Latin forces assembled, the Oriental peoples trembled, and our armies were always victorious unless God, angered by the people's sins, afflicted them with plague or hunger. But in open war, the Latins always won. So, if now the Christian people take arms with open hearts - not because of dismal greed nor out of desire for vain glory, but filled with the zeal of God - for the salvation of brothers, for the law of Christ, for the expansion of the Catholic Faith, then the Lord will surely look down from on high upon his people, and, happy with the children of men, He will protect His inheritance, and with His victorious right hand, He will - if we persevere - grant us to triumph not only over the Turks but also over the Saracens and other barbarian peoples.[1] This is what I had to write to Your Grace at this time. I may have been presumptuous, but I was driven by eagerness and believed Your Grace would accept what I said in the best possible spirit.

Farewell in Christ, and remember me sometimes as your loyal servant. From Graz in Steiermark, which they call Bavarian. 21 July 1453.

[1] This splendid peroration clearly points to a text intended or held as an oration.

342. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (25 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 132r*[1] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 52.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 113, p. 216 (on the basis of W1).*

{132r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, comiti alto et prudentissimo domino Petro de Noxeto salutem plurimam dicit[2].

[1] Venturi ad sedem apostolicam, sicut fama est, oratores inclyti regis Hungariae et Bohemiae, multa cum domino nostro sanctissimo tractaturi, inter alia petent ecclesiae Pataviensi electum praefici in episcopum et pastorem. Scit tua magnificentia, quid Caesari in ea re scriptum promissumque sit. Puto id ratum, firmum et stabile futurum. Si tamen aliqua ratione motus summus pontifex in hoc Ladiaslao regi, in aliis Caesari complacere decreverit, ut saepe summorum decreta pontificum immutantur, oratum te cupio, ne vel Ulricus Sonnenberger vel tuus Aeneas circa praeposituram Frisingensem et parrochialem ecclesiam oblivioni dentur, sed sua cuique promissa serventur. Nos ambo in te spem fiximus, nec[3] decipi posse tuo fulti auxilio confidimus. Haec erant, quae modo scribenda se offerebant. Nolo te multis tenere, quem credo maxime occupatum. Solum te rogo, si de pace nostrae Italiae agitur, id toto pectore cures. Sic enim Turcorum molestias et vitare poterimus et oblivisci. Quod si pergimus in viscera nostra ferrum stringere, quis non actum de illo populo dixerit, qui suo et hostili gladio confidetur[4].

Vale et ama, ut soles, tuum Aeneam. Ex Grezio Stiriensi, 8. kalendas Augusti 1453.

[1] DV, 269

[2] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Petro de Noxeto. Magnifice comes, maior honorande cod.

[3] ne WO

[4] *em.;* confodietur WO

342. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (25 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *The conflict between the emperor and King Ladislaus concerning the appointment of the Bishop of Passau had not yet been settled, and the king's ambassadors were expected to take up the matter with the pope and request that the elect, Ulrich von Nussdorf, be finally recognised by the pope as the new bishop.*

Subject: *Piccolomini asks Pietro da Noceto to ensure that if the pope should, against the wishes of the emperor, confirm Ulrich von Nussdorf as Bishop of Passau before he made his submission to the emperor, the pope should not forget his promise to confer two of Nussdorf's benefices on Piccolomini himself and Ulrich Sonnenberger.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the noble Count and most wise Lord, Pietro da Noceto.

[1] Rumour has it that ambassadors of the Illustrious King of Hungary and Bohemia[2] will come to the Apostolic See to consult on many matters with Our Most Holy Lord.[3] Among other things, they will request that the Elect of Passau[4] be confirmed as bishop and pastor of that church. Your Magnificence knows what has been written and promised[5] to the Emperor in this matter. I believe that to be certain, firm, and solid. But if, for any reason, the Supreme Pontiff should decide to accommodate King Ladislaus in this matter[6] and the Emperor in others, as the Supreme Pontiffs' decrees are often changed, I ask you to ensure that the promise of the Freising provostship to Ulrich Sonnenberger and of the parish church[7] to your Enea be not forgotten but upheld. We both put our hope in you and trust that, with your help, we shall not be disappointed. This is what I had to write about for now. I shall not take more of your time since I know you to be extremely busy. I only ask you to engage yourself wholeheartedly in the matter of peace in our Italy.[8] Thus, we will be able to avoid and eventually forget the Turkish troubles. But if we continue to turn the sword upon our own heart[9], who would not say that a people is finished that is given over to[10] its own and the enemy's swords.

Farewell, and love your Enea as always. From Graz in Steiermark, 25 July 1453.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 26, 542, and pp. 541-542 on the matter of the appointment of the Bishop of Passau.
[2] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[3] Pope Nicolaus V.
[4] Ulrich von Nussdorf.
[5] By the pope.
[6] By (against the emperor's will) appointing Ulrich von Nussdorf as Bishop of Passau before he had made his submission to the emperor.
[7] Parish of Irdning.
[8] The ongoing negotiations for a general peace among the Italian powers (the peace of Lodi that would be signed on 4 April 1454).
[9] "viscera"
[10] Is given over to: if Wolkan's emendation to "confodietur" is accepted, the translation is "is transpierced by"

343. Letter to Domenico Capranica (27 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 132r-132v[1] [2] **.*
Editions A: *KO, 156[3].*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 114, p. 216-218 (on the basis of W1).*

{132r} Domino cardinali Firmano. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem.

[1] Venit ad me lator praesentium Georgius Mair, frater ordinis beatae Marie Teutonicorum, exponens mihi, quod ipse alias cupiens dictum ordinem intrare ac profiteri, falso fratribus ipsius ordinis acolytum se esse dixit. Deinde receptus in religione[4], neglectis minoribus[5], ad[6] subdiaconatum, diaconatum[7] et presbyteratus ordines promoveri se fecit et[8] diuque ministravit in illis. Suscepit tamen postea minores, ut ait, ordines ab episcopo Curcensi, nec dispensationem super praemissis obtinuit, super[9] quibus rebus nunc tristis et dolens, ut sibi de remedio dispensationis opportune providerem, lacrimando me rogavit. Quod cum sibi denegarem, quia facultas mea ad id se non extendit, petivit ulterius, sibi ut consilium[10], quid acturus esset[11], praeberem. Suasi ergo ei, ad Romanam curiam se conferret ibique, peccatum suum deflens, misericordiam peteret[12]. Ait id se libenti animo facturum, sed cum de licentia superiorum suorum id agere non posset, petivit, ut sibi auctoritate legationis meae illam sibi concederem. Interrogavi, cur licentiam non possit a suis majoribus habere. Dixit, quia vellent profectionis causam agnoscere, quam si eis aperiret[13], certus esset, quod ab eis ex ordine repelleretur cogereturque deinde perpetuo mendicare. Motus hac ratione dixi me sibi licentiam ei dare, quantum possem quantumque mea sese facultas extenderet, atque has litteras in ejus rei testimonium sibi concessi. Supplico igitur, vestra dignatio eum recommissum habeat {132v} suaeque necessitati subveniat, ex quo dolens ad cor reversus peccata sua deflet. Pia mater ecclesia non claudit redeuntibus gremium *neque mortem peccantis sed conversionem quaerit*. Cupio, preces meae sibi apud dignationem vestram proficuae sint. Nec alia super hoc modo.

[2] De novitatibus harum partium nihil habeo, quod scriptura dignum puto, nam silere cuncta videntur. Pacem habemus, sed incertam. De Turcis fuerunt hic nuper horrenda nova ex Rascia atque etiam ex Venetiis missa, fuitque vehemens rumor Constantinopolim perditam, classem Christianorum amissam, Peram Turco traditam. Id Caesari et omni curiae suae molestissimum erat, quemadmodum sanctissimo domino nostro super eo negotio non brevem epistolam scripserim. Nunc feliciora relata sunt aut non tam aspera nova. Dicitur enim praesidium domini nostri intrasse Constantinopolim ac regiam urbem defensam esse, perditas tamen[14] nonnullas naves. Itaque mente quietiori sumus. Caesar ad inquirendum verum nuntios misit, quos prope dies expectamus.

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[1] DV, 269-270
[2] *Autograph.*
[3] DV, 139v. *Not collated*
[4] *corr. ex* ordine cod.
[5] ~~ordinibus ad sacros usque sudd~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *supralin.* cod.
[7] *corr. ex* subdiaconatum cod.
[8] ~~illis diu postea ministravit. Ad cor autem deinde reuersus~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] *corr. ex* de cod.
[10] ~~in agen~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~ulterius~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] ~~qt cum id~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] ~~non dubitaret~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] ~~esse~~ *seq.* cod.

343. Letter to Domenico Capranica (27 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *A member of the German Order had asked for Piccolomini's help to obtain a dispensation.*
Subject: *Piccolomini explains the circumstances of the matter and asks for the cardinal's assistance to obtain the dispensation.*[1]

To the Lord Cardinal of Fermo. Most Reverend Father in Christ and Worshipful Lord. After humble recommendation.

[1] The bearer of the present letter, Georg Mair, a brother of the Order of Saint Mary of the Germans, came to me and told me that, desiring to enter and make profession in the said order, he falsely told the brethren of the order that he had already been ordained as an acolyte. He was then accepted into the order and, neglecting the minor orders, was ordained as a subdeacon, deacon, and priest and served as such for a long time. Later, he also received the minor orders from the Bishop of Gurk without obtaining a dispensation for the aforementioned irregularities. He is now sad and pained by all this and asked me tearfully to arrange a proper dispensation. When I refused his request, since my powers do not extend that far, he asked me for advice on what to do. I urged him to go to the Roman Curia and, tearfully repenting his sin, seek mercy. He answered that he would gladly do this, but since he would be unable to obtain his superiors' permission, he asked me to grant him permission by the authority of my legatine mission. I asked him why he could not get permission from his superiors, and he said they would want to know the reason for his travel, and if he told them, he was sure they would cast him out of the order and that he would afterwards be forced to be a beggar for the rest of his life. Moved by this, I told him I would grant him permission as far as I could, and my powers allowed it, and I gave him this letter in testimony of the matter. So, I beg Your Grace to accept my recommendation and help him in his need since he has come to his senses and deeply regrets his sins. Merciful Mother Church does not close her bosom to those who repent, and she *does not desire the death of the sinner but his conversion*.[2] I hope that my plea may be of some benefit to him with Your Grace. There is nothing more to write on this matter at present.

[2] I have no news from these parts worthy of writing, for all seems quiet. We have a peace, but it is uncertain.[3] We recently received dreadful news about the Turks from Rascia[4] and even Venice, and there was a persistent rumour that Constantinople had been lost as well as the Christian fleet and that Pera had surrendered to the Turk. This was most grievous to the emperor and his entire court, as we informed Our Most Holy Lord in a long letter.[5] Now, however, we have received more favourable and less dire news, for it is said that the auxiliary force of Our Lord[6] had entered Constantinople and defended the royal city, though several ships were lost. Thus, we are somewhat relieved. The emperor has sent messengers to enquire about the matter, and we expect them back soon.

[1] On this letter, see AC, vol. 2/2, nr. 3547.
[2] Ezekiel, 18: 23.
[3] The unratified peace between the Emperor and King Ladislaus of 23 March 1453.
[4] Serbia.
[5] Letter 340.
[6] The pope.

[3] De Bohemia haec sunt, quae cupio sanctissimo domino nostro fieri nota. Rex Ladislaus ad Festum Michaelis eo se iturum recepturumque regni diadema promisit. Georgiconem regni gubernationem[1] usque in diem coronationis et ultra ad annum recepit. Compactata, ut ajunt, cum Basiliensi olim concilio facta, confirmavit. Catholici in regno malae mentis sunt dolentque se Georgiconi[2] utriusque speciei fautori commissos. Canonici capituli Pragensis ad me scripserunt vocatos se ad coronationem dicentes, dicuntque se nescire, quid agant. Si non eunt, timent regis indignationem. Si pergunt [3], formidant[4] insidias gubernatoris et Rochezanae verenturque, ne cogantur compactata recipere et Rochezanam in archiepiscopum admittere petuntque consilium meum. Quia tempus adhuc longum est, scripsi eis velle me de tali re sanctissimum dominum nostrum consulere. Ideo haec supplico, dignemini pietati apostolicae nota efficere, ut sua sapientia pro suo arbitrio provideat. Putarem bonum esse capitulo ecclesiae Pragensis in Pilza commoranti unum breve scribi per dominum nostrum, in quo mandaretur illis, ne quid in facto compactatorum ad cujusvis instantiam attemptarent. Id sufficeret eis pro excusatione. Posset autem hoc breve dirigi reverendissimo domino meo Sancti Petri, et is ulterius facili modo ad Pilzinam transmitteret. Haec cum fiducia scribo reverendissimae dignationi vestrae, quam rebus piis affectam non ambigo.

Cupio me semper esse in mente dignationis vestrae reuerendissimae et illi servire. Ex Grez die 27. Julii 1453. Servulus vester, Eneas, episcopus Senensis.

[1] *em.;* gubernatorem cod.
[2] ~~heretici~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] pergant WO
[4] *corr. ex* timent cod.

[3] Concerning Bohemia, I ask you to inform Our Most Holy Lord that King Ladislaus has promised to go there by the Feast of Saint Michael to receive the crown of the kingdom. Georg[1] has been given the government of the kingdom until the day of coronation and a year after that. The king has also confirmed the [Bohemian] Compacts, as they call them, previously made with the Council of Basel.[2] The Catholics of the kingdom are frustrated and complain that they have Georg as their governor, a man who favours communion under both species. The canons of the Chapter of Prague have written to me that they have been summoned to the coronation and do not know what to do. If they do not go, they fear the king's displeasure. If they go, they fear the machinations of the governor and Rokycana[3] and are afraid they will be compelled to accept the Compacts and acknowledge Rokycana as archbishop. So, they ask for my advice. Since there is still time before the event,[4] I have written to them that I would consult Our Most Holy Lord on the matter.[5] Therefore, I beg Your Grace to inform His Apostolic Piety about this so that, in his wisdom, he may make the necessary dispositions. I would consider it appropriate if Our Lord wrote a letter to the Chapter of the Church of Prague, now residing in Plzen, commanding them not to give in to any pressure regarding the Compacts. This would give them the excuse they need. Such a letter might be addressed to My Most Reverend Lord of San Pietro,[6] who would then, in some suitable way, forward the letter to Plzen.[7] I write this confidently to Your Most Reverend Grace, knowing how committed you are in pious matters.

I wish to always be remembered by and serve Your Most Reverend Grace. From Graz, 27 July 1453. Your humble servant, Enea, Bishop of Siena.

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[1] Georg Podiebrad.

[2] The Council of Basel (1432-1439) negotiated a settlement with the Hussites, the so-called Hussite Compacts (or Compacts of Prague), which allowed the Hussites to have communion under both species - one of the central Hussite tenets - but categorically stated that this form of communion was not a condition for salvation. The Compacts had been confirmed by emperors Siegmund and Albrecht before the Bohemians recognised them as King of Bohemia, so in this respect, Ladislaus just followed precedence.

[3] Jan Rokycana (ca. 1396-1471): theologian and leading Hussite cleric. His election as Archbishop of Prague had been recognised by Emperor Sigismund as part of the settlement in Iglau in 1436, but the popes did not then nor later recognise the election since Rokycana was evidently a heretic and schismatic.

[4] Two months.

[5] See letters 344 and 345.

[6] Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues, then residing in Brixen.

[7] Piccolomini would evidently prefer not to be directly involved in this matter.

344. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter of Prague (27 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 133r*[1] [2].
Editions A: *KO, 157*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 115, p. 218-220 (on the basis of W1).*

{133r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, apostolicae sedis legatus, decano et capitulo Pragensis salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Litteras vestras accepimus magnasque illas mentium vestrarum fluctuationes cognovimus[5], quae vos impraesentiarum non sine causa exagitant et super quibus nostrum consilium petitis[6]. Respondebimus breviter prudentiae vestrae[7], quae multa ex paucis comprehendere novit. Affecti fuimus semper ecclesiae vestrae. Utinam potuissemus aliquando, ut optavimus, illi prodesse. Certe missi ad partes istas per sanctissimum dominum nostrum anno proxime praeterito speravimus et Bohemiam intrare, ad quam regionem legati de latere sanctae sedis apostolicae auctoritatem[8] habuimus et adhuc habemus. Sed interciderunt aliqua impedimenta, propter quae nostro desiderio locus esse non potuit, neque nunc in his terminis sumus, ut cum serenissimo rege Ladislao ad coronationem ejus transire possimus, nisi aliud sanctitas domini nostri nobis injungeret, cujus mandatis parere cogeremur. Optaremus autem vestri causa id itineris assumere, ut vobis assistere et vestris rebus consulere possemus. At si nos non veniemus, de qua re nullum mandatum habemus, forsitan alius veniet ex dispositione Romanae sedis, cujus directio et auctoritas vobis utilior erit, quam nostra esse potuisset. Atque haec ad ea dicimus, quae nostrum in Bohemiam transitum respiciunt.

[2] Nunc ad consilium, quod petitis, respondere pergimus. Gravis res est et ardua, quae vobis imminet et major, quam per nos dirigi possit. Scimus vos esse prudentes nec dubitamus ex duobus malis quin id recipiatis, quod minus possit nocere. Tamen aliqua pro captu nostro bona fide et sincero dicemus animo. Sane percipimus in utramque partem vobis imminere pericula, sive Pragam intretis vocati sive[9] recusetis ire. Si pergitis, duo pericula instant: unum ne per insidias adversantium in mortis aut carceris incommodum rapiamini, alterum ne compactatis consentire ac Rochezanae electioni subscribere cogamini. Magna sunt haec et animi corporisque discrimen in se habent. At si vocati nolitis ire, contemptus regius opponi vobis poterit. Multa contra vos dicentur. Forsitan et in locum vestrum alii ponentur, et implebitur nobilis ecclesia schismaticis et haereticis ministris.

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[1] DV, 271
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 140r. *Not collated*
[4] Aeneas ... dicit *corr. ex* Decano et capitulo ecclesie Pragensis. Venerabiles viri, amici honorandi cod.
[5] *corr. ex* Litteras vestras accepimus quibus id dubium in quo estis cognovimus / Ex litteris vestris meu / Ex litteris vestris quas pridie accepimus / Litteras vestras quamuis querelarum et anxietatis plenas libenter accepimus cod.
[6] *corr. ex* petimus cod.
[7] ~~dole~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] *corr. ex* legationem cod.
[9] ~~non~~ *seq.* cod.

344. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter of Prague (27 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *The cathedral chapter of Prague had remained loyal to the Catholic Church. It had not recognised the Bohemian Compacts, acknowledged Rokycana as Archbishop of Prague, nor accepted communion under both species. Harassed by the Hussites dominating the capital, it had moved to the town of Plzen. Now, King Ladislaus, who had confirmed the Bohemian Compacts as a condition for his coronation, had summoned the chapter to Prague for the coronation ceremony that would take place in the cathedral. The canons were anxious and feared they would be forced to accept the Compacts.*

Subject: *Piccolomini advises the canons to obey the king's summons to Prague but to require a safe conduct and to not all go, and moreover, to refer all requests concerning Rokycana as archbishop and the Compacts to the pope.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, Legate of the Apostolic See, sends many greetings to the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Prague.

[1] We have received your letter and realise how greatly - and with good cause - you are disturbed by the present troubles, about which you seek our advice. We shall answer in a few words, but in your prudence, you will understand much from little. We have always been devoted to your church and wish we could have done something for it as we long desired. When, a little more than a year ago, Our Most Holy Lord[1] sent us on a mission to these regions, we certainly hoped to also visit Bohemia[2] since the authority as a legate of the Holy Apostolic See also extended - and still does – to that region. But certain events[3] prevented us from doing so, and we cannot accompany the Most Serene King Ladislaus to his coronation unless so ordered by Our Most Holy Lord, whose commands we must obey. Nevertheless, we should wish to undertake this journey for your sake that we might be able to assist you and help your cause. However, if we do not come, having no instructions to do so, perhaps the Roman See will send another, whose guidance and authority will be more useful to you than ours could have been.[4] This is what we can say concerning a journey to Bohemia.

[2] Now we shall answer concerning the advice you ask for. The trouble now threatening you is grave and fraught with danger, and it exceeds our powers. We know that you are prudent men and do not doubt that out of two evils, you will choose the least harmful. But we shall say what we can, in good faith and with a sincere heart. We see you are threatened whether you obey the summons to come to Prague[5] or refuse to go. If you go, there are two risks: one is that schemes of your adversaries'[6] may get you killed or imprisoned; the other is that you may be forced to consent to the Compacts and acknowledge the election of Rokycana. These matters are grave and perilous both to soul and body. On the other hand, if you refuse to go when summoned, you may be accused of contempt of the king. Much will be said against you. You may be replaced[7], and your noble church filled with schismatics and heretics.

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[1] Pope Nicolaus V.

[2] Piccolomini had previously, in 1451, been on an imperial mission to Bohemia. He was to attend a meeting of the Bohemian estates in Prague, but because of an outbreak of the plague, the meeting was moved to Benesov, so Piccolomini did not get to visit Prague. (See his report to the emperor, CRDM, 3).

[3] The Austrian rebellion against the emperor to obtain Ladislaus the Posthumous' release from his wardship.

[4] As the emperor's counsellor, Piccolomini might not seem impartial to the Bohemians.

[5] From Plzen.

[6] The Hussites.

[7] As canons.

[3] Quid hic consulamus, sane haeremus, timemusque, ne Scyllae voraginibus immergamur, dum cupimus evitare Carybdim. Utcumque sit, illud nobis prima fronte suadendum videtur: si vocat vos regia sublimitas, non existimamus declinandum imperium, sed petendum salvum conductum ad tempus non breve, quo recepto poterunt aliqui[1] intrare Pragam, semper aliquibus extra manentibus. Invenietis apud regem multos bonos viros, qui causae vestrae assistent. Informabitis consiliarios ejus, jus vestrum dicetis. Credimus equidem, plures erunt causae vestrae affecti quam Rochezanae, neque putamus vos compelli ad rem aliquam injustam et contra statum ecclesiasticum, dum publicae securitatis litteras habebitis. Quod si vobis aut de Rochezana in archiepiscopum recipiendo aut de compactatis amplectendis verba fiant, poteritis vos semper ad dominem nostrum referre dicentes, quod sine ejus speciali mandato nilhil in talibus vos agere liceat, et ita vobis {133v} consulimus, neque nunc aliud dicendum videtur, nisi quia rogamus, ut forti animo temptationes perferatis, quoniam virtus in adversitate perficitur.

[4] Nos tamen haec, que ad nos scripsistis, sanctissimo domino nostro cuncta conscripsimus supplicavimusque suae sanctitati, ut de vobis vestraque fidelitate paterno more cogitet. Speramus, aliquid sua sanctitas meditabitur, quod ad vestram ac regni vestri consolationem pertineat, nam etsi nunc super rebus Graecorum afflictis multa disponere habet, non tamen orthodoxorum, qui sunt in Bohemia, oblitus est. Christus dominus vos[2] tueatur.

Valete et in divina sperate misericordia, quae praesto est cum sinceritate ad eam recurrentibus.
Datum in Grez Styrie, die 27. Julii 1453.

[1] ~~vestrum~~ *seq.* cod.

[2] *corr. ex* vobis cod.

[3] We hesitate to advise you in this situation and fear being swallowed up by Scylla while trying to avoid Charybdis.[1] Nonetheless, my immediate advice is this: if you are summoned by the king, you should not refuse his command but request an extended safe-conduct. When you receive it, some of you should go to Prague while the rest stay away. You will find many good men in the king's party who will support your cause. You can inform his councillors and state your rights. Indeed, we believe more will support your cause than Rokycana's, and we do not think you will be forced to do anything unjust and against your ecclesiastical position as long as you have the safe conducts. If they talk to you about recognising Rokycana as archbishop or accepting the Compacts, you can always say that you must refer the matter to the Lord Pope, since you cannot act in such matters without his specific mandate. This is our advice to you. We need not say more now except to exhort you to bear your troubles with fortitude since virtue is strengthened by adversity.

[4] We have forwarded all you wrote to Our Most Holy Lord, begging His Holiness to take paternal thought of you and your loyalty. We trust that His Holiness will consider how to comfort you and your kingdom, for though he is now much occupied with the Greek disaster,[2] he has not forgotten the faithful Catholics in Bohemia. May Christ the Lord protect you.

Farewell, and put your hope in merciful God who is close to those who seek him with sincerity. Given in Graz in Steiermark, 27 July 1453.

[1] Between Scylla and Charybdis: an idiom derived from Greek mythology. Scylla and Charybdis were two monsters on opposite sides of the Strait of Messina, posing dangers for seafarers.

[2] The Fall of Constantinople.

345. Letter to Wenzel von Bochow (27 July 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 133v*[1] [2].
Editions A: *KO, 158*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 116, pp. 220-221 (on the basis of W1).*

{133r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, apostolicae sedis legatus, domino Venceslao de Crummnau, decretorum doctori, decano et administratori ecclesiae Pragensis, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Quamvis litteras tuas libenter accepimus, quae tuam nobis memoriam recentiorem fecerint, contenta tamen earum inviti audivimus. Quippe dolemus ecclesiae Pragensis[5] negotia non bene ac votive succedere, simulque vobiscum timemus, ne pejora emergant. Hortamur autem te, quando vocatus es in arcem sollicitudinis, ut forti pectore cunctis procellis resistas, ut vim omnem adversantis inimici solido scuto fidei repellas. Assistet tibi dominus et quamvis urgeri[6] ventorum turbinibus suam navem patiatur, non tamen sinet submergi. Cum magis tribulatur ecclesia, tunc fortior assurgit. Confide in domino et viriliter pugna pro causa Dei. Dabitur victoria legitime pugnantibus.

[2] Scribimus venerabili capitulo tuo, quid nobis in rebus suis ex usu videatur. Quia leges una cum capitulo nostras litteras, non est cur verba repetamus. Compatimur laboribus tuis, vellemus et consilio et auxilio esse, sed tantum facimus, quantum possumus. Scripsimus domino nostro. Speramus sanctitatem suam res Bohemicas[7] minime neglecturam. Quae nobis rescribentur, curabimus tuae prudentiae nota facere et ubicumque poterimus tam tuae personae quam memorabili ecclesiae Pragensi usui studebimus esse. Rogamus nos magnificis dominis de Rosis, patri et filiis, quorum memoriam colimus et observimus commendatos facias et ad vota eorum offeras.

Vale in Christo optime. Ex Grez, die 27. Julii 1453. Vester Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, apostolicae sedis nuntius et orator.

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[1] DV, 272
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, f. 140v. *Not collated*
[4] Aeneas … dicit corr. ex Domino Venceslao de Crummnau, decretorum doctori, decano et administratori ecclesie Pragensis. Venerabilis exi / Venerabilis et eximie doctor amice honorande cod.
[5] *corr. ex* vestrae insignis cod.
[6] *corr. ex* impeti cod.
[7] *corr. ex* vestras cod.

345. Letter to Wenzel von Bochow (27 July 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini exhorts Wenzel to show fortitude in a most challenging situation.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, Legate of the Apostolic See, sends many greetings to Herr Wenzel von Krumnau,[1] Doctor of the Decrees,[2] Dean and Administrator of the Church of Prague.

[1] Although we were happy to receive your letter, since it refreshed our memory of you, we were not happy to hear its contents. Indeed, we are saddened at the sorry state of the Church of Prague, and, like you, we fear that worse is to come. When you are summoned to the citadel of anxiety, we exhort you to boldly meet the storm and to resist the adversary's force with the solid shield of faith. The Lord will help you: though he allows his ship to be hit by stormy winds, he will not let it sink. The more the Church is afflicted, the stronger she rises again. Trust in the Lord and fight valiantly for the cause of God. Victory will be granted to those whose fight is legitimate.

[2] We are writing to your venerable chapter with advice for its present situation. Since you will read our letter together with the chapter, we do not need to repeat our words. We share your troubles and would advise and help you, but we can only do what is possible. We have written to Our Lord[3] and hope he will not forget the Bohemian matters. We shall inform Your Prudence about the response and endeavour to assist your person and the distinguished Church of Prague whenever possible. We ask you to recommend us to the Magnificent Lords of Rosenberg,[4] father and sons, whose memory we honour and cherish, and to offer them our services as needed.

Live well in Christ. From Graz, 27 July 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena, Legate and Envoy of the Apostolic See.

[1] Bochow, Wenzel von [Vaclav] (-1460). Colleague and friend of Piccolomini from their time together as members of the imperial chancery. In 1448, he was appointed canon of the Chapter of Prague of which he later became dean. Administrator of the Archdiocese of Prague. Papal official under Pius II.

[2] Canon law.

[3] Pope Nicolaus V.

[4] Rožmberka, Oldřich *II*. z [Ulrich II von Rosenberg] and his sons.

346. Letter to Goro Lolli (9 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 136v*[1] [2].
Editions A: *KO, 164*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 117, p. 222 (on the basis of W1).*

{133r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Gregorio Nicolai fratri suo ac juris interpreti, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Scripsimus tibi nuper de receptione tuarum litterarum, quae nobis cumulatim redditae sunt, ex quibus ingratum illum et dolendum tuae matris, amitae nostrae, sanctissimae feminae, cognovimus obitum. Respondimus ad omnia, quae significasti; non est, cur multa[5] dicamus modo. Solum illud te scire volumus: supplicavimus Caesari paucis ante hunc diebus repetendi domum ad tempus facultatem ut nobis daret. Is autem, quamvis jubendi imperium habet, tamen rogavit ad 15. diem post[6] festum divi Michaelis apud se maneremus. Instat enim eo tempore coram sua majestate grande judicium inter civitates quinque et quinquaginta Prusciae et fratres ordinis beatae Mariae Teutonicorum, in quo[7] non vult nos[8] abesse. Necesse est igitur ad illam diem ut[9] perseveremus[10]. Exinde mox, conscensis equis, ad vos veniemus et antequam intret adventus domini, si Deus dabit[11], vobiscum erimus deque rebus singulis transigemus. Fortasse medio tempore calamitas Constantinopolitana nostros Italos de pace cogitare magis quam hactenus admonebit.

Ex Gretio Styrie[12], 5. idus Augusti 1453.

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[1] DV, 278
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 146r. *Not collated*
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Nicolao Gregorio Nicolai. Eximie doctor, frater amantissime cod.
[5] ~~modo~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~Michael~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~me nolit carere~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] *supralin.* cod.
[9] *corr. ex* me cod.
[10] *corr. ex* perseverare cod.
[11] ~~tecum~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] ~~metropo~~ *seq.* cod.

346. Letter to Goro Lolli (9 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *Piccolomini had asked the emperor for a leave of absence to return to Siena and take care of the affairs of his diocese as well as his personal affairs.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs his cousin, Goro, that the emperor has granted him a leave of absence but that he has to remain at the imperial court until an important court trial to be held in mid-October.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Gregorio di Niccolò, his brother[1] and jurist.

[1] We recently wrote to you[2] that we had received your letters, which were delivered to us as a bundle. From them, we had the sorrowful and unhappy news about the death of your mother, our aunt, a most holy woman. We replied to everything you told us, so there is no reason to say much now. We only wish you to know this: some days ago, we requested the emperor to give us a leave of absence to visit our home. Though he has the power to command, he simply asked us to stay with him until the 15th day after the Feast of Saint Michael,[3] for at that time, an important court trial will be held in his presence between 55 Prussian cities and the brothers of the Order of Saint Mary of the Germans, at which he wanted us to be present. So, we must stay until then. Afterwards, we shall mount the horses and soon come to you and be with you before the Lord's Advent if God grants it. Then we can talk about all the individual matters. In the meantime, the Constantinopolitan catastrophe may prompt our Italians to be more concerned about peace than they have been until now.

From Graz in Steiermark, 9 August 1453.

[1] Cousin.
[2] Letter 334.
[3] 29 September 1453.

347. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (10 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 136v*[1] [2].
Editions A: *KO, 132*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 118, pp. 222-223 (on the basis of W1).*

{136v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, dilecto filio suo, Bartholomaeo Massano, legum doctori, salutem plurimam dicit.[4]

[1] Inventis tandem alis, litterae tuae ad nos convolarunt. Credimus solas[5] timuisse tam longum iter, nam simul epistolae tue redditae sunt[6]. Convenere apud Venetias, ut arbitramur[7], sive alio in loco Italiae simul, priusquam Germaniae montes penetrarent. Inde facto cuneo fortiores audentioresque transierunt. Intelleximus te nostrosque omnes bene valere, quod nobis voluptati est. Quod[8] vero nostrum reditum suades esse celerem, consulis, quae nobis in animo sunt. Stat sententia medio mensis[9] Octobris omnino iter arripere. Sic enim licentiam Caesaris non sine labore obtinuimus. Vicarium nostrum speramus non recedere priusquam revertamur. Tuam prudentiam non dubitamus ad id officii sufficientem, sed nosti clericorum morem, qui non aequo animo ferunt laicos sibi judices dari. De hoc reversi latius colloquemur. Antoniam tibi gratam et morigeram esse gaudemus. Matrem et sorores nostras tuae[10] fidei commendamos. Bartholamaeum, cognatum nostrum, tuum socerum, optimum virum, et Franciscum, ejus filium, salvere jubemus. De calculo cum procuratore facto intelleximus. Quia redire intendimus cito, non plura dicimus.

Vale[11] optime. ex Gretio, die 10.[12] Augusti 1453.

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[1] DV, 278
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, f. 126v
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Bartholomeo Massano. Eximie doctor, fili amantissime cod.
[5] *corr. ex* noluisse cod.
[6] nam simul … sunt *add. in marg.* cod.
[7] ut arbitramur *supralin.* cod
[8] quia WO
[9] mense KO
[10] *corr. ex* tibi cod.
[11] valete KO
[12] anno *add.* KO

347. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (10 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *Bartolomeo, husband of Piccolomini's niece Antonia, had written some letters to Piccolomini that were delivered to him as a bundle.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Bartolomeo for the letters. He confirms his return to Siena.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to his beloved son, Bartolomeo de Massa, Doctor of Law.

[1] When they finally found wings, your letters flew to me.[2] We think they must have feared undertaking such a long journey individually, for they were delivered to me as a bundle. They seem to have met in Venice or some other Italian city before crossing the mountains into Germany. Only when they had joined company did they become strong and daring enough to travel on. We are delighted to hear that you and all our relatives are well. But when you urge us to return as soon as possible, you advise us to do what we already intend to do. The decision to depart in the middle of October stands firm.[3] We have - with some difficulty - obtained the emperor's permission. We hope our vicar[4] does not leave before our return. We are sure you would be competent to perform this office,[5] but you know the ways of clerics: they do not easily tolerate having laymen as judges. When we return, we shall speak more about that. We are happy that Antonia[6] is sweet and compliant towards you. We commend our mother[7] and sisters[8] to your faithful care. Greet Bartolomeo,[9] our relative and your father-in-law, and his son Francesco[10] from me. We hear that you have done the accounts[11] with the procurator. Since we shall return shortly, we say no more.

Live well. From Graz, 10 August 1453.

[1] Strnad: *Francesco*, p. 112.
[2] Like a group of letters from Goro Lolli, see letter 346.
[3] After the Prussian court trial, see letter 346.
[4] Rafaele Primadizi.
[5] Had Bartolomeo proposed himself as Piccolomini's interim vicar?
[6] Antonia Guglielmi de Massa, niece of Piccolomini, daughter of Bartolomeo Guglielmi and Piccolomini's sister Caterina.
[7] Vittoria Forteguerri Piccolomini.
[8] Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi and Laudomia Piccolomini Todeschini.
[9] Bartolomeo Guglielmi: Piccolomini's brother-in-law.
[10] Francesco Guglielmi: Piccolomini's cousin.
[11] "calculus"

348. Letter to Bartolomeo (Procurator) (10 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 137r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 133*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 119, pp. 223-224 (on the basis of W1).*

{137r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Bartholomaeo procuratori et canonico suo, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Conquesti[5] sumus te non scribere, neque sine causa, nam litterae tuae nobis minime reddebantur. Nunc vero intelligimus te scripsisse, sed litteras in via mansisse, nam ex his[6] [7] aliquas[8] [9] accepimus, quibus te plurimum facis excusatum. Suscipimus verba tua bono animo et ita confidimus esse, ut scribis. Multa haberemus tibi rescribere, sed quia mense Octobris proximo ad vos iter arripere constituimus, sic enim Caesar nobis annuit, non est, cur multa modo dicamus. De cunctis tunc transigemus. Contentamur tibi et vicario nostro in simul bene esse ac facessere discordias. De frumento quoque, quae acta sunt, comprobamus. Cura - ut facis - diligenter negotia domus, ut redeuntes tuam sollicitudinem atque solertiam commendemus[10]. Domino Mariano Sozino, ut nos facias commendatos, cupimus[11]. Nannem[12], cognatum nostrum, ut officio suo accurate det operam, nostro nomine hortare. De notario apud villas nostras tenendo pro reddenda justitia placet[13]. Ut quae nobis scripsisti, domino Gregorio et domino Bartholomaeo de Massa dicas, vel alteri eorum, et ut ipsi consuluerint, Nanni[14], uti faciat, nostro nomine imperabis. Matri nostrae, quae vult quaeque petit, nulla ratione neges. Scimus enim eam nihil optare, nisi quae consona sunt rationi. Antonius nisi studiosus erit, nullam apud nos gratiam inveniet et poenitebit eum negligentiae suae, si redeuntes indoctum invenerimus. Thomas, capellanus noster, tibi reconciliatus erit ex nostro jussu.

Vale. Ex Gretio Styriae, die 10. Augusti[15] 1453.

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[1] DV, 279
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, ff. 126v-127r
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Bartholome procuratori. Venerabilis dilecte noster cod.
[5] ~~sum~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *corr. ex.* nunc enim cod.
[7] nam ex his : nunc enim KO
[8] ~~ex his~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ex his *add.* KO
[10] *corr. ex.* commendare habeamus cod.; commendare habeamus KO
[11] ~~credo~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] navem KO
[13] ~~nobis~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] navim KO
[15] anno *add.* KO

348. Letter to Bartolomeo (Procurator) (10 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letters*
Subjects: *Piccolomini asks his procurator to take diligent care of his affairs and informs him that he will soon return to Siena.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ser Bartolomeo, his procurator and canon.

[1] We have complained that you did not write - and for good reason since we received no letters from you. Now we realise that you did write, but that the letters were held up on the way, for we have now received some in which you send many excuses. We accept your excuses and trust that things are as you say. We would have much to write back, but since we have decided to leave for Siena in the middle of October - the emperor has consented - there is no reason to say much now. When we return, we will settle everything then. We are pleased that you and our vicar[1] are getting along and are avoiding conflicts. We approve what has been done with the grain. Please take diligent care - as you do - of our domestic affairs so we may commend your solicitude and skillfulness when we return. Please commend us to Ser Mariano Sozzini. Urge Nanni[2], our relative, to perform his office conscientiously. I agree to placing a notary in our villages to administer justice. Tell Ser Goro[3] and Ser Bartolomeo de Massa[4] or just one of them what you wrote to me and, on my behalf, request Nanni to do as they think best. Do not deny anything our mother[5] asks, for we know she will only ask for reasonable things. Antonio[6] will only find favour with us if he is studious. He will regret his negligence if, when we return, we find him to be without learning. I have demanded that Tommaso, our chaplain, be reconciled with you.

Farewell. From Graz in Steiermark, 10 August 1453.

[1] Rafaele Primadizi.
[2] Nanni (Giovanni) Todeschini: Piccolomini's brother-in-law, married to his sister Laudomia.
[3] Goro Lolli.
[4] Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa.
[5] Vittoria Forteguerri Piccolomini.
[6] Antonio Todeschini (Piccolomini): nephew of Piccolomini, son of Nanni and Laudomia.

349. Letter to Rafaele Primadizi (10 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 137r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 134*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 120, pp. 224-225 (on the basis of W1).*

{137r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Raphaeli[4] Primadizio, vicario suo, salutem plurimam dicit[5].

[1] Scimus, non sine labore locum nostrum te tenere[6]. Tamen, quia cito redituri sumus, favente Domino, rogamus breve hoc tempus aequo animo feras, ac secundum annum officii tui velis impleas[7]. Nos enim ad medium mensis Octobris hinc recedere constituimus domum reversuri. Sic enim Caesaris licentiam non sine labore obtinuimus. In rebus, quae justitiam concernunt, scis, quia tibi plenum imperium commisimus. Hortamur, ita facias, sicut de tua et doctrina et probitate confidimus. Nec plura impraesentiarum. Redeuntes autem plura tecum conferemus.

Vale in Christo optime. Ex Grezio Stirio, 10. Augusti 1453.

[1] DV, 279
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 127r
[4] *em.* WO; Michaeli cod.
[5] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Venerabilis et dilecte, eximie doctor cod.
[6] te tenere *corr. ex* teneri a vobis cod.; teneri a vobis KO
[7] *corr. ex* implere cod; implere KO

349. Letter to Rafaele Primadizi (10 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini exhorts his vicar to bear his difficult situation with patience and complete the second year of his office.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ser Rafaele Primadizi, his vicar.

[1] We are aware of the difficulties you have met as my vicar. But since - God willing - we shall return soon, we ask you to have patience for a little while longer and complete the second year of your office. We have decided to depart from here and return home around the middle of October, for which we have - with some difficulty - obtained the emperor's permission. As you know, we have given you full powers to administer justice. We exhort you to act accordingly, and we have faith in your learning and probity. No more for now. When we return, we shall have several things to discuss with you.

Live well in Christ. From Graz in Steiermark, 10 August 1453.

350. Letter to Juan Carvajal (10 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 137v*[1] [2].
Editions A: *KO, 135*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 121, pp. 225-226 (on the basis of W1); RTA, 19/1: p. 34.*

{137v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino cardinali Sancti Angeli Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Magno maerore confectam esse dignationem tuam ex clade Constantinopolitana non ambigo. Quis enim Christianus non doleat tantum vulnus illatum esse Catholicae fidei? Tristor et ego[5], colendissime pater, et quidem, si aliquid possem, studerem pro mea virili, quae Christianae reipublicae putarem esse salubria. Sed sum ego privatus homo, nihil ad me magna pertinent. At tua dignatio, quae inter senatores orbis[6] locum habet summoque sacerdoti et assistit et consulit, non dubito, quin modo summo studio[7] ad ea nitatur, per quae Turcorum furor, ne[8] ulterius ad nos progrediatur[9], reprimi possit atque retundi. Nosco enim et zelum et fervorem[10] animi tui, quia[11] non potes quiescere, dum res publica Christiana colliditur. Novi quoque sanctissimi domini nostri mentem ad commune bonum et solidam et ardentem. Itaque[12] non sum omnino spe vacuus. Confido adhuc aliquid fieri, per quod[13] crudeli et enormi vulneri nuper apud Graecos accepto, medeatur. Sane qui[14] sit animus[15] imperatoris in ea re suis ex litteris, quas apostolico culmini scribit, plenius intelliges. Non est, cur multa scribam. Hoc solum dico: numquam de ulla re Caesarem aut frequentius loqui aut attentius audire, postquam sibi annis servio X, animadverti. Ac tantum in hoc negotio.

[2] De Bohemia missae sunt mihi litterae per capitulum Pragense. Illas dignationi tuae remitto, ut de his domino nostro sanctissimo verbum facias, et, si visum ex usu fuerit, ad consolationem illorum aliquid rescribas.

[3] Res Prutenorum cum suis civitatibus ad XV dies post Festum Sancti Michaelis suspensa est propter capturam legatorum civitatum[16]. Ego statueram hoc mense domum petere et dignationem tuam Romae visere, sed tenuit invitum me Caesar[17] ad eam diem. Exinde promisit mihi licentiam ad tempus[18], qua domum repeterem videremque res ecclesiae atque paternas. Legati praedicti jam redditi libertati feruntur. Axamit, qui Hungaros premit, dicitur in dies majores clades regno inferre.

Recommendo me dignationi tuae colendissimae, cui servire paratus sum. Ex Grez, die 10. Augusti[19] 1453.

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[1] DV, 280
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 127r-127v
[4] Reverendissimo … dicit *corr. ex.* reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime post humilem recommendationem cod.; reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime post humilem recommendationem KO
[5] ~~vobiscum~~ *seq.* cod.; vobiscum *add.* KO
[6] urbis WO
[7] ~~nitatur~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~ulterius progrediatur~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] pergrediatur KO
[10] favorem KO, WO
[11] ~~nos~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] ~~itaque~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] ~~vulneri~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] *corr. ex* quae cod.
[15] *corr. ex* mens cod.
[16] *em.;* civitatis cod.
[17] Caspar KO
[18] ~~dare~~ *seq.* cod.; *omit.* KO
[19] anno *add.* KO

350. Letter to Juan Carvajal (10 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *The Fall of Constantinople.*
Subject: *Piccolomini exhorts the cardinal to support, at the papal court, the efforts to mobilise a European military response to the Turkish aggression.*

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] I am sure that Your Grace is seized by sorrow at the catastrophe in Constantinople, for what Christian does not lament the great wound inflicted upon the Catholic faith? I, too, am sorrowing, Most Worshipful Father, and if I could, I would do anything in my power that I thought would benefit the Christian commonwealth. But I am a private person with no say in great affairs. But Your Grace is one of the senators of the world[1] and assists and advises the Supreme Priest, so I do not doubt that you are striving with all your might to restrain and quell the Turkish frenzy lest it advance further towards us. For I know that your zeal and fervour will not let you rest while the Christian commonwealth is under attack. I also know how Our Most Holy Lord works firmly and fervently for the common good. Therefore, I am not entirely without hope. I still trust that something will be done to remedy the terrible and enormous wound we have recently suffered in Greece. Indeed, you will fully learn the emperor's intentions from the letter that he is writing[2] to His Apostolic Highness, so I need not write much here but shall only say this: I have now served the emperor for 10 years, and never have I observed him speak more frequently or listen more attentively about any other matter.[3] No more about this affair.

[2] I have received letters[4] from the Chapter of Prague concerning Bohemia, which I forward to Your Grace so that you can speak of them to Our Most Holy Lord and, if it seems useful, write something to comfort them.

[3] The conflict between the Prussians[5] and their cities was postponed to the 14th day after Saint Michael because the legates of the cities had been taken prisoner. I had decided to return home this month and visit Your Grace in Rome, but the emperor has - to my regret - retained me until that day, with the promise that afterwards, I would be free to return home to take care of my private affairs and those of my church. It is now reported that the aforesaid legates[6] have been set free. Axamit, who harasses the Hungarians, is said to inflict ever greater defeats upon that Kingdom with each passing day.

I commend myself to Your Most Worshipful Grace, whom I am ready to serve. From Graz, 10 August 1453.

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[1] The College of Cardinals.
[2] Letter from Friedrich III (written by Piccolomini) to Pope Nicolaus V of 10 August (same date as the letter to Carvajal), WO, 3: 2, pp. 577-584.
[3] Bisaha: *From*, p. 73.
[4] Letters 344 and 345.
[5] The Teutonic Order.
[6] The legates of the Prussian cities.

351. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (10 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 137v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 136*[3].
Editions B *WO, 3: 1, 122, pp. 226-22 (on the basis of W1).*

{137v} Domino Petro de Noxeto. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Petro de Noxeto salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Non est mihi dubium, quin res Graecorum magnas et tibi et toti Romanae curiae occupationes praebeat, ideo te paucis tenebo. Scripsisti mihi pridem, uti suaderem Caesari, ne rem Pataviensis ecclesiae amplius suspensam teneret sineretque promoveri electum. Id feci magno conatu et multis vicibus, sed nihil profuit mea sollicitudo. Caesar in suo proposito perseverat neque passurus est quantum in se fuerit[5] {138r} electum ipsum promoveri, nisi humiliatum. Ille vero, nescio, quid secreti habeat, superbus est neque dignatur principi se submittere. Intelligis[6], quomodo res se habeat. Nunc tuum est cogitare et facere, quod magis ex usu sit, neque aliud circa hoc.

[2] Nos hic neque pacem habemus neque bellum: pendet utrumque. In Hungaria magnos motus Axamit excitavit neque adhue repressus est. Constantinopolitana clades Hungaris terrori est. Rex Ladislaus ad Festum Michaelis ingressurus est Bohemiam coronae suscipiendae causa.

Vale atque his paucis esto contentus. Veniam ad te cito et, si per curas tuas licebit, agam verbis, quod scripto deest. Cupio sanctissimi domini nostri pedibus commendatum me facias. Ex Gretio Styrie, 10. die Augusti[7] 1453. Tuus Eneas, episcopus Senensis.

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[1] DV, 280
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 127v
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Petro de Noxeto. Magnifice et generose comes major honorande cod.; magnifice et generose comes major honorande KO
[5] *omit.* KO
[6] *corr. ex* habes cod.; habes KO
[7] anno *add.* KO

351. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (10 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Pietro that the emperor's stance in the matter of the diocese of Passau is unchanged. He adds brief news from Hungary and Austria.* [1]

To Lord Pietro da Noceto. Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Lord Pietro da Noceto.

[1] I am sure that the Greek affairs[2] are keeping you and the whole Roman Curia very concerned and occupied, so I shall make this short. You wrote to me, asking me to persuade the emperor to no longer delay the matter of the Church of Passau and allow the elect[3] to be appointed. I have striven mightily and often to obtain this, but my efforts have been in vain. The emperor firmly maintains his position and will not accept that the elect be appointed unless he humbles himself. I do not know what the matter is with the elect, but he is arrogant and will not deign to submit to the prince. You see how things stand. Now it is up to you to consider and pursue the most expedient course. Nothing further about this matter.

[2] Here, we have neither peace nor war: both hang in the balance. In Hungary, Axamit has caused great disturbances and has not yet been subdued. The Fall of Constantinople has terrified the Hungarians. King Ladislaus will enter Bohemia on the Feast of Saint Michael to receive the crown.

Farewell, and be content with these few words. I shall come to you soon, and if your occupations allow it, I shall tell you what I have not written. Please commend me at the feet of Our Most Holy Lord. From Graz in Steiermark, 10 August 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 34, 535, 537, 542.

[2] The Fall of Constantinople.

[3] Ulrich von Nussdorf.

352. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (10 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 138r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 137*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 123, pp. 227-228 (on the basis of W1).*

{138r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Henrico Senfleben, imperiali secretario, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Magna mihi consolatio est, quod[5] saepe de rebus curiae scribis, quamvis aliquando, quae nolim, audiam. Sed significare oportet et bona et mala, quod te accurate facere gaudeo. Quia non succedit de annata, non miror: est enim necesse, pauperem ut agam vitam. Sic mea natura vult. Forsitan propter res Graecorum statuet papa ex omni clero decimam colligere. Id deerit mihi. Duplici malo plectar, dum uno cupio liberari. Verum puto me, ut pridem scripsi, brevi ad vos venturum. Tunc videbo, quidnam esse debeat de annata, et omnem fortunam tolerabo fortiter. Caesar annuit mihi post Festum Michaelis, expedita re Prutenica, ut domum ad tempus repetam. Acceptavi temporaneam licentiam, ac, cum domi fuero, per litteras aliam manendi facultatem vel impetrabo vel extorquebo, ne semper curialem servitutem serviam.

[2] De Pataviensi ecclesia non video, quod ex hoc loco umquam possit haberi conclusio. Si tamen papa per se aliquid ageret, cupio et domini Ulrici Sonnenberger et mei memoriam habeas. Sed puto mei infortunii augendi causa numquam ecclesia Pataviensis expedietur.

[3] De pace olim tractata, ut res se habet, saepe scriptum est a me. Pendent adhuc omnia. Pucham, qui nobiscum prius[6] fuit, jam hostis est propter stipendia, quae vel nimia petit, vel pauca offeruntur. Tractatur tamen de concordia secum, de qua non est magna spes. Sic semper aut bellum est aut belli metus. Inquieta est haec terra et assiduis vexatur turbinibus. Rex Ladislaus adhuc est in proposito petendi Bohemiam in Festo Michaelis coronae suscipiendae causa. Scribo aliqua reverendissimo domino meo Sancti Angeli de facto capituli Pragensis; scripsi et prius domino Firmano. Rogo, petas, ut aliquid respondeant. De bello Italiae quomodo sese habet, cupio[7] domini Stephani nostri litteris instrui. Velis eum, ut scribat, commonefacere. Alias dixi me habere litteras doctoratus pro amico domini Assisini, eas mecum afferam, sic ei meo nomine dicere non graveris

et valete optime. Ex Grez, die 10. Augusti 1453.

[1] DV, 281
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 127v
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Henrico Senfleben. Venerabilis vir, amice honorande cod.
[5] ~~mihi~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *corr. ex* olim cod.
[7] ~~Ste~~ *seq.* cod.

352. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (10 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *See the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Senftleben for his letters, laments his own pecuniary circumstances, and sends news from the imperial court.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Heinrich Senftleben, Imperial Secretary.

[1] It brings me great comfort that you often write about affairs at the Curia, though sometimes I hear things that I would rather not. But one should report both good and bad things; I am happy that you do so diligently. I am not surprised at the lack of success concerning the annates, for, apparently, I must live as a pauper; such is my nature! Perhaps the pope will impose a tenth on all the clergy because of the Greek matter[2]; I would sorely miss that money. While striving to be freed of one evil, I am burdened by two. But, as I have written previously, I believe I shall come to you soon. Then I shall see how it must be with those annates, and I shall bear my fortune with fortitude. The emperor has consented to my returning home after the Feast of Saint Michael and the settlement of the Prussian matter. I have received permission for a leave of absence, and once I am home, I shall write to obtain or extort a prolongation of it from him lest I remain forever in servitude to the court.

[2] Concerning the Church of Passau, I do not see how the matter can ever be settled from here.[3] If the pope decides to act, I hope you will remember Herr Ulrich Sonnenberger and myself.[4] But I believe the matter of the Church of Passau will never be settled, to aggravate my misfortune.[5]

[3] I have often written to you about the situation concerning the peace once negotiated.[6] Everything is still in suspense. Puchheim,[7] formerly a supporter,[8] has now become an enemy because of pay, whether he demands too much or is offered too little. They are negotiating a settlement with him but without much hope. Thus, we are always either at war or fearing it. This land is unsettled and plagued by many storms. King Ladislaus still intends to travel to Bohemia at the Feast of Saint Michael to receive the crown. I have written to My Most Reverend Lord of Sant'Angelo[9] concerning the Chapter of Prague, and to His Lordship of Fermo.[10] [11] Please ask them to answer. I wish our Ser Stefano[12] would keep me informed about the war in Italy. Please urge him to write. Elsewhere, I told you I have the letters of doctorate for the friend of the Lord of Assisi,[13] which I shall bring with me. Please be so kind as to tell him on my behalf.

Live well. From Graz, 10 August 1453.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 34, 439, 535, 542.
[2] As a crusade contribution.
[3] Meaning that the initiative cannot come from the emperor; the matter is now in the hands of the pope.
[4] Piccolomini and Sonnenberger had been promised some of the bishop-elect's benefices when his appointment went through.
[5] Since he will lack the income from the promised benefice.
[6] The peace between the emperor and King Ladislaus negotiated in the spring of 1453.
[7] The conflict between the emperor and Georg II von Puchheim, see letter 293: 2.
[8] Of the emperor.
[9] Cardinal Juan Carvajal.
[10] Cardinal Domenico Capranica.
[11] See letters 343-345 and 350: 2.
[12] Stefano Caccia di Fara.
[13] Francesco Oddi di Todi: Bishop of Assisi from 1444 to 1456.

353. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (10 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 138v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 138*[3].
Editions B: *RTA, 19/1: p. 35; WO, 3: 1, 124, pp. 228-229 (on the basis of W1).*

{138v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, praestabili juris utriusque doctori, domino Stefano de Novaria salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Quae nuper scripsisti mihi de rebus Italiae cupide legi notaque Caesari feci. Expecto ex te plura. Puto nunc de pace apud Italos agi, commonitos clade Graecorum. Apud nos enim fama est Constantinopolim[5] expugnatam esse a Turcis, Peram captam, naves plures receptas, magnam Christianorum factam caedem. Nisi ergo nunc invicem pacificamur ac de modo resistendi Turcorum furori cogitamus[6], actum de nobis est. Quippe Caesar ad eam rem quam ferventissimus est, si modo papa et alii reges concurrere velint. Oro igitur te, ne pigriteris mihi de omni statu Italiae scribere: quid agat in tanta novitate sacer orbis senatus, quae mens sit summo sacerdoti, quid prudentes Italiae viri de tali concussione Christianorum sermocinentur. Et si res ipsa, quo gesta sit ordine, scitur apud vos, cupio id mihi communicatum facias. Nos his in regionibus nihil aliud novi habemus quam ista de Graecia allata noviter horrenda et dolenda cuncto populo Christiano. Quae utinam tam falsa essent quam vera timeo fore.

Vale et [me[7]] ama ut soles. Ex Grezio, die 10. Augusti[8] 1453. Tuus Aeneas, episcopus Senensis[9].

[1] DV, 282
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 128r
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Stefano de Novaria. Venerabilis et eximie doctor amice honorande cod.; venerabilis et eximie doctor amice honorande KO
[5] ~~ad~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] cogitemus WO
[7] *em.* WO
[8] anno domini add. KO
[9] Tuus … Senensis *omit.* KO

353. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (10 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *The circumstances of the debacle in Greece were still not clearly known at the imperial court, and Piccolomini urgently needed reliable reports on the matter, enabling him to counsel the emperor on the course to take.*

Subject: *Piccolomini urges his friend in Rome to send him sure news about the Fall of Constantinople and the Italian endeavours to make internal peace.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ser Stefano of Novara, distinguished Doctor of Both Laws,

[1] I eagerly read what you recently wrote about the situation in Italy and communicated it to the emperor. But I expect more from you! I believe that, by now, the Italians, warned by the catastrophe in Greece, must be busy making peace. Here, the rumour says that Constantinople has been conquered by the Turks, Pera taken, many ships seized, and scores of Christians killed. Unless we now make peace among ourselves and plan how to resist the Turkish fury, we are done for. Indeed, the emperor will fervently engage in this matter if only the pope and the other kings join him. So, I beg you not to be remiss in reporting on the entire Italian situation[1]: what does the Sacred College[2] do about this disturbance? What does the Supreme Priest[3] intend to do? What do knowledgeable Italians say about such a disaster for the Christians? And if the facts of the matter itself[4] are known in Rome, I wish you to relate them to me, for in these regions, we have no other news than the terrible reports recently brought from Greece, distressing to the whole Christian people. May they be as false as I fear they are true.

Farewell, and love me as ever. From Graz, 10 August 1452. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] Bisaha: *From,* p. 72.
[2] The College of Cardinals.
[3] Pope Nicolaus V.
[4] The Fall of Constantinople.

354. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (10 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 138v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 139*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 125, p. 229 (on the basis of W1).*

{138v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, reverendo patri, domino Johanni Campisio, episcopo Placentino, salutem plurimam dicit[4]. Reverende in Christo pater et amore frater.

[1] *Fecisti probe*, quod te possessionem habiturum ecclesiae significasti. Jam enim scripta nonnullorum ad me venerant, qui se male tibi sperare ajebant, quae res mihi erat molestissima. Congratulor igitur tibi et gaudeo mihi, quia te pontificem non titularem audio. Tua fortuna omnis mea est neque sine me vel tristari vel gaudere potes. Videbo te, ut spero, propediem, nam Caesaris voluntate[5] domum ad dies aliquot repetam, et si Deus annuet, curabo in ecclesia perseverare vivereque mihi et populo meo. Interdum et Romam veniens te conveniam et dulcis nostrae consuetudinis fructum capiam, quamvis talia jam ex Graecia nova feruntur, quae nullum Christianum bonam habere mentem permissura videntur. Apud vos non dubito illa esse quam notissima. Qua re mihi feceris rem acceptam, si, ut negotia Constantinopolitana Romae dicuntur gesta, me docueris.

Vale optime, et reverendissimo domino nostro communi commendatum me facito. Ex Grez 10. Augusti[6] 1453. Tuus Aeneas, episcopus Senensis[7].

[1] DV, 282
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 128v
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino episcopo Placentino cod.; *omit.* KO
[5] voluntati KO
[6] anno add. KO
[7] Tuus … Senensis *omit*. KO

354. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (10 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceeding letter. Moreover, friends had written to Piccolomini that Campisio might not get possession of the diocese to which he had been appointed.*[1]

Subject: *Piccolomini congratulates Campisio on taking possession of his diocese and urges him to send information about what is said in Rome concerning the events in Constantinople.*[2]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Reverend Father, His Lordship Giovanni Campisio, Bishop of Piacenza. Reverend father in Christ and brother in love.

[1] *You did well*[3] in informing me that you would take possession of your church, for I had received letters from several people telling me they feared it would not turn out well for you, which upset me terribly. So, now I congratulate you and rejoice that you did not just receive the title of bishop[4]. Your fortune is mine, and I share your happiness and sadness. I hope to see you soon, for with the emperor's permission, I shall soon return home, and if God wills it, I shall stay in my diocese and live for myself and my people. From time to time, I will come to Rome and see you[5] and once more enjoy the fruits of your sweet company - although the news we receive here from Greece is such that it must shock any Christian. I am sure all this is well-known in Rome. Therefore, I should be glad if you would let me know what is said in Rome about the events in Constantinople.

Live well, and commend me to our Most Reverend Common Lord. From Graz, 10 August 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] To obtain an ecclesiastical benefice, one needed to get not on-ly the appointment (election / confirmation) but also the actual possession, which could be quite problematical.

[2] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 35.

[3] Terentius: *Phormio,* 358

[4] But also (possession of) the bishopric itself.

[5] Apparently, even after his appointment as bishop, Campisio stayed in Rome, presumably as part of the *familia* of Cardinal Scarampo.

355. Letter to Nicolaus V (11 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 139r[1] [2] **.*
Editions A: *KO, 140[3].*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 126, p. 229-231 (on the basis of W1).*

{139r} Beatissimo papae Nicolao quinto Aeneas, episcopus Senesis, commendatum se facit[4].

[1] Scripseram nuper sanctitati tuae de perditione Constantinopolis. Deinde nova hic fuerunt, quae civitatem illam adhuc per Christianos teneri dicebant. Id mihi ad tempus consolationi fuit, sed nunc invenio primum nuntium nimis verum fuisse. Quibus ex rebus, etsi mihi aliter non convenit de tanta re loqui, tamen ut Christianus tacere non possum. Multa cum Caesare de[5] hac calamitate rei publicae Christianae sum locutus. Invenio mentem ejus bonam, sed impossibile est praeclare agere eum, cui desunt facultates.

[2] Quod si tua sanctitas, cui principes auscultant, ad hoc navarit operas[6], non est mihi dubium, quin furor Turcorum comprimi possit et Christiano populo bene consuli. Tamquam igitur vermiculus scripsi nuper et modo scribo, uti ad rem hanc tua pietas viriliter assurgat et[7] toto pectore negotium fidei suscipiat scribatque Caesari suum propositum, qui profecto volens est et apostolica mandata totis conatibus exequetur, quemadmodum ex suis litteris cognoscetis[8].

[3] De rebus harum partium haec[9] referre possum: Hungari ad Festum Bartholomaei proximum conventum habituri sunt apud Possonium cum rege suo. Ibi tria dicuntur agenda. Primum danda est opera, ut pax cum Caesare tractata[10] ratificetur. Ad id Australes cupientissimi sunt; comes Ciliae alium animum habet. Plus tamen valituri boni[11] quam mali creduntur. Secundum est, ut Axamit ex Hungaria eliminari possit, qui multas strages Hungaris dedit ferturque jam 13 milia hominum in armis habere et[12] ad eos jam confugisse Gischram nonnulli tradunt. Sed hoc nondum certum est, quamvis recessisse eum mali animi a rege Ladislao constet. Tertium est, ut de facto[13] Turcorum consilium capiatur. Haec de Hungaris.

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[1] DV, 283
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 128v
[4] Beatissimo … facit *corr. ex* Papae Nicolao. Beatissime pater et clementissime domine post devota pedum oscula beatorum et humilem mei recommendationem cod; Beatissime pater et clementissime domine post devota pedum oscula beatorum et humilem mei recommendationem KO
[5] ~~re~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~Spero aliquid boni. … Deo … Tamquam vermiculus~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~ere velit~~ *supralin.* cod; oro velit KO
[8] quemadmodum ex … cognoscetis *add. in marg*. cod.
[9] ~~nota~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~confirmetur ad~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] *omit.* KO
[12] habere et : et habere KO
[13] ~~Hungarorum cons~~ *seq.* cod.

355. Letter to Nicolaus V (11 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini urges the pope to engage in the European resistance against the Turkish aggression and sends him news from the region.*[1]

To The Most Holy Pope, Nicolaus V, Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

[1] Recently, I wrote to Your Holiness about the Fall of Constantinople.[2] Afterwards, we received news that the Christians still held the city, which gave me some consolation. But now I hear that the first message was all too true. Therefore, though it is not proper for me to speak about such an important matter, I cannot, as a Christian, remain silent. I have spoken at length with the emperor about this disaster for the Christian Commonwealth. I find that his intentions are good but that it is impossible for someone to act gloriously if he is without the means.

[2] But if Your Holiness, whom the princes heed, were to lend your efforts to this matter, I do not doubt that the Turkish fury could be checked and that the Christian people could be well served.[3] So, though I am just a nobody,[4] I wrote recently and now write again that Your Piety should arise forcefully and with all your heart take up the cause of our Faith and communicate your intentions to the emperor, who is, indeed, willing and will strive to carry out the apostolic directives, as you will see from his letter.[5]

[3] Concerning the situation in these parts, I can report that the Hungarians will meet with their king[6] in Pozon on the Feast of Saint Bartholomew.[7] Three matters are said to be on the agenda. The first is the ratification of the peace negotiated with the emperor[8]. The Austrians are most willing, but the Count of Celje[9] has other intentions.[10] But it is believed that the good men will have greater influence than the bad. The second is to the expulsion from Hungary of Axamit, who has caused havoc there and is said to now have 13,000 men under arms. Some claim that Jiskra[11] has joined him, but that is not certain, though he has, apparently, left King Ladislaus in an evil mood. The third is to make plans against the Turks. No more about the Hungarians.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 35, 537, 542.
[2] Letter 340.
[3] Bisaha: *From*, pp. 73-74.
[4] "vermiculus": a little worm.
[5] Letter from Friedrich III to Nicolaus V of 10 August 1453 (written by Piccolomini) (WO, 3: 1, pp. 577-580).
[6] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[7] 24 August 1453.
[8] April 1452.
[9] Ulrich II of Celje.
[10] The counts of Celje were enemies of the Habsburgs, and Ulrich profited from his governorship over Ladislaus to pursue this enmity.
[11] Jan Jiskra. Jiskra was a past supporter of King Ladislaus but had been alienated by Hunyadi and Celje.

[4] De Austria[1] veniunt nunc ad sanctitatem tuam legati regis. Dicuntur acturi de censuris et de ecclesia Pataviensi. De hoc ultimo scit tua pietas, quid Caesari promissum sit. Durum est offendere tantum principem et ecclesiam semper vacare fortasse durius. Nescio, quid dicam: tua sanctitas meliorem partem eliget. Ajunt aliqui legatos illos etiam de compactatis Bohemorum {139} cum tua sanctitate acturos, nam rex illa Bohemis promisisse fertur. Male, ut intelligo, res apud Bohemos se habent, quando haeretici dominantur[2]. Comes Ciliae parum de fide curat. Rex puer tantum cupit quantum sapit. Nunc apud Vratislaviam inter regem Poloniae et Alberti filiam matrimonium tractatur creditur que jam conclusum. Haec habui, quae modo pietati tuae scriberem.

Commendo me pedibus tuae sanctitatis, quam divina pietas diu sospitem nobis praebeat. Ex Grezio Stiriae, die 11. Augusti 1453[3].

[1] ~~hec sunt~~ *seq.* cod.; haec sunt *add.* KO

[2] ~~in~~ *seq.* cod.

[3] anno quo supra KO

[4] The king's envoys[1] are now travelling from Austria to Your Holiness, reportedly to take up the matters of the ecclesiastical censures[2] and the Church of Passau.[3] Concerning the latter, Your Piety knows what has been promised the Emperor.[4] It is troublesome to offend such a great prince but perhaps even more troublesome for that church to remain vacant any longer. I do not know what to say: Your Holiness will choose the best solution. Some say that the envoys will also take up the matter of the Bohemian Compacts[5] with Your Holiness, which the king has promised the Bohemians.[6] I see that it goes badly for Bohemia when the heretics[7] dominate. The Count of Celje is little concerned about the Faith, and the boy king's wishes are limited by his understanding.[8] Negotiations are now being held in Wroclaw concerning a marriage between the King of Poland[9] and the daughter[10] of Albrecht[11] and are believed to already have been concluded. This is what I can write to Your Piety now.

I commend myself at the feet of Your Holiness. May the Divine Piety long preserve you safe and sound. From Graz in Styria, 11 August 1453.

[1] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[2] The papal censures against the Austrian rebels against the emperor, 1452.
[3] The emperor did not recognise the Bishop-Elect, Ulrich von Nussdorf, who would not submit to the emperor.
[4] Incl. the promise that the bishop-elect's fat benefice of the Church of Irdning would go to Piccolomini himself.
[5] The agreement between the council of Basel / Emperor Sigismund on the one side and the Bohemian Hussites on the other, including the right to communion under both species, under certain conditions that the Bohemians had, in fact, not observed.
[6] As a condition of his recognition as king by the Bohemians.
[7] The Hussites.
[8] The king was still a boy of 13 years.
[9] Kasimierz IV
[10] Elisabeth von Österreich (c. 1436 - 1505): Daughter of Albrecht II. Married to Kazimirz IV of Poland on 10 February 1454. The marriage negotiations were concluded on 20 August 1453 in Wroclaw (WO). The marriage had been in the offing for some time, see letter 250: 4.
[11] Emperor Albrecht II.

356. Letter to Domenico Capranica (11 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 139v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 141*[3].
Editions B: *RTA, 19/1: p. 35 (large extract); WO, 3: 1, 127, p. 231-232 (on the basis of W1).*

{139v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino colendissimo, domino Dominico cardinali Firmano, Aeneas, episcopus Senesis, commendatum se facit.[4]

[1] Dedi nuper dignationi tuae litteras, per quas ajebam nova huc delata esse[5], quae calamitatem Constantinopolitanam denegarent. Ita equidem factum est, nam de Venetiis illa vana laetitia venit. Sed nunc ex pluribus locis habemus nimis verum fuisse primum nuntium, nam et Constantinopolis capta per Turchos in servitutem redacta est[6], hominum[7] magna caedes facta, animae multae abductae sunt et alia pleraque loca occupata. Quibus ex rebus verisimile est superbum et crudelem hostem non quieturum neque per ignaviam et socordiam tantam victoriam neglecturum. Incumbit ergo apostolicae culmini de tanti periculi aversione cogitare, admonere principes ac populos, instare, vigilare, festinare, nihil omittere ex his, quae ad rei publicae salutem pertineant. Ad quam rem licet sacrum orbis senatum ardentem non ambigo, tamen dignationem tuam pro veteri servitute mea his paucis onerare[8] praesumpsi, quibus me veluti Christianum de talibus novitatibus anxium esse, Catholicae religioni timere, et provisionem optare[9] cognosceres[10]. Neque alia super hoc modo. De rebus Bohemicis aliqua nuper dignationi tuae significavi. Si per occupationes tuas licet, cupio responsum habere meque tuae paternitati reverendissimae, quoad possum[11], facio commendatum, quacumque in re possum illi serviturum.

Ex Grezio Styriae, die 11. Augusti[12] 1453.

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[1] DV, 284
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 129r
[4] Reverendissimo … facit: *corr. ex.* Domino Firmano. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine colendissime, post humilem recommendationem cod.; Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine colendissime, post humi-lem recommendationem KO
[5] ~~per que putaremus~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~milia~~ *seq.* cod
[7] ~~multa~~ *seq.* cod
[8] honorare KO
[9] ~~quod si mee facultates ad hoc se extenderent~~ *seq.* cod
[10] *supralin.* cod.; *omit.* KO
[11] ~~me~~ *seq.* cod; me *add.* KO
[12] anno *add.* KO

356. Letter to Domenico Capranica (11 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *The Fall of Constantinople.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs the cardinal that the Fall of Constantinople has been finally confirmed.*

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Worshipful Lordship, the Lord Cardinal of Fermo, Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

[1] I recently sent Your Grace a letter[1] to tell you we had received news here denying the Constantinopolitan disaster. This really happened, and the false [message of] joy came from Venice. Now, however, messages from many places confirm that the first message was all too true, for Constantinople has been taken and enslaved by the Turks, many people have been killed, many souls abducted, and several other places have been occupied. These facts make it unlikely that the proud and cruel enemy will rest and neglect to pursue such a great victory because of faintheartedness and negligence. So, it falls to His Apostolic Highness[2] to consider how to avert this great peril, admonish the princes and the peoples, insist, be vigilant, act swiftly, and omit nothing necessary to the good of the commonwealth. Though I am sure that the Holy Senate of the world[3] fervently pursues this matter, I have - relying on my former service to you - presumed to burden Your Grace with these few words to let you know that, as a Christian, I am shocked by this news, that I fear for the Catholic religion, and that I wish that something be done about it. I have nothing more for now. Concerning the Bohemian affairs, I have recently written to Your Grace.[4] If your occupations allow it, I should like to have an answer.

I commend myself fervently to Your Most Reverend Paternity, ready to serve you in any matter. From Graz in Steiermark, 11 August 1453.

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[1] Letter of 27 July 1453 (letter 343).
[2] The pope.
[3] The College of Cardinals.
[4] Letter of 27 July 1453 (letter 343).

357. Letter to Ludovico Scarampo (12 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 140r*[1] [2].
Editions A: *KO, 142*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 128, p. 232-233 (on the basis of W1).*

{140r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino Ludovico, patriarchae Aquilegiensi, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinali, Aeneas, episcopus Senesis, commendatum se facit[4].

[1] Assumpsit alias tua reverendissima paternitas ad preces imperatoris in suum vicarium honorabilem et modestum virum dominum Jacobum, plebanum in Stein, qui et Caesari carus est et omnibus acceptus. Verum in litteris vicariatus nulla ei facultas commissa est aut conferendi beneficia aut in casibus reservatis absolvendi delinquentes. Sed hanc facultatem habere dicitur episcopus Pectinensis, quae res domino Jacobo gravis est. Audire enim causas et corrigere excessus odiosum est, nisi et potestas sit absolvendi et gratias concedendi. Credit autem ipse et mihi satis verisimile videtur dignationem tuam id inadvertenter omisisse. Eapropter[5] desiderat, ut officium suum ampliare digneris et potestatem super praemissis sibi concedere. Ad quam rem, quia Caesar scribit, non est opus multa me verba facere. Tantum testificor id futurum Caesari carissimum et dominum Jacobum pro sua virtute hoc[6] honoris mereri, cupiens etiam meas preces[7] apud tuam dignationem[8] sibi utiles esse.

[2] In partibus istis non habemus alia nova, nisi illa horribilia et dolenda de Constantinopoli perdita[9], quae ut nos hic conturbant, sic et dominum nostrum et sacrum collegium maerore afficere non ambigo. Velit autem pietas divina omnibus Christianis regibus mentem dare, ut super his cogitent et ad obviandum Turchorum potentiae festinent. De qua re parum spero, nisi dominus noster sanctissimus[10] ejus rei se principem[11] praebens[12] dormientia hominum pectora excitaverit.

Recommendo me reverendissimae paternitati tuae, ad cujus mandata paratissimum me semper habebis. Ex Grez, die 12. Augusti[13] 1453. Vestrae reverendissimae paternitatis servitor Aeneas, episcopus Senensis[14].

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[1] DV, 285
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 129r-129v
[4] Reverendissimo … facit: *corr. ex* Domino patriarchae. Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino colendissimo, post humilem recommendationem cod.; Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino colendissimo, post humilem recommendationem KO
[5] ~~multum~~ *seq.* cod; multum *add.* KO
[6] *corr. ex* id cod.
[7] ~~ad id sibi utiles ad~~ *seq.* cod
[8] dignitatem WO
[9] *corr. ex* allata cod.
[10] *supralin.* cod.
[11] *corr. ex* praebeat cod.
[12] ~~somnolentos homi~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] anno *add.* KO
[14] Vestrae … Senensis *omit.* KO

357. Letter to Ludovico Scarampo (12 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *At the emperor's request, the cardinal had granted a certain Jacobo the status of vicar.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks the cardinal to grant Jacobo certain powers that he had inadvertently omitted when he made the appointment.*[1]

To The Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Worshipful Lordship Ludovico, Lord Patriarch of Aquileia and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

[1] Your Most Reverend Paternity previously assented to the Emperor's request to appoint Ser Jacobo, parish priest in Stein, an honourable and modest person, your vicar. He is dear to the emperor and well-regarded by all. But in his function as your vicar, he has not been given the powers to confer benefits or to absolve those guilty of reserved crimes.[2] Yet, the Bishop of Bedena[3] is said to have such powers, which much bothers Ser Jacobo, for it is embarrassing to hear cases and correct abuses if you do not also have the power to absolve and grant spiritual graces. Jacobo believes - and it seems likely to me - that it was due to an oversight that Your Grace did not grant these powers. Therefore, Jacobo desires that you extend his office and grant him the powers to act in the aforesaid cases. The emperor himelf is writing to you about the matter, so I do not need to say much. But I assure you that such a grant will greatly please the emperor, and that Jacobo's qualities merit this honour. I hope that my request will mean something to Your Grace.

[2] There is no other news from these parts other than the horrible and lamentable ones about the loss of Constantinople. They are shocking, and I am sure that Our Lord[4] and the Holy College are deeply affected. May Pious God inspire all Christian kings to be concerned about this and hasten to oppose the Turkish power. However, I have little hope for this, unless Our Most Holy Lord takes the lead in the matter and awakens the sleeping hearts of men.

I recommend myself to Your Most Reverend Paternity, always at your command. From Graz, 12 August 1453. Enea, Bishop of Siena, Your Most Reverend Paternity's servant.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 35-36.

[2] Crimes reserved for absolution by higher ecclesiastical authorities.

[3] Biben in Istria. According to WO.

[4] The pope.

358. Letter to João Fernandes da Silveira (23 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 140r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 143*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 129, p. 233-234 (on the basis of W1).*
Literature: *Hack.*

{140r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Johanni Fernandi, legum doctori, consiliario serenissimi domini regis Portugalliae, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Quod ad me non scripseris per oratorem regis tui, id arbitror causae fuisse, quia me putasti[5] jam redisse in patriam, nam quod mei oblitus sis, non cadit in mentem meam[6]. Novi enim, quia tenaciter amas, neque puerorum more variaris. Miraberis ergo, cum scripta haec recipies, in quibus me intelliges adhuc Germanum esse {140r} ac vitam in exilio ducere, cum tibi me brevi domum velle repetere, dum penes nos aderas, affirmaverim. At causa remansionis meae fuit bellum Tusciae, quod rex Aragonum Florentinis intulit. Id enim patriam meam in turbine multo tenuit, qua de re fuit mihi antiquius abesse. Nunc vero, quoniam[i] obnixe summus pontifex paci faciundae operas navat, spero me brevi ecclesiam meam repetiturum ac dulcibus amicis et proximis usurum, quibus jam duobus et viginti annis carui, quamvis aliquando paucis diebus domi fuerim. Haec volui tibi velut amico scripsisse, cui omnia consilia communicanda sunt. Quae apud nos aguntur[7], ex oratore regio plenius intelliges. Caesarea conjunx bene valet scitque hominibus uti, uti sunt[8]. Magnum[9] tota Germania pulchritudinis nomen habet, sed majus prudentiae atque modestiae[10]. Utinam et soror una ex suis ad partes has nuberet, sic enim[11] soror sorori consolationi esset. Ad id ego, quantum valeo, tantum nitor et consulo[12]. Rogo te serenissimo regi tuo, quem nostri saeculi decus magnum esse confirmant, commendatum et deditum me facias. Dominum Lupum, si redierit, saIvum dicas meo nomine et similiter alterum Lupum, qui quondam Basileae fuit mihi benevolus et singularis amicus.

Vale cum conjuge et liberis, si qui tibi adhuc nati sunt. Ex Gretio Styriae, die 23. Augusti 1453.[13]

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[1] DV, 285-286
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 129v
[4] Aeneas … dicit : *corr. ex* Domino Johanni Fernando, legum doctorum. Eximie doctor amice colendissime cod.; eximie doctor amice colendissime KO
[5] me putasti : non putasti me KO
[6] *omit.* KO
[7] agantur KO
[8] uti sunt : sunt uti KO
[9] magnumque KO
[10] ~~utinam~~ *seq.* cod. *(sic!)*
[11] sic enim *corr. ex* ut cod.
[12] consilio KO
[13] ~~Tuus Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

358. Letter to João Fernandes da Silveira (23 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *A Portuguese ambassador had visited the emperor.*
Subject: *Piccolomini takes the opportunity to cultivate his relationship with an important Portuguese royal councillor.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to João Fernandes,[1] Doctor of Laws, Councillor to the Most Serene Lord King of Portugal.

[1] I presume you did not send a letter to me with your king's[2] ambassador because you thought I had already returned to my country, for it would never occur to me that you might have forgotten me. Indeed, I know your affection endures and does not change like that of children. So, you will be surprised to learn from this letter that I am still a German and living in exile, although, when you were here, I told you that I would shortly return home. The reason I remained here was the war that the King of Aragon[3] waged in Toscana against the Florentines. This caused great trouble for my country,[4] so it was better for me to stay away. But now that the Supreme Pontiff[5] is working intensely to make peace, I hope to return soon to my diocese and live with my dear friends and relations, whom I have been missing for 22 years except for the few days I was home. I wanted to write this to you as a friend, with whom all my thoughts should be shared. What is happening here, you will learn from the king's ambassador. The imperial consort[6] fares well and knows how to deal with people as they are. She has a great reputation in Germany for her beauty but even greater for her wisdom and modesty. I wish one of her sisters would marry in these parts, for thus, the two sisters could support each other. This is what, in all humility, I strive for and advise.

Please recommend me to your Most Serene King, who is said to be a splendid ornament to our age, and declare my devotion to him. If Lord Lopo[7] has returned, greet him from me and, similarly, the other Lopo[8], who was a dear and special friend when we were in Basel.

Live well with your wife and children if any have been born to you. From Graz in Steiermark, 23 August 1453.

[1] João Fernandes da Silveira, one of the two Portuguese commissioners in the matter of the emperor's marriage with Leonora of Portugal. See letter 335: 1.

[2] Afonso V (Avis) (1432-1481): King of Portugal from 1438 to his death.

[3] Alfonso V (Aragon).

[4] Siena.

[5] Pope Nicolaus V.

[6] Leonora de Portugal

[7] Presumably Lopo de Almeida (1416-1486): Courtier and diplomat of Afonso V.

[8] Presumably, Lupo (Lopo) Velasco (see letter 71)

359. Letter to Nicolaus V (23 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 140v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 144*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 130, p. 234-236 (on the basis of W1).*

{140v} Beatissimo patri et clementissimo domino nostro, domino Nicolao papae V., Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, commendatum se facit[4].

[1] Quamvis meis litteris jam pridem spectatum et doctum virum dominum Thomam Pyrkamer,[5] in jure canonico licentiatum, tuae beatitudini commendaverim super lite, quam habet de eccelesia Sancti Laurentii Norimbergensis cum adversario suo, tamen quia lis ipsa nondum decisa est, non ab re puto, eundem tuae pietati de novo facere recommissum, ut in suo jure confoveatur. Neque enim aliud is petit quam justitiae complementum, quod etsi {141r} sperare omnes de summa tuae sanctitatis aequitate possint[6], hunc tamen nonnullae praerogativae certum reddere videntur, nam etsi ambo collitigantes boni viri sunt, docti et beneficio, de quo litigant, digni[7], quia tamen unius esse debet, non duorum, hic merito praeferendus est, qui et possessor est et civis et acceptus populo, quodque magis ponderandum arbitror, etiam Caesarea majestas huic affecta est eumque in sua civitate hoc beneficium obtinere apprime cupit, quemadmodum ex suis litteris tua clementia plenius intelliget. Quibus ex rebus valde utile putaverim[8], si fieri posset, quod in hac ecclesia praedictus Thomas quietus dimitteretur et adversari suo de aliquo alio beneficio per modum concordiae provideretur. Sic enim tua sanctitas illis civibus Norimbergensibus[9] de sede apostolica bene meritis specialissimam gratiam faceret, ecclesiae bene consuleret, virum bonum promoveret, et Caesareo culmini, cui res cordi est, complaceret. Haec pro debito meo erga pietatem tuam volui scribere, cui me iterum atque iterum facio commendatum.

Ex Grezio, die 24. augusti[10] 1453[11].

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[1] DV, 286
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 129v
[4] Beatissimo facit *corr. ex* Beatissime pater et clementissime domine post devota pedum oscula beatorum et humilem mei recommendationem KO
[5] Pirckamer KO
[6] ~~hunc tamen nonnulle prerogative merito vestre pietati commendare / Hic tamen praecipue certus esse~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~tamen hic~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] *corr. ex* putarem cod.
[9] Nurenbergensibus KO
[10] anno *add.* KO
[11] ~~servulus Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

359. Letter to Nicolaus V (23 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *Two learned German jurists, both friends of Piccolomini, were contending about an ecclesiastical benefice in Nürnberg.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks the pope to confer the benefice on Thomas Pirkheimer, who had the emperor's support.*

To the Most Holy Father and Our Most Clement Lord, Pope Nicolaus V, Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

[1] I have already, in a previous letter, expressed my support of the esteemed and learned Herr Thomas Pirkheimer,[1] licentiate in canon law, to Your Holiness in his lawsuit against an adversary[2] concerning the Church of Sankt Laurentius in Nürnberg. Yet since the case has not yet been settled, I think it is appropriate for me to recommend again to Your Piety that his suit be favoured, for he only seeks what is his right. All, of course, may expect to be treated most fairly and justly by Your Holiness. Still, this man has certain compelling factors in his favour, for although both litigants are good men, learned and worthy of the benefice in question, only one can obtain it, and the one should be preferred who has actual possession of it, who is a citizen [of Nürnberg], and who is well well-regarded by his fellow citizens. It is also important to consider that he has the favour of His Imperial Majesty, who earnestly desires that he should obtain this benefice in his own city, as Your Clemency will see from his letter. For these reasons, I think it would be greatly advantageous that - if possible - the aforesaid Thomas be left in peace in his church and that his adversary be provided with another benefice to make an amicable settlement possible. Your Holiness would grant a most special favor to the citizens of Nürnberg, who deserve well of the Apostolic See; you will benefit the Church, you will promote a good man, and you will please the Emperor who has this matter at heart. This is what I felt I should write to Your Piety, to whom I recommend myself again and again.

From Graz, 24 August 1453.

[1] Thomas Pirkheimer (1418-1483): German learned counsel (Gelehrter Rat), doctor in canon law, and early humanist. Friend of Piccolomini. See note in WO, 3: 1, p. 235

[2] Peter Knorr (1410-1478): German cleric and doctor in canon law. Friend of Picolomini.

360. Letter to Johann Tröster (25 August 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 141r[1] [2] **; Bibl. Dietrichstein in Nikolsburg / Kod. II, 122, f. 142r[3] (D).*
Editions A: *KO, 145[4].*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 131, pp. 236-237 (on the basis of W1 and Dietrichstein).*

{141r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, docto et prudenti clerico[5], domino Johanni Tröster[6], amico suo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Binas epistolas tuas per hos dies accepi. In primis commendasti amici tui causam; in alteris tuum negocium[7]. Primis, ut te latere non arbitror, abunde satisfeci; alteris quoque gessi, ut potui, morem[8]. Fui cum Caesare de tuo casu locutus: ostendi tuam innocentiam; monstravi tuam fidem; de tua doctrina sum locutus; supplicavi te in gratiam reciperet velletque te suis in dominiis tuto esse. Praesentes fuerunt[9] Ulricus Sonnenbergher[10] et Johannes Hinderbachius, viri boni et[11] tui amantes. Respondit Caesar[12] nihil se habere adversum te favereque tibi, quando velles, et ubi velles in suis territoriis moram faceres. Dominus Jacobus tunc aegrotus fuit neque potuit sermoni interesse. Quantum tamen ad hanc partem res tua absoluta est potesque, cum voles, tuto venire[13].

[2] De[14] servitio autem nescio, ubi nunc id tibi patere possit. Si venerit Varadiensis[15] antistes[16], ero[17] tui[18] memor studeboque tuam conditionem efficere meliorem. Apud me non vacat locus, familia mihi aequo major est[19], et ego in dies dispono domum repetere servilemque hanc vitam relinquere. Haec ad causam dicta sint. Tuas litteras probo et commendo et suadeo, uti perseveres. Doctus es, fies brevi doctissimus, neque virtuti tuae locus deerit.

Vale. Ex Grez[20], die 25. Augusti[21] 1453[22].

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[1] DV, 287
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *Collated after WO*
[4] DV, 130r
[5] *corr. ex* sacerdoti W1
[6] *corr. ex* Faraster W1; Forstel KO
[7] amici tui … negotium : tuum negocium, in alteris tui amici causam D
[8] alteris quoque … morem : in tua quoque ut potui morem gessi D
[9] fuere D
[10] Gurcensis Sunberger episcopus D
[11] viri boni et *omit.* D
[12] leto benevoloque vultu *add.* D
[13] illugebitque amans mei quondam Caspar, si peccavit, poenam *add*. D
[14] honorabili *add.* D
[15] *corr. ex* Salzburgensis W1; Salzburgensis KO
[16] Ungariae regni cancellarius, nostrorum humanitatis studiorum ultra quos nunc latum regnum fert doctissimus *add*. D
[17] ut debeo *add.* D
[18] bene *add.* D
[19] familia mihi … est *omit.* D
[20] Stiriae *add.* KO
[21] anno *add.* KO
[22] Ex Grez … 1453 *omit*. D

360. Letter to Johann Tröster (25 August 1453, Graz).

Context: *Johann Tröster had been suspected of complicity in the Austrian plot to free Ladislaus the Posthumous from the emperor's wardship and had been dismissed from the imperial service.*

Subject: *Piccolomini assures Johann Tröster that the emperor has nothing against him and that he may settle in the emperor's lands. There is no possibility, however, of employment at the imperial court or in Piccolomini's household, and he will have to fend for himself.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to his friend the learned and wise cleric, Herr Johann Tröster.[1]

[1] Some days ago, I received two letters from you. In the first, you commended a friend's case to me, and in the second, your own affair. I believe you know that I succeeded with the first case. In the second, I did what I could for you. I spoke to the emperor about your case: I told him you were innocent; I proved your loyalty; I spoke about your learning; I begged him to receive you back into his favour and to allow you to be safe in his territories. Present were Ulrich Sonnenberger and Johann Hinderbach, good men who are fond of you. The emperor replied that he held nothing against you and that you were welcome to settle in his territories when and where you wanted. Herr Jakob[2] was ill at the time and could not take part in the conversation. So, concerning this part of your request, your case is settled and you may come in safety whenever you wish.

[2] However, I do not know when you could get employment here. If the Bishop of Varad[3] should come, I will remember you and do what I can to improve your situation. I do not myself have a vacancy; indeed, my household is already too large, and moreover, I am preparing to return home and leave my service here. This is what I can say about your case. I commend your letters and urge you to persevere. You are already learned and will in, a short time, become even more so: your excellent qualities will not fail you.

Farewell. From Graz, 25 August 1453.

[1] Johann Tröster (-1485): Secretary in the chancery. Assistant teacher of the young King Ladis-laus. Involved in the Hungarian-Austrian plans to abduct Ladislaus during the emperor's coronation voyage to Rome, he fell into disgrace in the summer of 1453 and was dismissed from the court. See Heinig, p. 621, and *ad indicem.*

[2] Jakob Widerl?

[3] János Vitéz.

361. Letter to Guillaume Fillastre (25 August / 3 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 141v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 154*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 132, p. 237-238 (on the basis of W1).*

{141v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, reverendo patri, domino Wilhelmo, episcopo Tullensi, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Gratissimae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae, quas ex Hulma[5] ad me scripsisti. Intellexi namque dominationem tuam reverendissimam bene valere et me veteri ex more diligere. Cognovi quoque in urbe Roma pro me dicta esse[6], quae oportuit, contentorque dato responso. Circa res tuas[7] hic pendentes, nihil innovatum est neque innovabitur, donec dicta dies assit. Tui adversarii numquam hic fuerunt, postquam recessisti, neque quisquam ipsorum nomine hic comparuit. Ideo nihil est, cur vereri novitates oporteat, nam etsi venissent, nihil in tuum praejudicium sine vocatione fieret: ita Caesarem dispositum et inclinatos consiliarios invenio. De me certe potes tibi persuadere, quia ad tuum commodum vigilantissimus essem. Litterae salvi conductus per familiarem tuum[8] afferentur. Scribit etiam Caesar civitati[9] Tullensi, quemadmodum desiderasti, quamvis apud homines obstinatos parum valitura scripta putem: pro verbis verbera essent offerenda. Fiet tamen, spero[10], laudabilis finis pro te et ecclesia tua, si adversarii judicium subituri comparuerint. Alia non occurrunt.

Vale[11].

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[1] DV, 288
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 135v
[4] Aeneas … dicit : *corr. ex* Domino Wilhelmo, episcopo Tullensi. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post recommendationem cod.; Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime post recommendationem KO
[5] Ulma KO
[6] ~~a vobis~~ *seq.* cod.; a vobis *add.* KO
[7] res tuas : nostras res KO
[8] *corr. ex* vestrum. dominationis vestrae cod.; vestrum dominationis vestre *add.* KO
[9] comiti KO
[10] Scribit etiam … spero *corr. ex* Caesari non est visum de novo scribi Tullensibus considerato quod terminus juris in propinquo est et tunc dominatio vestra poterit de omnibus agere et fiet spero cod.
[11] Recommendo me dignationi tuae reverendissiae cui servire paratus sum quoad possum cod., KO

361. Letter to Guillaume Fillastre (25 August / 3 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Bishop Fillastre had a problem with his diocesans, whom he had previously placed under interdict.*[1]
Subject: *Piccolomini assures the bishop that he has the emperor's favour and the support of the imperial council.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Reverend Father, His Lordship Guillaume,[2] Bishop of Toul.

[1] I was delighted to receive the letter you wrote from Ulm, seeing that Your Most Reverend Lordship is safe and sound and loves me as always. I also heard what was duly said in my favour in Rome and am pleased with the answer. Concerning your affair pending here,[3] nothing new has happened or will happen before the appointed day. Your adversaries never came after you left, and nobody has appeared here to speak on their behalf. So, there is no reason to fear any new surprises, and even if your adversaries or their representatives came here, nothing would be done in prejudice to your interests. Such is the disposition of the emperor, and such is the attitude of his counselors, as I have found them. You can safely rely on me since I am entirely intent upon your interests. The letter of safe-conduct will be delivered by your own familiar. The emperor is also writing to the City of Toul as you requested, though I believe the letter will have little effect on those obstinate men; instead of words, they should be shown the whips. However, I expect it will turn out well for you and your church if your adversaries appear here to receive their judgement. There is nothing else at present.

Farewell.

[1] See note in WO, 3/1, p. 237.
[2] Guillaume Fillastre (the Younger) (-1473): Burgundian prelate and statesman. Ducal councillor. Bishop of Toul, 1448-1460.
[3] See letter from the emperor to Fillastre of 10 December 1451 (Chmel: *Reg.*, 3284 and *Materialien*, 2: p. 89).

362. Letter to Goro Lolli (3 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *F1, 32, ff. 24r-25v[1]; V5, 32, ff. 43r-45v; V6, 31, ff. 39r-43r; V7, ff. 49r-52r[2]; W1, ff. 141v-142v[3] **.*
Editions A: *HO, ff. 108r-110r[4]; KO, 156[5].*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 133, p. 238-241 (on the basis of W1).*

{141v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Gregorio Nicolai, legum doctori, salutem plurimam dicit[6].

[1] Litteras tuas, amantissime frater, sanus accepi, quibus aegrotus respondeo. Quaeres[7] valitudinis genus neque ab re, adeo[8] nullum mihi ignotum est. Nulla sunt corporis aut incommoda aut pericula, quae non pertulerim. Febrium mille species sum expertus. Tussi[9] veluti quotidiano[10] morbo assignatus sum. Calculi passio familiaris est mihi. Dolores iliorum Romae duodecim diebus me vexarunt. Oculos Patavi[11] dolui[12]. Dentes in ultima Britanniae parte, quam nunc appellant Scotiam, non sine cruciatu perdidi[13]. Podagra, quocumque terrarum pergo, me sequitur. Quid stomachi debilitatem aut ventris torsiones referam? Nulla mihi molestia corporis non est nota. Unum erat incommodum, quod nondum attigeram, urinarum profluvium ac vesicae lassitudo veluti quaedam paralysis. Id nunc experior, non sine corrosione carnis et fluxu sanguinis.

[2] Credo te, cum haec[14] audies crediturum me magnopere[15] afflictum esse neque falleris, si ita credis. Crucior enim et torqueor non corpore solum sed etiam mente. Cujus enim tam ferreus animus est, ut dolente corpore non doleat? Conjuncta[16] sunt haec duo, corpus et animus, neque dum gerunt hominem, alterum alterius non turbari molestia potest. Verum ego, etsi angor, non tamen ita consternatus sum, ut non animum ad mentem revocem cogitemque dolores istos aliquando vel sanitate finiri vel morte.

[3] Medicus mihi vir bonus et mei amantissimus, quem optime nosti, nobilis eques Jacobus de Lodrono[17], spem salutis proximam facit, cui ego multum tribuo, et propter doctrinam {142r} et propter fidem, quam scio in eo[18] summam esse. Itaque spero me brevi convaliturum. Quod si Deus dederit, mox equo conscenso[19], ad te veniam, domi, quod superest vitae, consumpturus.

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[1] DV, 53-56
[2] *Not collated*
[3] DV, 288-290
[4] DV, 222-227
[5] DV, 130v-131v
[6] Aeneas … dicit : *corr. ex* eximie doctor frater amantissime W1; Eneneas episcopus Senensis Gregorio Lolli salutem plurimam dicit F1, V5, V6; *omit.* KO
[7] queris HO; que res KO
[8] a Deo HO, KO
[9] in vsu KO
[10] cottidiano W1
[11] pegi perdidi KO
[12] oculos Patavi dolui *omit.* F1 *[NB: V5-V7 do not derive from F1]*
[13] *omit.* KO
[14] *omit.* HO
[15] magno opere W1
[16] conventa HO
[17] de Lodrono : Lodronius F1, V5; Lodronius *corr. ex* de Lodrono V6; Ludroneus HO; Ladrona KO
[18] eum F1
[19] conscendo KO

362. Letter to Goro Lolli (3 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Piccolomini had obtained a leave of absence from the emperor to return home and settle the affairs of his diocese and his personal affairs.*
Subject: *Piccolomini tells Goro of his illnesses, makes excuses for his continued absence, and adds some news from the imperial court.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ser Goro di Niccolò, Doctor of Laws.

[1] Dearest brother, I received your letter while in good health and now reply to it while sick! You may well ask what kind of illness, for no illness is unknown to me. Indeed, there are no physical troubles or perils that I have not suffered at some point. I have had 1,000 kinds of fever. Every day, I have attacks of coughing. Passing stones is a regular occurrence. In Rome,[2] I suffered pain in the loins for 12 days. In Padua, my eyes hurt. In the remotest part of Britannia, which they now call Scotland, I lost some teeth, with excruciating pain. Gout follows me everywhere I go. What could I not say about stomach troubles and abdominal cramps? No physical ailment is unknown to me. Previously, the only trouble that had not yet hit me was the dribbling of urine and bladder troubles. These I suffer now, together with the corrosion of flesh and the passing of blood.

[2] Hearing this, you will surely consider me grievously afflicted, and you will not be mistaken. For I am tormented and afflicted not only in body but also in mind. For whose soul is so iron-hard[3] that it does not suffer when the body suffers? These two, body and soul, are joined together, and since they compose a man, one cannot be troubled without the other. But though distressed, I am not so overwhelmed that I cannot come to my senses: these pains will either be healed or end with death.

[3] My physician is a good man who loves me dearly and whom you know well, the noble knight Jacopo de Lodron. He gives me hope of a speedy recovery. I treasure him because of his learning and his reliability, which I know to be very great. So, I hope to be healed soon. And if God grants it, I shall immediately mount my horse and come to you to spend the rest of my life at home.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 36.
[2] After the imperial coronation on 19 March 1452, which prevented Piccolomini from accompanying the emperor and the empress on their subsequent visit to King Alfonso V in Naples
[3] ”ferreus”: made of iron

[4] Cogito tamen[1] et in alteram partem res posse deflecti, namque cum dubia vita sit bene[2] valentis, quaenam[3] potest in aegrotante certitudo reperiri? Existimo fieri posse, ut, vel[4] hoc augescente morbo vel alio superveniente, vitam ei, qui dedit, reddam. Neque in hoc mihi consolatio deest, nam etsi[5] mori extra patriam longe[6] a necessariis nonnulli miserum putent, ego quoque libentius inter meos quam inter exteros morerer[7]. Nescio enim quomodo *mollius[8] ossa cubent[9] manibus tumulata suorum*. Teneo tamen menti, quod ille ait non incelebratus[10] philosophus, undique tantundem esse ad inferos viae, immo etiam ad superos, ad quos me transiturum non despero. Nam etsi magna peccatorum sarcina premor, majorem tamen esse divinam misericordiam quam meam iniquitatem non dubito. In hac confido, in hac me totum resolvo[11].

[5] Nec ego cum illis sentio, qui post hanc vitam extingui animos putant ac propterea mortem timendam negant, in qua nihil sit mali, mortemque dicunt[12] esse[13] totum, quod ante nos fuit et quod nobis desinentibus est futurum. Nam quid homini molestius dici potest, quam eum ita desinere morientem, ut nihil omnino post mortem sentiat sitque velut extincta lucerna, quae neque, priusquam accenderetur, lumen habuit neque, cum extincta est, habet. Haec enim, si crederem, terrerent[14] me[15] profecto[16] moriturum. Sed persuadeo mihi verum esse, quod magni philosophi tradiderunt, quod Christus salvator praedicavit, quod mater ecclesia docet, exutis corpore animabus vitam esse alteram, in qua[17] boni a malis seorsum habitent et alii beatum[18], alii miserum[19] aevum[20] ducant, prout in corpore gesserint[21], recipientes.

[6] Haec mihi vera consolatio videtur, cum vita excedendum sit, sperare te[22] in concilium[23] migrare sanctorum, ascendere super sidera, intueri caelum, conjungi beatissimis angelis, divinitatis infinitatem intelligere, cognoscere trinitatem, et omnium, quae nobis in terra manentibus obscura videntur, tenere causas, rationes inspicere atque ita mihi[24] nedum in morte nihil mali[25], sed multum boni esse persuadeo. His tamen, quos Christus ad se vocat - vocat autem omnes qui, cum vocantur, libenter eunt[26] - talibus ego inter aegrotandum exhortationibus utor. Praeparo me, si vocer ad exitum, ut, si forte vita pellar hujus saeculi[27], non tam hinc ejectus quam desuper citatus videar. Haec tibi pro aegrotatione mea sint dicta.

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[1] *omit.* V5
[2] sit bene : bene sit HO
[3] que non KO
[4] *omit.* HO
[5] licet F1, V5, V6, HO
[6] ~~a suis~~ *seq.* W1
[7] morer F1; *corr. ex* morer V5
[8] molla WO
[9] cubant HO
[10] illecebratus WO
[11] ~~neque ut Seneca ita me consolor. Illa vero vana mihi consolacio videtur, quam Seneca in epistola quadam tradit, qui propterea non esse timendam mortem affirmat, quia nihil postmodum nos lucernae comparat stultissimum dicens, si quis existimet lucernae pejus esse, cum extincta est quam antequam accenditur, sentit enim homines quoque~~ *seq.* W1.
[12] ~~fuisse~~ *seq.* W1
[13] *omit.* F1, HO
[14] terrerer F1, V5, V6, HO; terrere KO
[15] ne KO
[16] ~~morientem~~ *seq.* W1
[17] ~~qui bene vixerim~~ *seq.* W1
[18] beatam KO
[19] miseram KO
[20] vitam KO
[21] gesserunt V5, HO, KO
[22] *omit*. KO
[23] consilium HO
[24] ita mihi : mihi ita KO
[25] *omit.* HO
[26] eum comitant KO
[27] hujus saeculi : seculi hujus KO

[4] But I am aware that it may turn out differently, for when even the life of a healthy person is in doubt, how can you be sure of one who is sick? If my illness grows worse or another affliction besets me, it is quite possible that I must return my life to Him who gave it. But in that case, too, I have consolation. Many think it a misery to die away from one's country and relatives, and I, too, would rather die among my own than among strangers. For I do not know how *bones can rest more peacefully* than in a tomb built by relatives.[1] But I do remember what a famous philosopher once said: there are as many roads to the nether world as to the world on high, which is where I hope to go. And though I am burdened by a great weight of sins, I am sure God's mercy is greater than my iniquity. That is what I confidently trust.

[5] I disagree with those who believe that the soul dies after this life and who, therefore, claim that death is not to be feared since there is no pain in it: what was before us and what comes after is all death. But what can be worse than this: when a person dies, he feels nothing afterwards, like a lamp that has been put out? Before it was lit, it had no light, and after it is put out, it has no light, either. If I believed that, I would indeed be terrified of death. But I firmly believe in the truth which the great philosophers expounded, Christ the Saviour preached, and Holy Mother Church teaches: when the soul leaves the body, it passes on to another life where the good and the evil live separately, and the first have a blessed life and the others a miserable one according to how they lived while in the body.

[6] To me, it is truly comforting that when you must leave this life, you can hope to join the assembly of saints, rise above the stars, behold Heaven, join the most blessed angels, understand the divine infinity, know the Trinity, and examine the causes of all those things that seem obscure to us while living on Earth, and perceive their reasons. Thus, I am convinced there is no evil in death but much good. With such exhortations, I encourage those Christ calls to Him (for He calls all who come willingly) when they are ill. And I prepare myself so that when I am called upon to depart from this world, I shall not leave as someone who has been thrown out but as someone who has been summoned. This is what I have to say about my illness.

[1] Ovidius: *Heroides,* 7: 162: *Anchisae molliter ossa cubent.*

[7] Verum, quia tibi nihil tacendum est, non me solum valitudo mea commovet, sed etiam Petri nepotis[1], qui febribus accutissimis detinetur. Jam tamen meliuscule se habet, extra periculum positus fuit, non sine discrimine. Liberatur non sine tempore. Libratim, ut ajunt, morbi veniunt, unciatim abeunt. {142v} Sed ista parentibus suis occultanda sunt curandumque est, ut filium prius sanum intelligant quam aegrotatum fuisse cognoscant.

[8] Nunc ad id venio, in quo me vehementer accusas, velut patriae[2], parentum et amicorum penitus oblitum, qui nolim domum redire. Non sum Gregorii[3], ut aestimas, meorumque[4] immemor. Dies noctesque dulce solum patriae ante oculos habeo. Nunc matrem, nunc sorores, nunc nepotes, nunc te mente revolvo, neque aliud cupio quam domum quamprimum repetere. Miror te posse opinari de me, quae[5] scribis. Etenim ubi ego vel dulcius vel suavius esse possum, quam ea in terra, quae me produxi et usque in virum aluit[6], ubi amicorum copiam habeo et propinquorum et, quod maximum est, cum auctoritate et honore inter meos esse possum[7].

[9] An non putas me cupide ad ea colloquia reversurum, quae aliquando simul amici consuevimus? Ubi nunc Marianus Socinus[8], nunc Franciscus Patritius, nunc Georgius Andrentius sermonem habeat? An non me delectabit modo Franciscum Ptolomeum, modo Johannem Campisium[9], jam mihi episcopali dignitate aequatum, audire loquentem? Praetereo[10] dulces[11] cognatos et affines.

[10] Festino sane neque[12] aliud cogito, nisi ut quantocius ad vos redeam, sed curo, ne, dum tuo meoque desiderio satisfacere conor, Caesaris animum offendam. Decimum sibi jam annum[13] servio, inveni gratiam in oculis ejus[14], crevi sub ejus umbra, multum[15] me sua benignitas extulit. Do operam, cum bona gratia ab eo recedam, ne malus sit finis, ubi principium bonum meliusque medium fuit. Omnium rerum exitus extimari[16] solet[17]. Petivi per hos dies licentiam[18] visendi domum eamque Caesar ita mihi concessit, si prius inter Prutenos judicium ageretur, cui dies[19] duodecimo[20] kalendarum Novembris[21] dicta est. Illum ergo expectare non Caesarea solum voluntas, sed etiam aegritudo me cogit. Tunc autem, si sanitas aderit, itineri me statim committam.

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[1] Petri nepotis : nepotis Petri F1, V5, V6, HO, KO
[2] *omit.* HO
[3] Gregori F1, V5, V6, HO, KO
[4] meorum F1, V5, V6, KO; eorum HO
[5] *omit.* KO; quo WO
[6] aliud HO
[7] possim F1
[8] Sozinus F1, V5, V6, HO, KO
[9] *em.;* Campanium W1, HO, KO; Campanum F1, V6*]*
[10] preterea KO
[11] dulcis F1, V5, V6
[12] ~~diem illam~~ *seq.* W1
[13] sibi jam annum : jam annum sibi V5
[14] ~~sub~~ *seq.* W1
[15] ~~et sua~~ *seq.* W1
[16] estimari F1, V5, HO
[17] ~~itaque~~ *seq.* W1
[18] facultatem V5
[19] ~~duodecimo quarto~~ *seq.* W1
[20] duodecima F1, V5, V6, HO, KO
[21] *corr. ex* Octobris W1

[7] But, to tell you all, I am alarmed not only because of my own health but also because of the health of my nephew, Pietro,[1] who is suffering from severe fevers. He is somewhat better now and is out of danger, but not yet safe. He will recover, but it will take time. *Illnesses come by the pound and leave by the ounce*.[2] But this must be kept hidden from his parents, who should only learn that he has been ill after they hear that he is safe and sound.

[8] I now come to your vehement accusation that I have completely forgotten my country, my parents, and my friends since I do not want to return. Though you think so, I have not forgotten you, Goro, or my relatives and friends. Day and night, I have the sweet land of my birth before my eyes.[3] I constantly think of my mother,[4] my sisters, my nephews, and you, and I desire nothing more than to return home as soon as possible. I am surprised that you could believe what you have written about me, for where could I stay more pleasantly and sweetly than in the land that gave birth to me and raised me to manhood, where I have many friends and relatives, and where - most importantly - I can be among my own with dignity and honour.

[9] Do you really think I am not eager to return and resume those conversations we once had with friends? Where are Mariano Sozzini, Francesco Patrizi, and Giorgio Andrenzio conversing now? Will I not be delighted to hear Francesco Tolomei and Giovanni Campisio[5] - now my equal in episcopal dignity? I pass over our other dear friends and relatives.

[10] So, I am in haste and think of nothing else but returning to you, yet I am careful not to offend the emperor while endeavouring to fulfil my own and your desires. I have now served him for ten years; I have found favour in his eyes, I have grown in his shadow, and I have advanced greatly due to his benevolence. I wish to leave but also to remain in his good grace, and I do not want the end to be bad when the beginning was good and the middle even better. It is important to consider how all things should end. Quite recently, I asked for a leave of absence to visit my home, and the emperor granted it, but not before judgement had been passed in the Prussian matter, which is to happen on the 21st of October. But it is not only the emperor's wish that forces me to wait, but also my illness. However, as soon as I am healed, I shall depart.

[1] Pietro Todeschini, son of Nanni Todeschini and Piccolomini's sister Laudomia. Piccolomini had presumably taken the young man into his household during his stay in Italy the year before.

[2] Libra: a Roman pound. Uncia: Roman ounce. A pound equalled 12 ounces. The proverb means that illness comes quickly and leaves slowly.

[3] Bisaha: *From*, p. 75.

[4] Vittoria Forteguerri Piccolomini.

[5] Remarkably, Piccolomini managed to misspell the name of one of his dearest friends (Campanium).

[11] Interea te rogo, mearum rerum curam geras, matrem meam commendatam habeas; Bartholomeum cognatum, quem senio gravem accepi, meo nomine visites; vicarium horteris officium ad reditum continuet[1]; Bartholomaeum procuratorem domesticae curae ut[2] solerter intendat[3]; amicis omnibus ex me multas salutes dicas; senatui civitatis me commendes[4], cui[5] ex his[6] regionibus paucas novitates referre possum, nam dolendum illud et acerbissimum Constantinopolitanum novum jam vetus[7] apud vos[8] est. Stulte Christiani principes egerint[9], nisi furentibus Turcis[10] occurrere studuerint. Germani modo pacati sunt et, si quis eos ad eam rem excitaret, non apti modo, sed etiam voluntarii reperirentur.

[12] Rex Hungarie in Posonio conventum regni habet. Tria ibi tractantur: de modo expellendi latrones, qui regnum infestant; de pace cum Caesare firmanda; ac de modis inveniendis, per quos Turchorum[11] conatus[12], ne ulterius serpat, comprimi possit.

Vale. Ex Grez[13] Styrie, tertia die Septembris[14] 1453.

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[1] *corr. ex* continuare W1; continuare F1, V5, V6, HO, KO
[2] *supralin.* W1; *omit*. F1, V5, V6, HO, KO
[3] *corr. ex* intendere W1; intendere F1, V5, V6, HO, KO
[4] commendabis F1, HO
[5] *corr. ex* quibus W1
[6] iis F1, V5
[7] *corr. ex* dudum W1
[8] nos KO, WO
[9] egerunt HO
[10] Turcis (!) W1; Turchis F1
[11] *corr. ex* Turcorum W1 !!!
[12] *corr. ex* furor W1
[13] Greze F1
[14] anno domini *add.* V6, HO

[11] In the meantime, I ask you to oversee my affairs: take care of my mother; visit my relative Bartolomeo, whom I hear is worn down with age, for me; urge my vicar[1] to stay in office until my return; [ensure] that my procurator, Bartolomeo, diligently administers my domestic affairs; greet all my friends many times from me; and commend me to the city senate[2], to whom I have little news to report from these parts since the grievous and bitter news from Constantinople is already old news in Siena. The Christian princes would be foolish not to strive to oppose the savage Turks. The Germans are now at peace,[3] and if someone were to rouse them to such a venture, they would be found not just able but also willing.

[12] The King of Hungary[4] is in Pozon[5] for an assembly of the realm.[6] They will deal with three things: expelling the robbers[7] who are infesting the kingdom; confirming the peace with the emperor; and finding ways to contain the Turkish aggression lest it spread further.[8]

Farewell. From Graz in Steiermark, 3 September 1453.

[1] Rafaele Primadizi.
[2] Meaning the city government.
[3] Peace treaty of 27 April 1453 between Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg and the City of Nürnberg; settlement of the concflicts between Kurpfalz, Kurmainz and Baden (RTA, 19/1: p. 36).
[4] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[5] Present-day Bratislava.
[6] He arrived at the end of August (Szalay, p. 151).
[7] Axamit.
[8] ”conatus”

363. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (3 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 143r*[1] **.
Editions A: *KO, 147*[2].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 134, p. 241-242 (on the basis of W1).*

{143r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino[3] Henrico Senftleben, imperiali consiliario, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Gratae sunt mihi semper litterae tuae, ex quibus non mea solum negotia, quem cursum habeant, sed etiam de statu curiae ac[5] totius Italiae certus fio, pro quibus rebus ingentes tibi gratias habeo. Intellexi, quae nuper egisti in recessu cardinalis Sancti Angeli circa remissionem annatae. Obligas me dietim magis: faxit[6] Deus, ut aliquando vices rependere possim.

[2] De Constantinopoli cognovi, quae scripsisti. Ego quoque prius in ea re tibi litteras dederam. Calamitosa et deploranda res est. Sic nostrae nequitiae flagitant: discordamus omnes, vulneramus nos ipsos, intus caedimur et exterius flagellamur. Ultio peccatorum est: res malae sunt, spes vero multo pejor, nam, quae tanto vulneri medela paretur, non intelligo. Dormiunt nostri principes. De salute communi nemo cogitat, nisi pontifex maximus, quem de pacanda Italia sollicitum esse accipio. Nescio, quantum ejus votibus Itali pareant, sed et tanta res, quanta est Turcorum potentia, non Italos solum, sed omnes contra se Christianos exposcit.

[3] Nos istis in partibus quieti sumus. Georgius[7] de Puchaim Caesari reconciliatus est. Rex Ladislaus in Posonio conventum habet regni Hungariae. Speratur confirmaturus cum Caesare pacem, nam satis habet per se negotii adversus Axamit, qui cum magna multitudine latronum Sepusinos vexat. Cogitare quoque de Turcis ultra omnes Christianos reges habet, qui eis vicinus est. Promisit etiam Bohemis ad festum Michaelis proximum Bohemiam se[8] ingredi coronam recepturum, quae res[9] forsitan faciant, pacem cum Caesare ut[10] libentius amplectatur. Haec habui, quae nune ad te scriberem.

[4] Finito negotio Prutenorum, cujus causa manere me Caesar voluit, domum repetam tumque te visere curabo. Ejus rei dies est 12. kalendas Novembris.

Valete. Ex Grez die tertia Septembris 1453.

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[1] DV, 291
[2] DV, 131v
[3] *omit.* WO
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Henrico Senftleben. Venerabilis amice carissime cod., KO
[5] ~~etiam~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] fassit cod.
[7] Gregorius KO
[8] *supralin.* cod.; *omit.* KO
[9] ~~fac~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] *supralin.* cod.

363. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (3 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Senftleben for his services and letters and sends him news from the imperial court.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Herr Heinrich Senftleben, Imperial Councillor.

[1] I am always glad to receive your letters. They inform me not only about the progress of my affairs[2], but also about the situation at the Curia and in all of Italy. For this, I am deeply grateful. I have heard what you recently did regarding the remission of the annates when the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo[3] was leaving. Daily, I become more indebted to you; God grant that I may someday be able to repay you.

[2] I saw what you wrote about Constantinople. I had previously sent you a letter[4] about this disastrous and lamentable event. Thus are our sins punished: we are all divided; we wound ourselves. We are being cut down within and scourged from without. This is the revenge for our sins: things are bad, but hope is worse, since I do not see a remedy being prepared for this great wound. Our princes sleep. No one cares for the common safety except the Supreme Pontiff, whom I hear is anxious to make peace in Italy. I do not know to what extent the Italians will obey his wishes, but the danger posed by the power of the Turks is so great that it demands not only the Italians but all Christians to stand against them.

[3] In these parts, we are at peace. Georg von Puchheim has been reconciled with the Emperor. King Ladislaus is in Pozon for a diet of the Kingdom of Hungary. It is hoped that he will confirm the peace with the Emperor, for he has enough trouble on his own with Axamit, who is ravaging the region of Sepusium[5] with a large band of robbers. Moreover, being the neighbour of the Turks, he must, more than the other Christian kings, be concerned about them. And finally, he has promised the Bohemians to come to Bohemia at the Feast of Saint Michael to receive the crown. All this may make him more amenable to accepting the peace with the Emperor. This is what I have to write for now.

[4] The emperor has asked me to stay because of the Prussian matter, but once it is concluded, I shall return home and arrange to see you. The date appointed for the trial is the 21st of October.

Farewell. From Graz, 3 September 1453.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 36, 537, 542, 548.
[2] At the papal curia.
[3] Juan Carvajal
[4] Not extant.
[5] The region of Szepesség.

364. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (3 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 143r-143v[1] **.*
Editions A: *KO, 151[2].*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 135, p. 242-244 (on the basis of W1).*

{143r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Petro de Noxeto, comiti palatino, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Scio te magnis urgeri curis, tum propter negotia Italica[4], tum propter cladem Constantinopolitanam. Ideo te multis verbis tenere non audeo. Quia tamen necesse est pontificem maximum, quae apud nos geruntur, intelligere, scribam tibi quam brevissime harum partium statum. Tu deinde suae sanctitati, prout dignum putabis, scripta mea referes.

[2] Caesar[5] baronem quendam, quem vocant de Puchaim, superioribus diebus adversantem habuit. Is modo reconciliatus est, accepta quadam pecuniae quantitate. Super ceteris contentionibus arbitrio Caesaris se submisit.

[3] In Hungaria, ut alias apostolico culmini scripsi, surrexit quidam latro nomine Axamit, qui cum magna praedonum manu regnum vexat, neque gubernator potis[6] est eum regno deturbare[7]. Ob eam causam habet per hos dies rex Ladislaus omnes regni proceres apud Posonium congregatos cumque his consultat, quonam pacto regnum expiare latronibus possit. Valachi quoque contra gubernatorem arma moverunt, quem dominari sibi aegre ferebant. {143v} Est etiam, quod de Turcis in eo conventu cogitet, quos proximos habet et jam nova elatos victoria plurimum timet, quae res compulsura Hungaros creditur, ut pacem, quam diu cum Caesare refutarunt, ultro deposcant, nisi malitia hominum magis ac magis excreverit.

[4] Idem rex Ladislaus in Kalendis Octobris proximis Bohemiam intrare promisit, ibi coronam recepturus. Magni ob eam rem apparatus fiunt. Ituri cum eo feruntur Albertus Austriae et[8] Ludovicus Bavariae duces, ac Albertus, marchio Brandeburgensis. Bohemi offerunt, quaecumque bona ad coronam spectant, regi restituere partemque rerum ecclesiasticarum redimere ab his[9], qui eas possident et pro regis arbitrio ecclesiis satisfacere. Credo res aliquanto minores futuras quam fama feruntur.

[5] In partibus Rheni, qui dissidebant principes, compositi sunt pacemque tenent. Ludovicus, Bavariae dux, ejus concordiae auctor nomine, re autem marchio Brandeburgensis Albertus fuit, qui jam principum ductor[10] est.

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[1] DV, 291-292
[2] DV, 134v
[3] Aeneas … dicit : *corr. ex* Domino Petro de Noxeto comiti palatino. Magnifice vir major honorande cod.; Magnifice vir major honorande KO
[4] Italie WO
[5] ~~pacem~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] potens KO
[7] depellere KO
[8] *omit.* WO
[9] et *add.* KO
[10] auctor KO

364. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (3 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *See the previous letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini sends news from the imperial court. He warns that the ecclesiastical censure against the Prussian cities would probably be ignored, causing further erosion of papal prestige and authority.* [1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Pietro da Noceto, Palatine Count.

[1] I know you are terribly busy because of the Italian affairs[2] and the Fall of Constantinople. Therefore, I do not dare to take your time with a wordy letter. But since it is necessary for the Supreme Pontiff to understand what is happening here, I am sending you this short report of the situation in these parts. You can then relate those of my remarks you think are worth it to His Holiness.

[2] Recently, the emperor had a baron named von Puchheim[3] as an enemy, but he has now reconciled with the emperor, having been given a certain sum of money. Concerning their other differences, he has submitted to the emperor's decision.

[3] In Hungary - as I have already written to His Apostolic Highness[4] - a robber named Axamit appeared, who plagues the kingdom with a large following of robbers. The governor[5] is unable to expel him from the kingdom. Therefore, King Ladislaus is, these days, having a meeting in Pozon[6] with all the nobles of the kingdom to consult on how to rid the kingdom of the robbers. Moreover, the Wallachians have risen against the governor, whose lordship they do not accept. At the meeting, the Hungarians will also have to consider their neighbours, the Turks, whom they greatly fear, now that they are elated with their recent victory.[7] This is believed to make the Hungarians amenable to confirm the peace with the emperor[8] that they have refused for a long time - unless, if course, the malice of men has grown greater.

[4] The same King Ladislaus has promised to enter Bohemia on the 1st of October to receive the crown. Great preparations are being made. It is said that he will be accompanied by dukes Albrecht of Austria,[9] Ludwig of Bavaria,[10] and Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg.[11] The Bohemians are offering to restore all crown properties to the king, to redeem the ecclesiastical properties from those who presently hold them, and to satisfy the demands of the churches as the king sees fit.[12] I believe these restitutions will not be as extensive as rumoured.

[5] The feuding princes of the Rhineland have been reconciled and keep the peace. Duke Ludwig of Bavaria lent his name to this settlement, but in fact, it was made by Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, who is now the leader of the princes.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 36, 548.
[2] The negotiations leading up to the Italian League.
[3] Georg II von Puchheim.
[4] The pope.
[5] János Hunyadi.
[6] Hungarian Diet of Pozon, August 1453.
[7] In Constantinople.
[8] The unratified peace treaty of April 1453.
[9] Albrecht VI (Habsburg).
[10] Ludwig IX (Wittelsbach).
[11] Margrave Albrecht III (Hohenzollern).
[12] Piccolomini had discussed the restitution of ecclesiastical properties with Georg Podiebrad during his mission to Bohemia in 1451 (CRDM, 3).

[6] Res Prutenicas arbitror te non ignorare in nostro consistorio pendentes esse. Civitates tamen, quae contra religionem foedus iniere, non putantur judicium subiturae, nam regis[1] Poloniae vires sibi accedere sperant et armis magis quam juribus fidunt. Rex ille jam magistro Prussiae litteras dedit, quae suum animum in communitatum favorem erectum significant. Cardinalis quoque Cracoviensis mihi scripta direxit[2], per quae comprehendo Polonos ipsos communitatum partem adjuvare. Haec[3] habui, quae ad te scriberem hoc tempore. Credo consultum esse, ne festinetur in processu contra civitates Prussiae, qui modo apud vos[4] agitandus dicitur, ne censurae apostolice, sicut in Austria factum est, contemnantur. Nisi enim spiritualem gladium[5] materialis[6] sequatur, parum est, quod populi formident.

Vale et apostolicae sanctitatis pedibus me commendato. Post res Prutenicas absolutas te visam, sic enim licentiam Caesaris habeo. Ex Grez, die tertia Septembris[7] 1453.

[1] reges KO
[2] dixerit KO
[3] hac WO
[4] nos KO
[5] ~~temporalis seq~~ *seq*. cod.
[6] materiale KO
[7] anno *add.* KO

[6] I think you know that the Prussian affair will come before our council. However, it is believed that the cities, which made an alliance against the Order,[1] will not accept its judgement, for they hope to get support from the Polish king[2] and trust more in arms than in law. The Polish king has already sent a letter to the Prussian Master,[3] showing that he favours the cities.[4] And the Cardinal of Krakow[5] has sent me a letter which gives me to understand that the Poles will help the party of the cities. This is what I have to write to you for now. I believe it would be advisable not to hasten the proceedings against the Prussian cities which are now, reportedly, being prepared at the Curia, lest the apostolic censures be ignored as happened in Austria.[6] If the material[7] sword does not follow the spiritual, the people have little fear of it.

Farewell, and commend me at the feet of His Apostolic Holiness. When the Prussian affair has been settled, I shall visit you, for I have now obtained leave of absence from the emperor. From Graz, 3 September 1453.

[1] The Teutonic Order.
[2] Kazimierz IV.
[3] Ludwig von Erlichshausen.
[4] "communitates"
[5] Zbigniew Olesnicky (1389-1455): Archbishop of Krakow from 1423 to his death. Cardinal, 1439. Effective regent during the minority of King Wladyslaw III.
[6] After the Austrian rebellion a-gainst the emperor to obtain the release of King Ladislaus the Post-humous from the emperor's ward-ship, the pope passed judgement on the rebels and placed them under interdict. The Austrians ignored the interdict and other ecclesi-astical censures against them, re-sulting in a serious loss of papal prestige and moral authority. Pic-colomini warns Rome that the same would likely happen in case similar measures were taken a-gainst the Prussian cities in sup-port of the Teutonic Order.
[7] I.e., the secular power.

365. Letter to Juan Carvajal (3 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 143v-144r[1] **.*
Editions A: *KO, 153[2].*
Editions B: *RTA, 19/1: p. 36 (extract); WO, 3: 1, 136, p. 244-245 (on the basis of W1).*

{143v} Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, commendatum se facit. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine.[3]

[1] Refocillatus[4] sum aliquantisper litteris tuis, ex quibus Romanum pontificem dare operam intellexi, ut et nobilis Italia pacem recipiat et insultantibus Turcis Christianae vires resistant, nam me quidem Constantinopolitana clades magnopere angit. Spero autem, si vocem apostolicam orthodoxi principes audiverint, Turcorum rabiem retrocessuram futurumque, ut nedum Constantinopolis recuperetur, verum etiam ut in suis sedibus Turcorum perfidia comprimatur. Ostendi Caesari, quae scripsisti, qui tuae dignationi gratias agit oratque, ut ad pacem Italiae ferventi animo intendas. Quod in rem fidei sua serenitas praestare poterit, id non negabit.

[2] Pax illa olim conclusa inter majestatem suam et regem Ladislaum nondum ratificata est. Modo in Posonio Hungari sunt {144r} magnumque conventum habent. Agitur ibi de hac pace firmanda, de latronibus regno pellendis, ac de modis, per quos Turcorum conatus reprimi possint. Exinde rex iturus in Bohemiam fertur, coronam suscepturus. Multa de bonis ecclesiae restituendis dicuntur, quae similia somnio[5] videntur. Durum est veteres possessores expellere. Res Prutenica apud nos adhuc pendet. Timendum tamen est, ne rex Poloniae contra religionem civitatum partes tueatur. Principes Rheni compositi sunt.

[3] Alia ex his partibus scripto digna non occurrunt. Si dabitis pacem Italiae, quam speramus, domum evestigio repetam et aliquando dignationem tuam videbo, quod pietas divina cito faxit. Litteras reverendi patris domini Assisinensis expeditas penes me habeo, quas per certum nuntium ad eum mittam, quam primum occurrerit.

Recommendo me dignationi tuae[6], ad cujus mandata paratissimus sum. Ex Grez, die tertia Septembris 1453[7].

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[1] DV, 292-293
[2] DV, 135r
[3] Johanni … recommendationem *corr. ex.* Cardinali Sancti Angeli. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod., KO
[4] revocillatus KO
[5] somno KO
[6] reverendissimae *add.* KO
[7] anno quo supra KO

365. Letter to Juan Carvajal (3 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *See the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Carvajal for news about the pope working for peace in Italy and Christian mobilisation against the Turks and sends him news from the imperial court.*

To Juan, Cardinal of Sant'Angel. Most Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

[1] I am somewhat relieved to learn from your letter that the Roman Pontiff is endeavouring to make peace in noble Italy and to rally the Christian forces against the attacks of the Turks, for I am greatly troubled by the Fall of Constantinople. I hope that the right-believing princes will heed the apostolic voice, that the Turkish frenzy will recede, and that not only will Constantinople be recovered, but also that the infidel Turks be forced back to their own lands. I have shown the emperor what you wrote. He thanks Your Grace and asks you to fervently promote peace in Italy.[1] If His Serenity can do anything for the Faith, he will not refuse it.

[2] The previously concluded peace between His Majesty and King Ladislaus has not yet been ratified. The Hungarians are now holding a great assembly in Pozon, where they will deal with ratifying the peace, expelling the bandits[2] from the kingdom, and finding ways to resist the Turkish aggression. Then, the king will go to Bohemia to receive the crown. Much is being said about restoring the ecclesiastical properties there, but it seems quite far-fetched, for it is difficult to expel the old possessors. The Prussian case is still pending here. It is feared that the King of Poland[3] will support the cities against the Order. The princes of the Rhineland have made peace.

[3] From these parts, there is nothing else worth writing. If you give Italy the peace we hope for, I will return home immediately and eventually see Your Grace. May Pious God grant that it happens soon. The letter for the Reverend Father, His Lordship of Assisi,[4] has been expedited. I have it with me and shall send it with a reliable messenger as soon as I can find one.

I commend myself to Your Grace. I am always at your command. From Graz, 3 September 1453.

[1] Bisaha: *From*, p. 76.
[2] Axamit.
[3] Kazimierz IV (Jagiellon).
[4] Bishop Francesco Oddi di Todi: Bishop of Assisi, 1444-1456.

366. Letter from Zbigniew Olesnicky (10 September 1453, Krakow).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 1r-4v; M5, ff. 143r-148r[1]; V5, ff. 8v-14v **; V6, ff. 7r-12v; V7, ff. 9r-15r; V11, ff. 1r-7r; W1, 181v-185v[2]; X1, ff. 113r-116r; (K, 1, pp. 1-10[3]).*
Editions A: *HO, ff. 80r-84v[4]; Codex, 2: 315.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 137, p. 245-253 (on the basis of the mss. listed above).*
Note: *The version in W1 - presumably the eldest version available - contains a number of corrections, which raises the question whether Piccolomini would presume to revise the original text of the cardinal's letter before including it in his collection of epistolae episcopales. He actually attached such importance to the cardinal's praise of his literary skills, that he placed the letter at the beginning of this collection.*

{8v} Sbigneus, miseratione divina sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae tituli[5] sanctae Priscae presbyter cardinalis ac episcopus Cracoviensis, reverendo in Christo patri[6], domino Aeneae, episcopo Senensi et imperiali consiliario, amico suo singulari, salutem plurimam dicit[7].

[1] Vereor jam - nec ab re - ne[8] quid tibi, vir clarissime, de me meo ex tam diuturno silentio cogitationis obrepat, quasi immemor negligensve factus sim[9] tui in me[10] meriti[11] tuaeque[12] tam[13] sincerae erga me benevolentiae. Antiquorum enim traditione cognoscimus et propriae affectionis documento experimur nihil esse tam praesens inter absentes quam epistolarum[14] alloquia[15] et audire, quos diligamus. Et, ut[16] est apud Ciceronem in *Rhetoricis*, homines superioris aevi ante cartae et membranarum[17] usum aut[18] in dolatis ex ligno codicellis[19] aut in corticibus arborum mutua epistolarum alloquia[20] missitabant, unde et portitores earum tabellarios et a libris arborum librarios vocavere. Quanto[21] magis expolito jam artibus mundo id non debemus omittere, quod sibi praestiterunt, apud quos erat cruda rusticitas et qui humanitatem quodammodo nesciebant, atque ideo[22] {9r} reddita[23] mihi aliquando cupita rescribendi facultate, ne apud te violatae amicitiae et necessitudinis arguar, debitum reddere nunc saltem duxi.

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[1] DV, 290-301
[2] DV, 368-376
[3] *Not collated.*
[4] DV, 167-176
[5] *omit.* V6, V7; tutor HO
[6] patre X1
[7] Sbigneus … dicit: *omit.* M5; *add. in marg.* W1
[8] nec HO
[9] sum X1, HO
[10] in me : ymmo X1
[11] menti X1
[12] meriti tuaeque : meritique HO
[13] quam M5, V11, W1, X1, WO
[14] epistolis M5, W1, X1
[15] et alloqui M5, W1, X1; *corr. ex* alloquia V5
[16] *omit.* HO
[17] membranorum HO
[18] et X1
[19] codicillis V11
[20] colloquia HO
[21] igitur *add.* M5, W1, X1, WO
[22] ita V7
[23] redditur WO

366. Letter from Zbigniew Olesnicky (10 September 1453, Krakow).

Context: *In the volume of letters that Piccolomini had sent to Cardinal Olesnicky (see letter 245), he had, in several places, criticised the Poles for usurping the Hungarian crown that rightfully belonged to the Habsburg heir, Ladislaus the Posthumous.*

Subject: *The cardinal compliments Piccolomini on his letters and style. He then proceeds to argue against his criticism of the Polish king Wladyslaw's assumption of the Hungarian crown and his conduct of the war against the Turks. Remarkably, he places full responsibility for the disaster at the Battle of Varna on the Hungarian governor, János Hunyadi, who fled from the battle and left Wladyslaw and his men to be slaughtered by the Turks.*

Zbigniew,[1] by God's mercy, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, with the title of Santa Prisca, and Bishop of Krakow, sends many greetings to the Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship Enea, Bishop of Siena and Imperial Councillor, his particular friend.

[1] I fear - and not without reason - that my long silence may have made you, my illustrious friend, think I had forgotten or become neglectful of your merits towards me and your sincere goodwill. For from the tradition of the ancients and the evidence of our own affections, we know that nothing makes absent [friends] become so present to each other as when, in letters, we hear and speak with those whom we love. According to Cicero, in the *Rhetorics*, men of the past, before paper and parchment came to be used, sent messages to each other using either tablets cut from wood or the bark of trees. The carriers of the tablets were called *tabellarii* or *librarii* (after the *libri* made of wood).[2] In our own time[3], now refined by the arts, we should do as those men [of old] did, though they lived in crude rusticity and were ignorant of civilised living. Therefore, I have decided to use a long-desired opportunity to write back [to you] and thus render my due lest I be accused of violating our friendship and relationship.

[1] Olesnicki, Zbigniew (1389-1455): Bishop of Krakow (1423) and cardinal (1439). Effective regent during the minority of King Wladyslaw III. In his *Europa*, Piccoloimini wrote about him: *Zbigniew presided over this city [Krakow], a bishop notable for his literary erudition and charming personality. I received many letters from him [not extant], composed with plentiful wit and Roman refinement. In recognition of his singular merits, the Roman Church sent him a cardinal's hat* (EUR, 86, p. 139).

[2] Reference to Cicero not identified.

[3] "mundus"

[2] Sed antequam id aggrediar, prius me super tantae morae silentio excusatum ostendam. Enim vero accepto a te tuarum epistolarum libro justum[1] consentaneumque rationi[2] censui nihil ad rem ejus remandare, nisi ante totum[3] revidissem[4]. Et quamvis tali[5] in ipsum ferrer[6] desiderio, ut etiam uno, ut ajunt, cum spiritu, si possibile fuisset, laetus perlegissem, tanta tamen[7] multiplicium publicarum et privatarum rerum in dies vinciebat[8] occupatio, ut in lectitando volumen illud aliquot[9] absumerem aut verius transmitterem menses. Sed nec hactenus fateor[10] exegissem opus[11], nisi persaepe furtivis noctium[12] horis haesissem ad lectionem illius. Nunc illud utcumque[13] percontatus, si super laude ipsius, quantum satis foret, scribere vellem, legem epistolae, quae librum redolere non debet, excederem. Equidem, si verba epistolarum illarum ipsarumque contextum attendo, purgata ab omni umbrosa nodositate in morem[14] lactis candidi nitent et placido claroque sensu in audientium aures fluunt adeo, ut recte te verbis beati Hieronymi alloqui possim[15]: *magnum,* Aenea, *habes ingenium et infinitam sermonis suppellectilem et facile loqueris et pure*[16]*, facilitasque ipsa et puritas mixta prudentiae est. Multi* profecto, ut dicit Seneca, *sunt, qui ad id, quod non proposuerant scribere, alicujus verbi placentis decore vocantur*[17]*, quod tibi non* accidit, sed habes verba in {9v} potestate. Non enim te effert oratio nec longius, quam ordinasti[18], trahit, sed *pressa sunt omnia et rei* subiectae aptata. *Loqueris quantumvis, plerumque plus significas quam loqueris.*

[3] Ego sane, ex quo aliquid litterarum intelligere[19] coepi, detestatus sum morem illorum, qui, nescio qua persuasione ducti, eam in dicendo[20] et sententiarum suspensionem et verborum obscuritatem imitantur[21], ut non nisi ab attentissima mente, quid velint, intelligantur. ‘’

Fateor quippe, tunc demum scribentis dicentisque operam effectum suum assequi, si et dignitas accedit[22] orationi, quoniam, quae sine dignitate scribuntur,[23] ea nec sortiuntur fidem nec subsistere diu possunt. Quo pacto respondisse Senecam apostolo legimus: *profiteor me bene accepisse lectionem litterarum tuarum, quas Galatis Corinthisque misisti, et ita* quidem, *ut etiam cum honore divino eas*[24] audirem. *Spiritus enim sanctus in te*[25] *excelsos venerabilesque sensus exprimit. Vellem itaque*[26]*, ut*[27]*, cum res eximias proferas, ut majestati earum cultus sermonis non deesset.*

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[1] *omit.* HO
[2] *omit.* M5, V6, V7, V11, W1, X1, WO
[3] rem HO
[4] peruidissem F1; vidissem M5, W1, X1, HO, WO
[5] in re *add.* HO
[6] ferrerer M5; *corr. ex* ferrerer W1; ferretur X1
[7] me *add.* M5, X1, V11, W1
[8] veniebat F1, V5, HO; uincebat V7
[9] aliquod M5, W1, X1
[10] facere X1
[11] prius X1
[12] noctur[n]is X1
[13] utrumque HO
[14] molem X1
[15] possum X1, HO
[16] *omit.* V11
[17] notantur X1
[18] destinasti M5, V11, W1, X1, WO
[19] intelliges X1
[20] in dicendo : iudicando X1
[21] imitentur X1
[22] acaedat HO
[23] scribantur X1
[24] eos X1
[25] in te : vite X1
[26] ut *add.* V6; ita X1
[27] *omit.* F1, M5, V5, W1, X1, WO

[2] But before I come to that, I shall show that I am excused for such a long silence. When I received the volume with your letters,[1] I thought it just and reasonable not to comment on individual subjects before I had read the whole. I was drawn to it with such desire that I would joyfully have read it in one breath (as they say) had it been possible. Every day, however, I was overwhelmed by so many public and private matters that reading the book would have taken months. And I would not have finished it now unless I had often stayed up in the stealthy hours of the night to read it. Now, if asked to write adequately about its virtues, I would exceed the rule that a letter should not resemble a book. Indeed, considering the words of your letters and their composition, I see that they are entirely free of murky knots, shine like white milk, and flow right into the ears of the hearers with a pleasant and clear sense, so much so that I could rightly address you in the words of Saint Jerome,[2] *"You have a great intellect,"* Enea, *"and an inexhaustible store of language; your diction is fluent and pure; your fluency and purity are mingled with wisdom."*[3] "*Many writers,"* as Seneca[4] says, *"are tempted by the charm of some alluring phrase to some topic other than that which they had set themselves to discuss. But this has not been so in your case."* You are the master of your words, and they do not draw you further than you want. *All your words are compact and suited to the subject. You say all that you wish and often express more than you say.*[5]

[3] Indeed, since I began to understand something of literature, I have detested the manner of those who, led by I know not what persuasion, cultivate in their speech such convolution of sentences and obscurity of words that only the most acute mind can understand their meaning. Ultimately, the work of a writer and a speaker only achieves its effect if it is coupled with dignity, for what is written without dignity can neither gain trust nor last long. Thus, we read that Seneca wrote to the Apostle, *"I profess myself well content with the reading of your letters which you sent to the Galatians, and the Corinthians. They were such that I heard them with divine honour. For it is the holy spirit in you that expresses these exalted and venerable thoughts. I would therefore have you be mindful that when you speak of lofty matters, the polish of the style may not be wanting to the majesty of the thought."*[6]

[1] See letter 250.
[2] Jeronimus, Eusebius Sophronius (ca. 342-42): Church father.
[3] Jeronimus: *Epistolae,* 3: 58, 11 (Ad Paulinum) (MPL, 22, c. 585).
[4] Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (4 BCE – 65 CE): Roman philosopher, author, and statesman.
[5] Seneca: *Epistolae,* 58: 5.
[6] From the fictive 4th century *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam,* 7.

[4] Atque ego cultum hujuscemodi adesse satis tunc[1] arbitror, quando etsi non illorum priscorum oratorum, quos tantopere[2] miramur, facundiam, saltem eorum[3], quos[4] sub nostra aetate Italia habuit et genuit, scribentis stilum[5] pro viribus consectamur[6], quod adeo te, virorum clarissime, assecutum tuis in opusculis conspexi, ut novellum quendam Ciceronem te dixerim. Ipsum demum[7] genus eloquii tui cum Tulliana lucescit[8] puritate. Crebrum est in sententiis ut non modo seriis, sed et ludicris et jocosis de fugienda vanitate saeculi {10r} hujus deque aemulandis virtutibus et - quod praecipuum est[9] - de consequendis vitae caelestis[10] praemiis.

[5] Graves et egregias plerumque admiscueris sententias in tantum quidem, ut officium poetae, quo te per singulas titulasti epistolas, apprime videaris[11] prosecutus[12] esse. Poetarum enim, quos omnium[13] *magnarum rerum atque artium scientia numquam latuit, intentionem in id praecipue vergere* comperimus, si saltem ipsorum veri[14] aestimatores[15] sumus, *ut si quid in opusculis suis fabulosum inserant, vel ad moralem philosophiam, quae virtutibus hominum vitam instituit, vel ad physicam, quae naturae secreta* rimatur, pertinere innotescant[16], *vel ut splendidissimis laudibus virtutum, quas per exempla clarissimorum virorum deducunt, aut vitiorum dignis reprehensionibus, quae per*[17] *obscenorum hominum perditos*[18] *mores cogitationi nostrae detestanda subjiciunt, legentium animos et oculos dulcedine delectationis alliciant*[19].

[6] Fabulae, siquidem unde dictae sint[20], et quis primus inventor ipsarum extiterit, quaeve causae illas fingendi priscos poetas impulerint, memini[21] me Isidorum in suis *Etymologiis* narrantem legisse: *"fabulas,"* inquit, *"poetae a fando nominaverunt*[22]*, quia non sunt res factae, sed dumtaxat loquendo fictae, quae ideo sunt inductae, ut mutorum animalium inter se colloquio imago quaedam vitae hominum nasceretur"*[23], atque ideo *non sunt poeticae*[24] *intelligendae fabulae, prout cortex sonat exterior, quarum si latentem medullam acumine altioris*[25] *ingenii voluerimus perscrutari, inveniemus poetarum {10v} scripturas modo*[26] *naturalium rerum, modo laudabilium morum, modo egregiarum narratione historiarum* ad nostrae institutionem vitae luculento[27] dogmate esse inventas. Sed nunc haec et reliqua, quae ad laudem poetarum accurate dici possent, missa facio, quoniam supervacue viderentur illius artis et professori et peritissimo recensita.

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[1] nunc V7
[2] tanto tempore X1
[3] vos X1; eos M5, WO
[4] quo WO
[5] stilo HO
[6] consectatur M5; obsectamur V7; *corr. ex* consectatur W1
[7] dominii X1
[8] lucescat X1
[9] de fugienda vanitate vacat *add.* M5
[10] vitae caelestis : caelestis vitae F1
[11] videris M5; *corr. ex* videris W1
[12] persecutus M5
[13] omni HO
[14] voti X1
[15] extimatores V6, V7, V11
[16] innotescat V7
[17] *omit.* M5
[18] preditos V7
[19] alliciat V6, V7, V11; alliceant X1
[20] sunt F1
[21] nemini V7
[22] nominavere HO
[23] nosceretur WO
[24] non sunt poetice : poetice non sunt X1
[25] ultioris V7
[26] non HO
[27] luculenti M5, V6, V7, V11, W1, WO; loculenti X1

[4] And I think this kind of literary culture is sufficiently present when we strive to pursue not as much the eloquence of those ancient orators whom we admire so greatly as the style of the orators Italy has fostered in our age. In your works, I see that you, my illustrious friend, have succeeded in this so splendidly that I would call you a new Cicero. Indeed, your eloquence shines with Tullian[1] purity. Often, you speak not only in serious but also in joking and playful terms about fleeing the vanity of this world, emulating virtues, and - most importantly - attaining the rewards of heavenly life.

[5] You often compose such grave and splendid sentences that you completely justify having obtained the title[2] of poet, which you use to sign your letters. For we have found that when *the poets - whose knowledge of all great things and arts has always been evident - inserted something fictitious[3] in their works, their primary intention* (if we are not mistaken) *was to acquaint people with moral philosophy that teaches men to live virtuously or natural philosophy[4] that probes the secrets of nature. Moreover, they wanted to please and delight the minds and eyes of the hearers through extravagant praise of the virtues, based on the examples of illustrious men, or to make us consider - through well-deserved condemnation of the vices and abject ways of reprehensible men,[5] which should be abhorred.[6]*

[6] Concerning fictitious stores[7] and where they came from, who first invented them, and what reasons impelled the old poets to imagine them, I remember reading in Isidore's *Etymologiae, " Poets named 'fables' (fabula) from 'speaking' (fari), because they are not actual events that took place, but were only invented in words. These are presented with the intention that the conversation of imaginary dumb animals among themselves may be recognized as a certain image of the life of humans."*[8] Therefore, *we should not understand the fictitious stories of the poets in any superficial sense - as from the bark, so to say. Indeed, if we want to examine them more deeply - in the hidden marrow - we find that the poetical writings on natural phenomena, praiseworthy ways of life, and splendid histories* have the purpose of pleasantly teaching us how to live. But now I shall leave aside this and other things that may be suitably be said in praise of poets, for it seems superfluous to tell about them to one who is already a consummate practitioner of this art.

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[1] Ciceronian.
[2] "officium"
[3] "fabulosus"
[4] "physica"
[5] Quotations from Francesco da Fiano (c. 1350-1421: *Contra ridiculos oblocutores poetarum* (Tau, p. 301), an early humanist defence of the poets of Antiquity (Bacchelli).
[6] This passage is a rather free translation of a difficult and somewhat jumbled Latin text.
[7] "fabulae"
[8] Isidoro: *Etymologiae*, 1: 40.

[7] Ad aliud institutum - locos illos dico, quibus mentionem feceris illius non obscurae memoriae principis Wladislai, Hungariae et Poloniae regis - me converto. Fateor enim me in illis plura collegisse, quae in offensam dicti regis et primorum regni Poloniae taliter accepi, ut pro honore[1] et fama[2] eorum pernecessarium ducerem dictis illis apologiam facere. Scribis etenim in epistola ad illustrem principem Philippum Mariam[3], ducem Mediolanensem[4] [5], Wladislaum regem Hungariae regnum occupasse,[6] id tamen non suo judicio, quoniam[7] propter aetatem aliena regna non cupiebat sed suorum suasu actum esse.[8] In epistola vero ad Leonardum, episopum Pataviensem [9], ingressum, progressum ad usque occasum ejusdem largo satis stilo deliberativo simul et demonstrativo genere utens et narras et deplangis. Certum[10] autem habeo de optima virtute tua et integritate nihil ambigens[11] - sicut relator suggessit - ita te calamo tradidisse. Verum, quia me teste et conscio adversatur in multis veritas, rem illam apud nos coeptam et demum actam sic accipe.

[8] Subtracto ab hac luce serenissimo principe Alberto, Romanorum et Hungariae[12] rege[13], {11r} legati insignes, quorum[14] Johannes, tunc Segniensis, ex post Varadiensis episcopus princeps erat, Mathko[15], banus Sclavoniae, Johannes de Peren[16], magister thavarnicorum[17] regalium, Emericus de[18] Marcellis[19], Ladislaus de Palocz[20] et plures alii, quorum brevitatis gratia nominibus abstineo, regni Hungariae[21], Cracoviam veniunt[22] et exhibitis tam reginae quam[23] regni ejusdem praelatorum et baronum litteris[24], oratione extensa referunt per obitum[25] Alberti regis se et regnum gubernatore et[26] defensore destitutos. Exponunt[27] maximum[28] periculum regno illi[29], immo fidei sanctae et toti Christianissimo populo[30] propter Teucros[31] infestissimos et commetaneos hostes imminere, et cum se nullum aliud eis post Deum caeli tam efficax offerat praesidium, quo ejusmodi necessitati ipsorum opportune[32] consulant, per viscera misericordiae Dei et[33] per ejus sanguinem in redemptionem nostram fusum obsecrant, precantur et cum lacrimarum effusione instant[34], si zelum Christi habeamus, si[35] fides ejus et animarum salus nobis curae est, compatiamur, misereamur et, quam possumus, ipsis feramus opem et determinatius sua commissa[36] prosequendo[37], dari[38] sibi Wladislaum, primogenitum parentis sui, in regem et defensorem summis desideriis petunt.

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[1] taliter accepi … honore *omit.* V7
[2] fame X1
[3] Marie M5, W1, X1
[4] Mediolani X1
[5] praememoratum *add.* M5; ~~prae-memoratum~~ *seq.* W1
[6] occupavisse M5
[7] *omit.* HO
[8] *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V7, HO
[9] episcopum Pataviensem : Pataviensem episcopum X1, WO
[10] cretum X1
[11] quod *add.* M5; ~~quod~~ *seq.* W1
[12] regnorum *add.* M5; ~~regnorum~~ *seq.* W1
[13] regi X1
[14] dominus *add.* M5; ~~dominus~~ *seq.* W1; nunc *add.* X1
[15] Matheo F1; Matico V5; Mathico M5, V6, V7, V11, X1
[16] de Peren *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V7, *[blank space]*, V11, HO
[17] Tawernicorum M5; Thawernicorum W1; Theutonicorum X1
[18] *omit.* F1, V5 *[blank space]*
[19] Marcelliis F1, V5
[20] de Palocz *:* Polen F1, V5, V6, V7, V11, HO; Polonem M5; de Polonis W11; Ponlous X1
[21] predicti *add.* M5; ~~predicti~~ *seq.* W1
[22] venerunt X1
[23] regni Hungariae … quam *omit.* V7
[24] in vim illarum *add.* M5; ~~in vim illarum~~ *seq.* W1
[25] dicti *add.* M5; ~~dicti~~ *seq.* W1
[26] ac F1, V5, WO
[27] *seq.* ~~quomodo~~ V6; quomodo *add.* V11; quam *add.* M5, W1, X1, WO
[28] *omit.* V7
[29] illo M5
[30] Christianissimo populo : Christianismo M5, W1, X1, WO
[31] T(h)urc(h)os *et passim* F1, V5, HO
[32] oportuno X1
[33] omit. W1
[34] ut *add.* M5; et *add.* W1, X1, WO
[35] *omit.* HO
[36] promissa F1, V5; ipsis *add.* M5, W1
[37] persequendo M5
[38] dare HO

[7] I now turn to my second topic, viz., those passages where you mention Prince Wladyslaw,[1] King of Hungary and Poland, of illustrious memory. I must confess that I found several of these passages so offensive towards the said king and the magnates of the Kingdom of Poland that I must defend their honour and reputation. In your letter to the Illustrious Prince, Duke Filippo Maria[2] of Milan, you write that King Wladyslaw occupied the Kingdom of Hungary[3] not because he himself wanted it (because of his young age, he did not desire other kingdoms), but because his own people pressured him.[4] In another letter,[5] to Bishop Leonhard of Passau,[6] you broadly describe and deplore (using both deliberative and demonstrative speech[7]) his rise, progress and fall. I have no doubts that you wrote about these matters as they had been reported to you - and in the spirit of your excellent virtue and integrity. However, since I know that your version of the events in many ways conflicts with the truth, please hear how the matter began with us and how it continued later.

[8] When the Most Serene Prince, Albrecht,[8] King of the Romans and of Hungary, had left this world,[9] distinguished ambassadors - among whom were their leader, János,[10] Bishop of Senj and later of Várad, Matko, Ban of Slavonia,[11] János Perényi,[12] Master of the Royal Treasury,[13] Emerich Marczali,[14] Laszlo Paloci[15] and several others from the Kingdom of Hungary whose names I omit for the sake of brevity - came to Krakow. Having produced letters from both the queen[16] and the prelates and barons of their kingdom, they gave a long speech about how, at King Albrecht's death, they and the kingdom had lost their ruler and defender. They set out the great danger threatening their kingdom but also Holy Faith and the entire Christian people because of the Turks[17], their bitter enemies and neighbours. And since after God in Heaven nobody else offered the powerful protection needed in this crisis, they asked, begged, and tearfully implored and entreated us - by God's mercy and the blood He shed for our redemption - to take pity on them and, if we had any zeal for Christ and cared for his Faith and the salvation of souls, to help them as much as possible, resolutely take up their cause, and give them Wladyslaw, the firstborn son of his father, as their king and defender.

[1] Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).
[2] Filippo Maria Visconti.
[3] Letter 165: 2.
[4] Letter 165: 6.
[5] Letter 190.
[6] Leonhard Laiming
[7] Deliberative, forensic (judicial) and demonstrative (epideictic) speech are the three main categories of classical oratory.
[8] Albrecht II (Habsburg).
[9] 27 October 1439.
[10] János Dominis (-1444): Bishop of Senj, 1432-1440, and of Varad, 1440-1444.
[11] Matko Talloci (-1444/1445): Ban of Slavonia from 1435 and of Croatia from 1436.
[12] János Perényi (-1458): Master of the Treasury. See Novák, p. 79.
[13] Engel, p. 282
[14] Emerich Marszaly: Hungarian noble.
[15] László Pálóci (-1470): Steward of the Household, 1439-1446. Judge Royal, from 1446. See Engel, p. 294; Novák, p. 81
[16] Elizabeth of Luxembourg (1409 -1442): Daughter of Emperor Sigismund and Empress Barbara of Celje. Wife of Albrecht II. Mother of Ladislaus the Post-humous.
[17] Teucrians.

[9] Res haec grandis admodum erat et magno dirigenda consilio et ideo explosa fuit omnis acceleratio, sano semper inimica consilio. Et tandem post plures dies[1] responsum hujuscemodi datum est non convenire Polonis in {11v} Hungariam manus protendere[2], ubi regina praegnans illico posthumum haeredem paritura esset[3]. Ad quae illi tales mox protulerunt instructiones consensu et collaudatione[4] communi reginae et praelatorum regnique majorum factas, quibus res[5] illa, ut conficeretur[6] ab omni timore et impedimento purgata ostendebatur, adeo ut quidquid eorum[7] petitioni et desiderio objiceremus, jam paratas responsiones proferrent[8].

[10] Nunc ergo, cum taliter expostulati et quasi per[9] Deum adjurati communem susceperimus causam[10], fer sententiam, qua ratione Wladislaus rex dici possit regnum illud occupasse, pro quo etiam non dubitavit[11] sanguinem et animam ponere, quo pacto[12] deinde praelatos[13] et proceres regni Poloniae cupiditate et ambitione motos[14] quis dixerit, qui suorum obliti commodorum pro communi utilitate rei publicae Christianae, suo se rege spoliantes, alieno eum[15] populo regnoque tradiderint[16], quamvis intelligerent, eo[17] modo regnum proprium et res ipsorum quam maxime negligi. Sed vicit, ut dignum erat[18], rei Christiane et ecclesiae Dei respectus. Defendit nimirum nos ad rem hanc ab hujusmodi crimine, quia ex dono Dei potens regnum proprium habemus, sufficiens ad omnia, quae regno[19] regnicolisque sunt[20] necessaria. Protenditur fere trecentis miliaribus sive leucis, a mari septentrionis usque ad mare meridianum se porrigens, intra se copioso plurimum milite abundat, gleba quoque ubere metallo et aere multiplici ferax[21]. Nihil rerum alienarum cupimus. Faxit[22] deus, {12r} ut propriis rebus[23] bene gerendis compotes, industrii et solertes simus[24].

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[1] erat datum *add.* M5; ~~erat datum~~ *seq.* W1
[2] quod *add.* X1
[3] hujuscemodi datum … esset : illudque signanter memoratum quia heres haberetur in regno quodque regina tunc praegnans et postumum gerens in utero alium heredem erat illi paritura M5; *corr. ex* illudque signanter memoratum quia heres haberetur in regno quodque regina tunc praegnans et postumum gerens in utero alium heredem erat illi paritura W1
[4] laudatione V5
[5] nos X1
[6] confitentur HO
[7] ipsorum M5, V11, W1, X1
[8] proferebant M5; *corr. ex* proferebant W1
[9] *omit.* HO
[10] et bella regni illius *add.* M5; ~~et bella regni illius~~ *seq.* W1
[11] dubitat X1
[12] quo pacto : cedo deinde qualiter M5; ~~cedo deinde qualiter~~ *seq.* W1
[13] prelati M5, W1
[14] nisi *add.* X1
[15] cum HO, WO
[16] tradiderunt WO
[17] motos quis … eo : ut eis imponitur eum in regnum illud obtruserint, qui rei publicae et commodi sui proprii facti immemores voluerunt regem suum alieno contradere populo et regno cum non dubitarent hoc M5; *corr. ex* ut eis imponitur eum in regnum illud obtruserint, qui rei publicae et commodi sui proprii facti immemores voluerunt regem suum alieno contradere populo et regno cum non dubitarent hoc W1
[18] eos *add.* M5
[19] regni M5, W1
[20] *omit.* HO
[21] dives c*orr. ex* ferax F1; dives V5
[22] fassit V6, V7; ss *add.* superlin. V11
[23] *add. interlin.* W1
[24] sumus V7, HO

[9] This immensely important matter had to be handled with the greatest circumspection, and it was decided to avoid any haste, always an enemy of sound judgement. After several days, the Poles gave the answer that it was improper for them to extend their hands to Hungary, where a pregnant queen might give birth to a posthumous heir. In reply, the Hungarians produced the instructions they had been given with the common consent (and praise) of the queen, the prelates, and the magnates of the kingdom, showing that they could do this thing without fear or obstacles. Indeed, they had ready answers to all our objections to their petition and desire.

[10] [You see how the Hungarians] entreated and beseeched us, for God's sake, to take up the common cause. So, tell me now: how can anyone claim that King Ladislaus occupied that kingdom,[1] for which he did not hesitate to give his life and soul? And how can one say that the prelates and nobles of the Kingdom of Poland were moved by greed and ambition when they – setting aside their own interests and for the common good of the Christian commonwealth – gave up their own king and gave him to another people and kingdom, fully aware that thus they greatly neglected their own kingdom and affairs. But - as was fitting - their regard for Christianity and God's Church won. A strong defence against your accusation[2] is that, by the gift of God, we have a powerful kingdom of our own, sufficient for all that is necessary for the kingdom and its inhabitants. It stretches about three hundred miles (or leagues) from the Northern Sea to the Mediterranean. It abounds in soldiers, has fertile lands, and is rich in metals. We desire nothing belonging to others. May God grant us to be competent, industrious, and skilful in administering our own affairs.

[1] Hungary.

[2] That the Poles occupied Hungary.

[11] Potuit, non abnego[1], fieri, ut scribis, quod regina, enixa infantulum Ladislaum, mandaverit legatis illis, ne quid ulterius attingerent, sed cur ipsa mentis suae illud arcanum[2] regi et nobis non[3] aperuit[4], qui per litteras et legatos[5] invitabamur? Audivimus, non nego[6], et nos quoque novum illud de nato puellulo, sed[7] rege demum Budam ingresso tumque sensimus[8], quia regina adversaretur et dissentiret. Sed sera visa est nobis ejus[9] hujuscemodi[10] poenitentia et absonum valde rati sumus, ut ipsi[11] regi ad locum illum adducto[12] illuderetur et ut plurimarum nodositatum, quae in hac re interponebantur, resolutio facilior proveniat[13], copiam litterarum regni Hungarie, per quas omnium calumniarum eliduntur[14] instantiae, praesentibus inclusam facio.

[12] Addis deinde[15] Dionysium, archiepiscopum Strigoniensem, et Ladislaum banum[16] de[17] Gara sub lege et litteris salviconductus Budam tunc advenisse demumque rupto foedere pacis inibi captos et sub interminatione mortis, ut alter coronaret regem, alter eidem juraret fidelitatem, coactos. Hoc ego lectitans, supra modum miratus sum tam effrenem fingendi licentiam, qui illud ausus fuerit[18] suggerere casto pectori tuo. Aderam et ego illis diebus Budae. Obversatus sum illi praestantissimo cardinali et praesuli. Vidi eum debito honore exceptum plenaque libertate, quoad voluit, ibidem moratum, sed[19] nulla vi impulsum {12v} fidelitatis praestitisse sacramentum et peractis per ipsum coronationis solemnibus ad suos revertisse penates. Quod ita se res habuerit, idem ipse - adhuc enim vita fruitur - de se dicat testimonium.

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[1] id *add.* V11, HO
[2] innotescere *add.* M5; ~~innotescere~~ *seq.* W1
[3] audiuimus V7
[4] duxerit M5; ~~duxerit~~ *seq.* W1
[5] ipsius *add.* M5
[6] audivimus non nego : nec quidem suspicari hactenus possum nam et inter itinerandum M5; ~~nec quidem suspicari hactenus possum nam et inter itinerandum~~ *seq.* W1
[7] sensimus M5; ~~sensimus~~ *seq.* W1
[8] tumque sensimus : primum rumore nuntio intelligere cepimus M5; : ~~primum rumore nuntio intelligere cepimus~~ *seq.* W1
[9] *omit.* V7
[10] hujusmodi HO
[11] ipso M5, W1, X1, WO
[12] sibi taliter *add.* M5; ~~sibi taliter~~ *seq.* W1
[13] perveniat M5
[14] eluduntur V5; ediduntur V7
[15] *omit.* M5; dein W1, WO
[16] *omit.* V7, V11 *(lacuna)*
[17] banum ~~de~~ *add.* F1; banum de *omit. [blank space]* V5
[18] fuit M5
[19] et M5, W1, X1, WO

[11] I do not deny that, as you write, the queen, having given birth to the infant Ladislaus,[1] may have requested the ambassadors to not proceed with the matter.[2] But why, then, did she not inform our king[3] and us, who had been invited by letters and ambassadors, about her intentions? We did hear - I do not deny it - the news of the newborn boy, but by then, the king had already entered Buda, and only then did we hear of the queen's opposition and dissent. But we considered that this change of mind was both too late and unreasonable and that the king, having already been brought to to Buda, was being mocked. But to make clear what actually happened in this whole complicated affair, I include in the present letter, the missive from the Kingdom of Hungary, which defuses all the calumnious accusations.

[12] Moreover, you write that when the Archbishop of Esztergom[4] and Ban László Garai,[5] with legal guarantees and safe conducts, came to Buda, the peace agreement was broken, and they were arrested. Under threat of death, the archbishop was forced to crown the king[6] and the ban to swear fidelity. When I read this, I marvelled at the unbridled inventiveness shown by the person who told this to your blameless self. I was in Buda during those days and met the excellent cardinal and bishop. I saw him received with due honours, and he stayed there in full freedom as long as he wished. He swore the oath of fidelity under no compulsion whatsoever, and when he had performed the coronation rites, he went home. Since he is still alive, he can himself tell about these events and bear witness.

[1] Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).
[2] Of offering the Hungarian crown to the Polish king.
[3] Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon).
[4] Szécsy, Dénes (ca. 1410-1465): Archbishop of Esztergom from 1440 to his death. Cardinal, 1439.
[5] Garai, László (ca. 1410-1459): Hungarian nobleman. Ban of Macsó. Palatine of Hungary, 1447-1458.
[6] Wladyslaw III (Jagiellon)

[13] Non diffiteor quidem Ladislaum de[1] Gara[2], modernum palatinum Hungariae, et per primores regni et per populum stimulante forsitan illos justa ira, quod sub custodia ejus corona regni de loco suo sublata erat, captum et, quod scripta tua non habent, in capitis periculum adductum fuisse. Ea tamen non pro caligine et obfuscatione[3] nominis detergenda[4] Wladislai regis sed pro sempiterna atque immortali laude postero aevo promenda induco[5]. Ipse, siquidem honoris sui et foederis dati maximus custos, quamvis totius vulgi animos gravi furore erga[6] palatinum[7] videret incensos, adeo, ut etiam vix manus aliqui continerent, habita oratione ad populum orientem[8] seditionis in[9] palatinum[10] et suos adhaerentes facem miro mansuetudinis more extinxit asserens se malle regno Hungariae deserto ad proprios descendere[11] penates, quam fidem palatino datam praevaricatum iri dataque populo optione, quod mallent[12] eligere aut suum subitum[13] discessum aut palatini dimissionem, mox consensu et acclamatione populi palatinum et in libertatem et in vitam vindicavit[14]. Huic[15] beneficio tali et tanto, quo[16] reliquam omnem consecutus est lucem, pessime respondens in suae libertatis auctorem sua et multorum aliorum arma convertit[17], sed justo Dei permittente judicio omne robur suum per[18] exercitum {13r} regium[19] contritum confractumque est. Multa[20] milia in castris hostium caesa, ipse[21] turpi fuga ex morte se subtraxit[22].

[14] Gloriam postea et palmam triumphi de Teucris[23] habiti[24] non regi Wladislao, sed Johanni vaivodae[25] maluisti ascribere, quod[26] ille[27] solus tamquam rei militaris peritissimus hoc[28] bellum confecerit. Profecto cum soli Deo omnis et praesertim belli victoria et successus dandi sint, et nusquam minus quam in bello eventus respondeant[29], non expedit in ea re refellendi gratia aliquid inaniter contrahiscere. Est tamen toti Hungarie regno res vulgatissima, quoniam si quid vaivoda ille[30] belligerando feliciter gessit, rege praesente et[31] suis actum est. Eo autem absente[32], omnes bellici apparatus per[33] vaivodam totiens repetiti[34] in maximam regni illius perniciem perierunt[35]. Complures inclyti barones et proceres et fere innumeri milites caesi sunt. Vaivoda, quia peritus rei militaris et fugae, salvus semper elabitur. Si verum est, quod dico, non usquequaque contendo, quia non certa scientia sed relatione illud[36] accepi.

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[1] *del.* F1; *omit. [blank space]* V5
[2] Garam V5
[3] fuscacione M5; corr. ex fuscacione W1
[4] praedicti M5, W1; ~~predicti~~ *seq.* W1
[5] indicio M5
[6] prefatum M5; ~~prefatum~~ *seq.* W1
[7] prelatinum M5
[8] urientem X1
[9] *omit.* X1
[10] predictum *add.* M5; ~~predictum~~ *seq.* W1
[11] discedere M5, W1, X1; discendere V11
[12] *corr. ex* vellet F1; vellet HO
[13] subditum HO
[14] uendicauit F1, V5, V7, HO
[15] hinc HO
[16] *omit.* HO
[17] commovit M5, W1, X1
[18] et X1
[19] regnum M5, V7; regni HO
[20] multaque M5, W1, X1
[21] ipsi X1
[22] traxit HO
[23] Turcis HO
[24] habitam V11, W1, X1, HO, WO
[25] Waivo… *et passim* W1
[26] que *add.* M5
[27] ipse M5
[28] illud M5; *corr. ex* illud WO
[29] respondent M5; *corr. ex* respondent W1
[30] vaivoda ille : ille waivoda X1
[31] cum V5
[32] occulto M5; *corr. ex* occulto semper tamen Dei judicio absumpto W1
[33] dictum *add.* M5; ~~dictum~~ *seq.* W1; *omit.* X1
[34] ~~rei militaris et fugae salvus semper elabitur~~ *seq.* W1
[35] abierunt M5; *corr. ex* abierunt W1
[36] *corr. ex* illud F1; hoc V5, V6

[13] Concerning Lázló Garai, the current Palatine of Hungary, I do not deny at all that the magnates of the realm and the people (possibly aroused by their just anger that, under his wardship, the crown of the kingdom[1] was removed from its place[2]) took him prisoner and that he - which you do not mention - was in danger of his life. I do not say this to clear King Wladyslaw's name of dark and vile slanders but to ensure his eternal and immortal praise in later ages. For when he, the supreme guardian of his own honour and the oath he had sworn, saw the entire crowd so incensed with anger against the palatine that some could barely restrain their hands, he gave a speech to the people, in which he, with remarkable mildness, extinguished the flaming torch. He declared that he would rather abandon the Kingdom of Hungary and return to his home than break his pledge to the palatine, and he gave the people a choice between his speedy departure and the release of the palatine. Then, with the assent and acclamation of the people, he gave the palatine his freedom and life. But Lázló repaid this great favour, through which he gained his life, by turning his own and many others' arms against the man[3] who gave him his freedom. However, God's just judgement permitted all his strength to be broken and destroyed by the royal army. Many thousands in his army were killed, and he himself only avoided death through shameful flight.

[14] The glory and triumphal palm obtained later [in the crusade] against the Turks[4] you would rather attribute to Voivoide János[5] than to King Wladyslaw, as if it was János alone who, being highly experienced in warfare, conducted the war. However, God alone gives victory and success, especially in war, and the outcome of a battle is never certain. Therefore, it is inappropriate to engage in a vain dispute on this issue. But throughout the whole Kingdom of Hungary, it is well known that when the voivode conducted the war successfully, he did so in the presence of the king and his people. When the king was absent, all the voivode's military campaigns failed, to the great detriment of the kingdom. Numerous renowned barons, nobles, and almost innumerable soldiers were killed. But the voivode, a specialist both in warfare and flight, always escaped unharmed. However, I do not claim that what I say is true, for I do not have certain knowledge about it but only rely on what I have heard.

[1] Crown of Saint Stephen. A unique symbol of Hungarian royal power.

[2] The crown was removed by orders of Queen Elizabeth and came to Friedrich III with the boy Ladislaus, the emperor's ward. It became a bone of contention between Hungary and the emperor but was eventually returned to Hungary.

[3] King Wladyslaw.

[4] The Battle of Nish, November 1443, and the Battle of Kunovica, 2/5 January 1444, in both of which the Christian army was victorious (Setton, pp. 292-293).

[5] János Hunyadi.

[15] Dum bellum illud alterum[1] et nostris rebus quam[2] infaustum contra Teucros[3] strueretur, erat spes Hungaris numquam tempus illis datum fuisse, quo melius de victoria concipiendum fuerit. Tum[4] contra solitum magna pars militiae Polonorum, qui regi aderant, ad lares proprios in Poloniam redierant[5]. Quaerentibus cunctis, cur id[6] fieret[7], responderunt[8], decrevisse Hungaros absentibus pugnare Polonis, ne praesentibus ipsis ad Polonos victoria redundaret[9]. Sed multo {13v} consultius sibi Hungari prospexissent, si[10] et alii nedum ex Poloniae regno, sed et de aliis Christianitatis partibus[11] fuissent accersiti. Utinam saltem, qui tunc affuerunt Poloni[12], fuissent retenti ad dimicandum contra illos saevissimos hostes! Ad ultimum si[13] saltem vaivoda ille cum Hungaris pro Christi laude hostibus terga non vertisset[14], fortasse malum hoc, quod hactenus plangimus, secutum non fuisset. Vaivoda, rei militaris gnarus, taliter sibi et suis consulere non erubuit. Poloni hoc ex parentibus[15] condidicerunt, ut ex bello numquam fugiant: vincant aut moriantur necesse est.

[16] Sic accidit, quod rex, cujus casum[16], vir clarissime, digne deplangis et virtutes animique regii dotes aliquando non taces, cum suis Polonis, quia pro fide Christi bonum[17] certamen subiit et perstitit[18], occideretur[19] et, ut[20] sperandum est, generosum illum spiritum polo[21] daret[22], et quem in crebris epistolarum tuarum passibus jam de immoderato regni Hungariae ambitu, jam de inutili administratione belli contra Turcos[23] initi carpis nec suis sed alienis auspiciis triumphos de Turcis[24] relatos applicas. Plures graves scriptores miris[25] in caelum afferunt[26] illum laudibus dignumque judicant, qui universalis ecclesiae decreto in caelicolarum numerum translatus ut martyr et sanctus veneretur ex eo praesertim respectu, quod bella toti Europae fere[27] [28] formidabilia, quorum eum[29] spectatorem vix anni patiebantur pro fide orthodoxa dilatanda, pro populo Dei defensando {14r} non solum impavide[30] susceperit et animose[31] administraverit, sed etiam a Johanne de Huniad, cui omnem gloriam praeteritorum triumphorum ascribis, desertus ad extremum pro castris Dei dimicans cruorem fuderit in illo ultimo periculo suos adhortatus, ut malIent honeste patrio[32] more[33] mori quam turpiter fugere.

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[1] secundum M5, V11, W1, X1, WO
[2] quoniam V11
[3] Turchos F1, V5, HO
[4] *omit.* M5; *add. superlin*. W1
[5] redierat M5
[6] *omit.* X1
[7] fierent X1
[8] taliter velle et *add.* M5; ~~taliter velle~~ et *seq.* W1
[9] absentibus pugnare … redundaret : ne si adessent Polonis non illis M5; *corr ex*. ne si adessent Polonis non illis sed Polonis gloria victoriae daretur W1
[10] sed M5
[11] *omit.* HO
[12] fuissent accersiti … Poloni *omit.* V7
[13] jam *add.* M5, W1, X1, WO
[14] vertissent M5; *corr. ex* vertissent W1
[15] suis *add.* M5, W1, X1
[16] causam X1
[17] donum M5; *corr. ex* donum W1
[18] prestitit F1, HO
[19] occideret M5, W1, V11, X1, HO
[20] polo M5; *corr. ex* polo W1
[21] *omit.* M5; *add. superlin.* W1
[22] dedit M5, V11, W1, X1
[23] Teuchros M5, WO
[24] Teuchris WO
[25] minus X1
[26] efferunt M5, V11, W1, X1, WO
[27] Europe fere toti F1; fere toti Europae X1, W1, WO
[28] *omit.* M5
[29] enim V7
[30] pavide HO
[31] animo V7
[32] patrie M5, X1; *corr. ex* patrie W1
[33] patrio more *omit.* HO

[15] When the second campaign[1] - disastrous to our cause - was being prepared against the Turks[2], the Hungarians were hopeful, believing there had never been a time more propitious for victory. Then, most unusually, a large part of the Polish army that was with the king returned to their homes in Poland. When all asked why, they answered that the Hungarians had decided to fight without the Poles, lest the victory be attributed to the Poles if they were present. But if the Hungarians had acted much more sensibly, they would have called in men not only from the Kingdom of Poland but also from the other parts of Christendom.[3] Would that they had at least retained the Poles who were there to fight against those ferocious enemies! And finally, if the voivode had not fled the enemies with his Hungarians (to the glory of Christ!), then the disaster[4] we still mourn today might not have happened.[5] The voivode, a military expert, was not ashamed to look only to his own safety and that of his men. But the Poles have learnt from their parents never to flee from a battle: they must either win or die.

[16] Thus it happened, distinguished sir, that the king, whose fall you deplore so rightly and whose virtues and royal qualities of mind you otherwise mention, was killed together with his Poles while fighting and continuing[6] to fight the good fight for the Faith of Christ and, as we may hope, gave up his noble spirit to Heaven. But you attribute the triumphs against the Turks to the man[7] whom, in many passages in your letters, you criticise for his immoderate ambitions for the Kingdom of Hungary and his incompetent conduct of the war against the Turks, though his triumphs were won not under his own but under others'[8] auspices. However, many serious writers praise Wladyslaw to th skies and consider him worthy to be included by the Church among the inhabitants of Heaven and venerated as a martyr and saint. They do so especially because, at an age when he should really have been an observer only, he fearlessly undertook and boldly conducted wars, fearsome to nearly all of Europe, to propagate the right Faith, and to defend the people of God. But in the end, Wladyslaw was deserted by the János Hunyadi, to whom you attribute all the glory of the past triumphs, while he was fighting for God's army and shedding his blood. He even, in the last peril, exhorted his men to die honourably in the manner of their fathers rather than flee with shame.

[1] The Crusade of Varna, 1444.
[2] "Teucri"
[3] The Christian army consisted of mostly Hungarian regular troops forces from Poland, Transsylvania, Croatia, Bosnia, heavy cavalry units from Western Europe, and mercenaries from Eastern Europe (Pogacias, p. 331).
[4] "malum"
[5] The Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444, in which the Christian army was defeated (Setton, pp. 303 ff.)
[6] Contrary to Hunyadi, who fled.
[7] János Hunyadi.
[8] King Wladyslaw.

[17] Tempus aptissimum visum est, quo nunc cum paternitate tua[1] de rebus his[2] agerem! Constantinopoli urbe nobilissima vitiis nostris capta, ad cujus captivitatem[3] judicio multorum laudatus[4] dux exercitus Johannes, gubernator, adjecit differentias[5] pacis pactis firmando cum Turcis hostibus, Graecis, quod nusquam[6] alias ante practicatum erat, non inclusis.

[18] Aliam te[7] reor nunc sententiam de Wladislao rege et gubernatore secuto hoc infausto et non tam misero quam[8] miserabili casu laturum, aliam laudem commendationemque Wladislai regis in pectore tuo natam. Non dubito, ut velles, si daretur facultas, non vita solum sed etiam Hungariae regno nunc illum potitum esse. Nec ab re[9]: multos enim[10] habes hujus tuae sententiae, quam ego tacitus te gerere suspicor imitatores, quorum omnium judicio, si Wladislaus rex superstes viveret, universa Christianitas captionem Constantinopolis non defleret, quinimmo laetaretur[11] nunc universam Europam brachio suo fidei nostrae et cultui restitutam. Non sua ille[12] temeritate, ut aliquibus asserere placuit, sed scelere nostro victus est[13], qui illum et in custodiendo stricto[14] fefellimus et in administrando bello non adjuvimus, sed irrisimus. Nos et rege et optimis heroicisque viris cum[15] fratribus, cum[16] cognatis, amicis et affinibus spoliati, sortem tum publicam tum privatam lugere cogimur et afflictas eversasque res publicas deploramus. Jam magnam partem Europae, jam Greciae imperium Turcus occupavit, jam et a vaivoda Moldaviae, feodali regni nostri Poloniae, ceterisque principibus gravia tributa requirit. Nihil tamen defensae, nihil armorum, nihil gentium comparari videmus, quoniam qui talem casum, tale vulnus restauret et rescindat, alius Wladislaus non extat.

[19] Ad arcendum frigus brumale a corpore paternitatis tuae, quod in callida regione ortum moleste hiemem suffert, mitto[17] paternitati[18] tuae per hunc spectabilem militem Nicolaum Chrzastowsky pelliceam mardurinam[19]. Rogo digneris eam referre in acceptum. Incolumem te et mei in orationibus memorem conservet dominus Christus. Amen.

Ex Cracovia, decima Septembris 1453[20] [21].

[1] *omit.* V7
[2] *omit.* V7
[3] captionem M5, V11, W1, X1, WO
[4] a te *add.* M5, V11, W1, X1, WO
[5] sufferentias M5, X1, V11, W1, WO
[6] nunquam V5
[7] *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V7, HO
[8] misero quam *omit.* V5
[9] id acum puto *add.* HO
[10] etenim HO
[11] letentur X1
[12] illa V5, X1
[13] *omit*. HO
[14] stricte X1
[15] tum F1, HO
[16] tum HO
[17] *del*. F1
[18] potestati HO
[19] marturinam F1, V5, V6, V7, V11, HO
[20] 1454 V7
[21] pontificis s.d.n. Nicolai papae quinti anno septimo *add.* X1

[17] I consider that now was a most appropriate time to take up this matter with Your Paternity when the noble city of Constantinople was conquered because of our faults. Indeed, many believe that the commander of the army, Governor János, so highly praised by many, contributed to the conquest by making a treaty with the Turkish enemies that excluded the Greeks - which had never been done before.

[18] I trust that you will now have a different view of King Wladyslaw and the governor and this whole unfortunate and pitiable (more than miserable) misadventure and that you will, with all your heart, now praise and commend King Wladislaw. I am sure that you would now want that he - were it only possible - had gained not only his life but also the Kingdom of Hungary. And I believe many would share such an opinion, which I privately believe you to hold. For they all think that if Wladyslaw had survived, the whole Christendom would not have to lament the conquest of Constantinople, but would rejoice that his arm had restored all of Europe to our faith and cult. He was defeated not, as some say, because of his own audacity but because of our sins, for we failed to protect him closely and did not help him in waging war - nay, we scorned him. We have been robbed of our king and his excellent and heroic men, brothers, relatives, friends, and allies. So, we must now mourn both our public and private fate and lament the calamity suffered by the commonwealth. The Turk has occupied a large part of Europe and the whole Greek Empire. He now demands heavy tributes from the Voivode of Moldavia,[1] a vassal of our Polish Kingdom, and from other princes. Still, we see nothing being prepared in terms of defence, arms, and men, and that is because there is no other Wladyslaw to remedy this disaster and heal this wound.

[19] To keep the winter's cold from Your Paternity's body, which was born in a warm region[2] and suffers from the rigours of our winter, I send a marten coat to Your Paternity with the distinguished knight, Nikolaus Chrzastowsky.[3] Please let me know if you have received it.

May the Lord Christ keep you safe and sound and remembering me in your prayers. Amen. From Krakow, 10 September 1453.

[1] Alexandru II (1429 -1455): prince (voivode) of Moldavia, 1449, 1452-1454, 1455.

[2] Italy.

[3] Not identified.

367. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (18 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 144r-146r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 148*[3];
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 138, pp. 253-259 (on the basis of W1).*

{144r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Petro de Noxeto, comiti palatino, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Susceptis litteris tuis una cum brevibus sanctissimi domini nostri mox Caesaream majestatem adivi[5], quae tunc forte in mensa[6] sedebat. Expectavi finem prandii. Deinde, semotis arbitris, reddidi sibi apostolica scripta, fingens me nescire, quid illa continerent. Caesar, ut aperirem utque legerem jussit, quo facto remansit aliquantulum territus dixitque: “Alia ista scripta sunt, quam quae nuper accepimus.” Cui ego, “Nova,” inquam, “Caesar, impedimenta nova remedia quaerunt.” Deinde prosecutus, multa in eam partem locutus sum, ut mentem Caesaream ad voluntatem domini nostri sanctissimi perducerem, petivi quoque dari responsum. Sed multum animus ejus turbatus erat, duo potissime considerans: unum, quod electus contra voluntatem suam in civitate[7] imperialis feudi[8] obtineret episcopatum; alterum, quod tam manifeste et publice per oratores electi diffamatus esset. Quibus cum mederi verbis studerem responsumque tandem deposcerem, ait se velle reliquos consiliarios habere atque cum his plenius deliberare jussitque, ut cum illis venirem ad se.

[2] Res est dilata per aliquos dies, ut est modus (practice) curiae nostrae, quae nihil absolvit sine mora. Cum reventum est ad consilium, magister Ulricus Sonnenberger et ego soli fuimus, qui partes electi juvimus conatique magnopere sumus Caesaris mentem ad illum inclinare. Sed neque Caesar flecti potuit, neque reliqui consiliarii ejus propositi erant, ut electo mos gereretur. Sic res impedita est, eo tamen deductum negotium est, ut placeat Caesari ecclesiae Pataviensi provideri de quacumque persona excepto electo, quemadmodum ex litteris imperialibus plene percipies. Neque plus hac vice obtineri potuit[9]. Facit sibi hoc incommodum electus ipse, qui nimis visus[10] est Caesarem parvifacere. Misit enim huc unum ex suis[11] secretissimum, marescallum scilicet[12] curiae suae, per eumque non 10 milia, ut mentiti sunt oratores sui Romae, sed duo milia tantum florenorum obtulit, si Caesar sibi injurias remittens pro eo papae scriberet. Visum fuit Caesari grave tantam injuriam pro tam parva pecunia remittere[13]. {144v} Ille autem dixit se[14] ad suum dominum iturum reversurumque post dies aliquot cum majori potestate sperareque bene posse negotium terminari. Sic ille abiit neque umquam reversus est.

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[1] DV, 293-297
[2] *Autograph.*
[3] DV, f. 132r-133v
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Petro de Noxeto. Magnifice comes major honorande. Post recommendationem cod.; Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Petro de Noxeto. Magnifice comes major honorande post recommendationem KO
[5] ~~quem~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~sedebat~~ *[sic!] seq.* cod.
[7] imperii *add. superlin.* cod.
[8] imperialis feudi *corr. ex* sua cod.
[9] obtineri potuit : obtinere potui KO
[10] nisus KO
[11] unum ex suis : ex suis unum KO
[12] N. KO
[13] ~~ille tunc rursus~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] ~~redire~~ *seq.* cod.

367. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (18 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *The pope had written to the emperor that he was now considering appointing Ulrich von Nussdorf to the See of Passau against the emperor's will.*

Subject: *Piccolomini informs da Noceto that the emperor cannot accept that bishops are appointed in imperial territories against his will and that he cannot accept Ulrich von Nussdorf as a candidate since his attitude towards the emperor was insulting and unacceptable.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to His Lordship, Pietro da Noceto, Palatine Count.

[1] When I received your letter[2] together with the brief from Our Most Holy Lord,[3] I immediately went to His Imperial Majesty,[4] who happened to be at table. I awaited the end of the meal, and then, without witnesses, I gave him the apostolic brief, pretending not to know what it contained. The emperor bade me open and read it to him. When I had done it, he was dismayed and said, "This brief differs from the one we recently received."[5] I replied, "Emperor, new impediments require new remedies." Continuing, I tried to persuade the emperor to accept the wish of Our Most Holy Lord, and I asked for his answer. But he was most upset, as he considered two things: one, that the elect[6] would, against his will, obtain the episcopacy in a city belonging to the imperial feudal territory, and the other, that he himself had been demonstratively and publicly defamed by the envoys of the elect. I tried to persuade him otherwise, and when, in the end, I asked for his answer, he said he wanted to discuss the matter more fully with his other councillors and ordered me to come to him with them.

[2] The matter was postponed for some days, as it is the practice of this court never to make speedy decisions. When the council assembled, Magister Ulrich Sonnenberger and I were the only ones to support the cause of the elect, and we strove to make the emperor favour him. But the emperor would not be swayed, nor were his advisors inclined to favor the elect. Thus, the matter was blocked. However, it was concluded that the emperor would accept the Church of Passau being provided with anybody else than the elect, as you will see from the imperial letter. On this occasion, we could obtain no more. The elect is hurting his own cause by offending the emperor, for he sent one of his closest collaborators, the steward of his household, to offer not 10,000 florins, as his envoys mendaciously claimed in Rome, but only 2,000, if the emperor would forgive him the injuries and write in his favour to the pope. However, the emperor considered it outrageous to offer so little money for such a great offence. The envoy then said he would return to his master and come back here after some days with a broader mandate, and he hoped the affair could be settled satisfactorily. Then he left - and never came back.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA 19/3, pp. 34, 541-452.

[2] Not extant. It was possibly a letter of consolation prompted by a previous letter in which Piccolomini had expressed some dissatisfaction and sadness with his present situation. For a remarkable parallel, see Piccolomini's letter to da Noceto of 7 May 1456 (EPI, 9: 683), in which he consoles him for the loss of his high position at the court of his defunct benefactor, Pope Nicolaus V.

[3] Pope Nicolaus V.

[4] Friedrich III.

[5] The pope had previously let the emperor know he would not make the appointment against his will.

[6] Ulrich von Nussdorf.

[3] Scripsimus magister Ulricus et ego ipsi electo sperabamusque negotium pro minori summa posse componi quam sex[1] milium florenorum, neque putabamus rem illicitam, quod ille pecuniam daret pro offensa domino suo facta, si gratiam mereri vellet. Est enim modus omnium gentium, ut damna pecuniis resarciant. Ille autem electus[2], qui pluries mihi scripserat et magistro Ulrico, ut causam suam[3] adjuvaremus, neque nuntium ad Caesarem remisit[4] neque ad nos rescripsit. Nescimus, quae causa eum retinuerit, nisi quia putamus[5] habuisse eum scripta de curia, per quae certificatus sit etiam invito Caesare papam sibi provisurum. Sic bonus vir sibi ipsi turbas facit[6].

[4] Et nunc procuratores sui Caesarem publice diffamant, quod quam moleste sublimitas imperatoria tulerit, nequeo exprimere[7]. Utcumque sit, Caesar ad id devenit, ut placeat ei ecclesiae Pataviensi de quavis persona provideri, dummodo electus excludatur. Per hanc viam poterit dominus noster ecclesiam illam pacificare. Neque enim difficile erit alium reperire, qui suam ecclesiam electo tradat et accipiat Pataviensem[8], si vel Frisingensis vel Brixinensis vel Extetensis[9] vel Augustensis vel alius quivis requiratur. Mihi tamen hoc medium videretur magis, quod subjiciam, videlicet quod dominus noster sanctissimus onus hoc concordandi electum cum Caesare in se susciperet et faceret, quod electus ratum se habere promitteret, quidquid per suam sanctitatem determinaretur dandum Caesari pro satisfactione injuriarum. Putarem enim hoc imperatorem non recusaturum, et sic ille ecclesiam obtineret. Alioquin non intelligo, quod papa possit sine indignatione Caesaris hunc electum promovere, et possent in hac re nasci multa mala. Nec expediret inter papam et imperatorem, qui modo se summe amant, nasci rubiginem propter hanc ecclesiam neque promissa oportet de facili rumpere. Haec ad Pataviensem ecclesiam[10].

[5] Quod litteras meas legis et summo pontifici, quatenus opus est, exponis, maxime mihi voluptati est multumque idcirco tibi sum obnoxius, neque expeto, ut rescribas semper, qui tuas occupationes innumeras esse scio. Satis superque satis est, si scripta mea dignaris respicere. Tua tamen humanitas omnem laborem vincit et mihi vel manu propria rescribere non refugit. Est in te constans amicitia neque defluit amor tuus. Adhuc te Basiliensem recognoscis et usurae veteris memoriam tenes. Scis quantas simul duximus noctes. Pauci ex academia supersumus, multi ex amicis veteribus periere. Quanto numerus amicorum restrictior est, tanto decet amorem esse ferventiorem, quem te praestare in me summum nescio dicere, quantum me delectat. Tu te ipse melius cogitabis, qui meos mores egregie calles.

[6] De patria, quae scripsisti, plene {145r} apud me nota sunt. Doleo terram illam tot cladibus affici. Spero tamen sapientiam summi pontificis id curare, ut nostris saltem diebus ultimis pacem habeamus. Quod si Christiani principes non tantum sapuerint, ut inter se lites finiant, invenient, qui eos docebit, Turcorum imperatorem, et illa de nobis fabula decantabitur, quam de rana et mure scribit Aesopus. Deus tantum facinus avertat.

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[1] *corr. ex* quatuor cod.
[2] ~~nescio~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~pro~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] *corr. ex* misit cod.
[5] putabamus KO, WO
[6] sibi ipsi … facit *corr. ex* se ipsum impedit cod.
[7] *corr. ex* tibi dicere cod.
[8] ~~ut~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] Eystetensis KO, WO
[10] neque promissa … ecclesiam *omit.* KO

[3] Magister Ulrich and I wrote to the elect, hoping this affair could be settled with a smaller sum than 6,000 florins. We thought that it would be quite legitimate for him to give money for an offence towards his lord[1] if he wanted to deserve his favour, for it is the way of all peoples to compensate for damages with money. But the elect, who had several times written to me and Magister Ulrich to obtain our support, neither sent a messenger back to the emperor nor wrote again to us. We do not know the reason, except that he may have received a letter from the Curia informing him that the pope would appoint him even against the emperor's will. Thus, a good man makes trouble for himself.

[4] And now his procurators publicly defame the emperor. I cannot express how much this upsets His Imperial Highness. However that may be, the emperor has decided to accept the appointment of anybody to the Church of Passau so long as it is not the elect. That way, Our Lord[2] can settle this matter peacefully, for it will not be difficult for him to find someone willing to exchange his church for that of Passau,[3] if the Bishop of Freising or Brixen or Eichstätt or Augsburg or somebody else is asked.[4] However, I propose another way here, viz., that Our Most Holy Lord accept the charge of reconciling the elect with the emperor and bring the elect to promise to accept whatever His Holiness decides he should give the emperor in compensation for the injuries. I think the emperor would accept this solution, and thus, the elect would get his church. Otherwise, I do not see how the pope can appoint the elect without angering the emperor, which would cause serious trouble. It would be unfortunate should friction arise between the pope and the emperor, now the best of friends, because of this church, and anyway, promises should not be broken easily. So much for the Church of Passau.

[5] I am most gratified that you read my letters and, when necessary, relate their contents to the Supreme Pontiff. I am much obliged to you for this and do not expect you to always write back since I know how busy you are. It is more than enough if you just heed my letters. But in your kindness, you care not about the labour and actually write to me in your hand.[5] Your friendship is constant, and your love continues to flow. You still remember our time in Basel[6] and our old friendship. You know how many nights we spent together. Few from the academy[7] are left, and many old friends have died. But when the number of friends decreases, love must increase. I cannot tell you how happy I am that you love me. You will know it, of course, since my character is so well-known to you.

[6] What you wrote about my country,[8] I fully know. It pains me that it suffers such calamities. I hope that, in his wisdom, the Supreme Pontiff will arrange that we shall finally have peace in our days.[9] But if the Christian princes are not wise enough to end their mutual conflicts, they will find someone else, the Turkish ruler,[10] to teach them, and people will tell about us the fable about the frog and the mouse written by Esop.[11] May God avert that outrage.

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[1] The emperor.
[2] The pope.
[3] On the wealth and importance of the diocese of Passau, see letter 154.
[4] This solution had its own problems, see sect. 13.
[5] Instead of dictating to a secretary.
[6] See letter 683: 12.
[7] They would have called their group of educated friends, engaged in discussions, their "academy".
[8] Siena.
[9] Piccolomini here alludes to the negotiations leading to the peace of Lodi and the Italian League.
[10] Mehmed II.
[11] The fable of the frog and the mouse: those who harm others often come to harm themselves through their own deceit. Perry Index, 384.

[7] Verum, ut de domo mea dicam, quamvis hoc tempore non fuissem illic quieto animo, ut ais, tamen illi cives frequentibus me litteris vocitant meamque moram tam diutinam aegerrime ferre videntur. Numquam ex Tuscia nuntius venit absque citatoriis litteris - sunt modo preces, modo minae - quibus ad reditum vocor. Non video me posse amplius obsistere. Cognosco me senem et[1] morbis quampluribus gravem. Itaque statuo, si Deo placuerit, in patria mori. Rogavi Caesarem, ut indulgeret me domum visere. Concessa est mihi licentia circa festum Martini 15 ante diebus, eo tamen pacto, ut redeam in curiam. Dico me reversurum, si commoditas affuerit, at cum domi fuero, per litteras me absolvam, neque enim meum est semper exulem esse. Scio non multos mihi annos superesse, ne dicam dies. Eos dignum puto inter dulces cognatos et affines consumere, quorum mihi et magna et honesta copia est.

[8] Hinc[2] puto multos esse, qui propositum meum damnabunt, et illos potissime, qui me majorem cupiunt. Dicent, "si mansisset Aeneas apud Caesarem, hoc illi et hoc evenisset." Fateor, Petre amantissime, me pluris fieri, dum Caesari servio, quam dum maneo domi. Sed quid ad me falsa hominum existimatio? Nolo ex alieno pendere: in me mihi stabilitatem quaero[3]. Nolo semper servire: mihi vivere aliquando decrevi. Quis praeterea novit, si apud Germanos manens melius habiturus sim? Ego de me ipso judico, quod in aliis inspicio, et, quae pejora sunt, posse mihi accidere non dubito praeparoque pectus meum adversus omnes fortunae contumelias, si contra me velit irasci, quamvis in hanc usque diem non habeo, quod fortunam accusem. Nam sive honores sive opes sive alia hujus saeculi bona inter homines aeque distribuantur, scio me plus virili parte assecutum. Itaque nihil est[4], mi Petre, cur non bono animo esse debeam.

[9] Facio, quod suades, laetus sum, gaudeo his, quae possideo, bonis, gaudeo in amicis, gaudeo in me ipso. Utinam in alio saeculo tantum mihi secunda sint omnia, quantum in praesenti fuere.[5] Quis enim me miserum dicere possit, qui et summi pontificis et imperatoris gratiam reperi? Magna consecutus sum tuo favore et sanctissimi domini nostri benignitate neque despero, quin alia etiam majora ex vestra beneficentia suscipiam. Non tamen id apud me firmum est: scio posse mutari apostolicam mentem et alia multa contingere, propter quae fallatur opinio mea. {145v} Immo, ut verum fatear, persuadeo mihi nihil futurum esse ex his, quae magna voce vel mihi vel Caesari sunt promissa[6]. Non quod verba reputem data, sed quia mortales intelligo mores.

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[1] de *add.* KO, WO
[2] hic WO
[3] ~~quid homo semper ut~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] *omit.* KO
[5] Utinam in … fuere *add. in marg.* cod.
[6] ~~ut si q~~ *seq.* cod.

[7] But to speak of home, I would not be tranquil in Siena[1] at this time, as you say. Still, the citizens, in frequent letters, urge me to return, and they appear to take my long absence badly. A messenger never arrives from Toscana without letters summoning me (some with prayers, some with threats) to return. I do not see how I can possibly resist any longer. I know that I am old and suffer from various illnesses. Therefore, I have decided to die in my country if it pleases God. I have asked the emperor to allow me to visit my home. He has given me permission to leave about 15 days after the Feast of Saint Martin on the condition that I return to the court. I say that I will return when the opportunity presents itself. But when I come home, I shall excuse myself by letter, for I do not want to always be an exile. I know I do not have many years left - not to say days – and I have deserved to spend that those I have among sweet relatives and friends, of whom I have a large and worthy group.

[8] I think many will criticise my intentions, especially those who wish for my advancement.[2] They will say that "had Enea only remained with the emperor, this and that would have happened to him." I admit, dearest Pietro, that my status is greater when I serve the emperor than when I am at home. But what does men's erroneous opinions matter to me? I do not want to depend on someone else: I seek my firm place in myself. I do not want to always serve. I have decided to eventually live for myself. And, moreover, who knows if I would really be better off staying with the Germans? I judge myself by the same measure I use for others, and I am sure that worse things can still befall me. So I mentally prepare myself for all the hardships Fortune may send me if she will be angry with me, though until now, I have no cause to complain of her. The honours and wealth and the other benefits of this world may, in general, be distributed evenly among men, but I know that I have gained more than my fair share. Thus, dear Pietro, I have no reason to be sad.

[9] So, I do as you say: I am glad; I am happy with what I have; I am happy with the blessings of life; I am happy with my friends; I am happy with myself. I wish that in the next world, I shall be as prosperous as in the present. How could anyone call me wretched when I have won the favour of both the Supreme Pontiff and the Emperor? Thanks to your favour and the kindness of Our Most Holy Lord, I have attained great things, and I have not given up hope of receiving, through your benevolence, even greater benefits[3]. But I do not consider this a given thing: I know that the pope may change his mind and that many other things may happen to prove me wrong. To be honest, I tell myself that nothing of that will happen that was loudly and clearly promised both to me and the emperor.[4] It is not because I think the promise was empty, but because I know the ways of men.

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[1] "illic"

[2] Appointment as a cardinal, see below.

[3] The cardinalate.

[4] During a meeting with the emperor and Piccolomi in connection with the emperor's coronation in Rome in 1452, the pope had explicitly promised to include Piccolomini in his next promotion of cardinals, see letter 683: 7: *Effectum est igitur tua opera, ut imperatori a Nicolao promissum sit (nam et is me promoveri optabat) inter primos, qui creandi cardinales essent, Aeneam nullo pacto praeteritum ire, idque Nicolaus ipse Caesari affirmavit, et mihi idem quoque duo uberrimi testes imperatori suis litteris asseruerunt, Sancti Petri et Sancti Angeli cardinales, quorum scripta et quidem signata imperator ipse mihi restituit.*

[10] Revertar itaque[1] domum ut is[2], qui velit inter suos mori et jam se muneribus hujus saeculi defunctum putet[3]. Si *quid[4] praeter spem evenerit*, id cum Terentio nostro *deputabo esse in lucro.* Forsitan aliquis erit, qui cum turbinibus saeculi exemptum me viderit, "O Aenea," dicat, "solus scis vivere," sicut de Vaccia dictum scribit Seneca, etsi illud non probat.[5] Haec volui apud te dixisse, ne mentem me putes gravem habere, qui jubes et bene jubes, ut animo bono sim. Sum non bono solum, sed etiam jucundo atque eo magis laeto, quod te cito visurum me arbitror.

[11] De litteris militiae tuae quam primum Caesari verbum feci, mox commissa res fuit. Amat enim te sua majestas tibique gratam rem facere cupit ac de tua virtute graviter et magnifice loquitur. Titulus litterarum erit ille, quem denotasti, neque deinceps tibi nisi magnifico scribetur. Gubernatorem cancellariae nolui in hac re tua onerare, quem neque in meis umquam negociis accedo, neque enim mihi amicus est. Sed habet Caesar duas cancellarias, imperialem et Australem. Qui Australem regunt[6], ad unum omnes mihi benevoli sunt, ibi ego omnia expedio. Illic est magister Johanmes Hinderbachius, decretorum doctor, singulari benevolentia mihi conjunctus. Huic provinciam commisi. Is rem tuam libenter absolvit et animo volenti. Itaque litterae tuae per latorem praesentium expeditae ad te venient.

[12] Cum haec scripsissem, placuit Johanni Hinderbachio, qui intra decendium ad curiam venturus est, litteras tuas retinere et illas secum afferre, ut cum aliquo munere ad te proficisceretur, nec ego id sibi negare volui, quando nullum exinde praejudicium fieri tibi cognoscerem, nisi X dierum moram[7]. De beneficiis electi Pataviensis ad eum modum distribuendis, ut scribis, habeo tibi ingentes gratias precorque, id solidum esse procures, si confirmari eum aut provideri sibi contingat.

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[1] atque KO
[2] his KO
[3] ~~si quid amplius~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~spe~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] Forsitan aliquis … probat *add. in marg.* cod.
[6] regant KO
[7] Cum haec … moram ~~intervenire~~ *add. in marg.* cod.; intervenire *add.* KO

[10] So, I shall return home as one who wishes to die among his own people and who now considers himself as dead to the honours of this world. *Everything that is better than my expectations,* I shall - with our Terence - *count as pure gain*.[1] Someone who sees me free of the trouble of this world may say, "O, Enea, *you alone know how to live*,"[2] which, according to Seneca, was said about Vatia, though he does not approve. This is what I wanted to tell you, lest you who bid me to be cheerful (and thank you for that) think I am depressed. For I am in good spirits, and I am even happy and overjoyed that I shall soon see you again, as I believe.

[11] When I spoke with the emperor concerning the letter of your appointment to the knighthood, the matter was immediately decided, for His Majesty holds you in great esteem, wishes to show you favour, and speaks highly about your qualities. The title of the letter will be the one you specified, and henceforth, you will be addressed in letters as "Your Magnificence"[3]. I did not wish to charge the governor of the chancery[4] with the affair, for I never use him in any of my affairs since he is not a friend to me.[5] But the emperor has two chanceries, the Imperial Chancery and the Austrian. Those who govern the Austrian Chancery are all favourable to me, so I let them handle all my affairs. Among them is Magister Johann Hinderbach, Doctor of the Decrees,[6] united to me in singular affection. I entrusted the matter to him, and he performed it gladly and readily. Thus, the letter [of appointment] will reach you through the bearer of the present letter.

[12] When I had written the above, Johann Hinderbach, who will be going to the Curia within 10 days, decided to keep the letter and bring it with him so that he may come to you with a gift. I did not want to refuse it since I knew it would cause no problems for you except a delay of 10 days. Concerning the distribution of the benefices of the Elect of Passau[7] that you relate,[8] I am immensely grateful to you and beg that you will make it hold if the elect is confirmed or otherwise provided for.[9]

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[1] Terentius: *Phormio,* 251: *quidquid praeter spem eveniet, omne id deputabo esse in lucro.*

[1] Forsitan aliquis … probat *add. in marg*. cod.

[2] Senecae: *Epistolae ad Lucilium,* 55: 3.

[3] Da Noceto had previously been appointed a palatine count, see letter 364.

[4] Ulrich Weltzli (-1471): Imperial chancellor, see Heinig, 1: p. 646 ff., et ad indicem; RTA, 19/2, p. 76, n. 3

[5] On Piccolomini's difficulties with the chancellor, see also his letter 869:1 and 871:1, and Heinig, 1: p. 648.

[6] Doctor of Canon Law.

[7] Ulrich von Nussdorf.

[8] Piccolomini had been promised the parish of Irdning, and Sonnenberger the provostship of Freising, see letter 342 and other previous letters.

[9] By being transferred to another see, see sect. 4.

[13] Post haec jam scripta captata hora magis felici, allocutus sum iterum Caesarem super facto[1] electi dixique sibi me timere, ne tandem papa cogeretur electo providere, quia non facile reperiretur, qui promovendus esset ad ecclesiam, quam alius possideret, quodque durum esset Romano pontifici insignem ecclesiam diutius vacantem dimittere et multorum principum pro electo rogantium spernere preces. Quod si ille promoveretur invita sua majestate nimis sibi dedecorosum esset. Ex alia parte considerare me ajebam grave esse suae serenitati consentire, quod suus inimicus non reconciliatus, et qui nullam super damnis et injuriis satisfactionem impendisset, ad ecclesiam insignem sui feudi promoveretur. Ob quam rem retuli me reperisse unum medium, per quod et sanctissimo domino nostro papae et suae majestati mos gereretur. Id autem hujusmodi proposui, scilicet[2] quod sua majestas[3] remitteret ad dominum nostrum sanctissimum plenum arbitrium componendi secum ipsum electum et inducendi eum ad satisfactionem pro damnis et contumacia impendendam, et quidquid dominus {140r} noster in hoc facto ordinaret, majestas imperatoria ratum haberet, proviso quod similiter electus ipse domini nostri arbitrio conquiesceret[4]. Confirmabam enim sperare me sanctissimum dominum nostrum inducturum illum electum ad convenientem recompensam, et tunc ille sine controversia posset promoveri. Ad haec dixit Caesar se de domino nostro clementissimo plene confidere. Jussit tamen in consilio rem proponi, quo facto omnes consiliarii hoc medium commendarunt, et ita commissum mihi fuit, ut beatitudini domini nostri scriberem.

[14] Sic ergo dominus noster dignetur hoc negotium in se assumere et[5] inducere electum ad humilitatem et satisfactionem, quoniam Caesar de suo arbitrio contentus remanebit. Alioquin vero, stante illo contumace, numquam consentiret[6], quemadmodum plenius et apertius super hoc de mandato Caesareo apostolico culmini scribo[7]. Non fuit visum certis de causis, quod imperator hoc scriberet, sed veniet intra paucos dies ad curiam Romanam super uno alio satis magno negotio[8] Johannes Hinderbachius[9] et ipse de hoc plenam habebit potestatem. Tamen ex nunc Caesar contentum sese dicit in eo futurum esse, quod sanctitas domini nostri inter ipsum et electum duxerit ordinandum, ita tamen quod ille de damnis et injuriis illatis aliquam faciat emendam tantis excessibus convenientem. Habes, quid in re Pataviensi per me factum sit. Non potui plus, sed per hunc modum existimo[10] negotium ipsum bene consummari posse. Vocet pietas domini nostri procuratores electi, qui dicunt multa imperatori oblata, et dicat eis se velle negotium componere, et, si non habent potestatem, jubeat eos scribere domino suo et facultatem quaerere. Eo modo aut res votivam habebit expeditionem, aut honestius illis resistetur.

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[1] ~~praefati~~ *seq.* cod.; praefati *add.* KO
[2] sanctissimo KO; sanctitati WO
[3] ~~consentiret et~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] *corr. ex* acquiesceret cod.; acquiesceret KO
[5] ~~scr~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~eum promoveri~~ *seq.* cod.; eum promoveri *add.* KO
[7] *corr. ex* scribere cod.
[8] ~~dominus~~ *seq.* cod.; dominus *add.* KO
[9] *corr. ex* praefatus cod.; prefatus KO
[10] ~~re~~ *seq.* cod.

[13] After I had written this, I found a favourable moment to speak with the emperor about the matter of the elect.[1] I told him I feared the pope would eventually be forced to appoint him, for it would not be easy to find someone willing to be appointed to a church that someone else already had in his possession.[2] Moreover, it would be difficult for the Roman Pontiff to leave such an important church vacant for an extended period and to neglect the requests of many princes in favour of the elect. And if he were appointed against the wish of His Majesty, it would be most embarrassing. On the other hand, I said, it would be most difficult for His Serenity to accept the appointment of an unreconciled enemy to an important church in his feudal territory who had made no satisfaction and paid no compensation for damages and injuries. So, I told the emperor I had found a way that might accommodate both Our Most Holy Lord Pope and His Majesty. This was my proposal: His Majesty should leave it to Our Most Holy Lord to arbitrate in the matter and induce the elect to pay a suitable compensation for damages and defiance. His Imperial Majesty would then endorse whatever Our Lord decided in the matter - on the condition that the elect, too, would accept Our Lord's arbitration. I expressed my expectation that Our Most Holy Lord would induce the elect to pay a suitable compensation, and thus he could be appointed without controversy. The emperor replied that he had complete confidence in Our Most Clement Lord, but he ordered that the proposal be discussed in the council. When that was done, all the councillors recommended this way, and I was charged with submitting it to His Beatitude.

[14] Our Lord [Pope] should deign to accept this charge and induce the elect to be humble and give satisfaction, for the emperor will be satisfied with the pope's judgement. But if the elect remains defiant, the emperor will never consent to his appointment. I shall write[3] fully and openly to His Apostolic Highness at the emperor's command. For certain reasons, it was decided that the emperor should not write himself, but Johann Hinderbach will shortly arrive at the Roman Curia in another important matter,[4] and he will have full powers in the matter of Passau. But for now, the emperor declares that he will accept whatever His Holiness decides in the conflict between himself and the elect, on the condition that the elect pay compensation for the damages and injuries commensurate with their gravity. This is what I have done in the matter of Passau. I could not achieve more, but I consider that in this way, the affair may be brought to a happy conclusion. Let Our Holy Lord summon the procurators of the elect, who claim they have offered much to the emperor, and tell them he wants to settle the matter, and - in case they do not have the necessary powers - command them to write to their master and ask for such. Thus, either the matter will be settled successfully, or the procurators may be honourably resisted.

[1] Ulrich von Nussdorf.

[2] Ulrich von Nussdorf had apparently already taken up residence in and begun to administer his diocese.

[3] Such a letter is not extant.

[4] The appointment of Ulrich Sonnenberger to the See of Gurk.

[15] Potest autem sanctissimus dominus noster scribere Caesari se hujusmodi medium a me sibi transscriptum esse de mente et voluntate suae majestatis et dicere, quod id velit arbitrium acceptare, et tunc res erit planissima, et[1] bonum esset, quod super hoc litterae apostolicae ad me mitterentur, ante quam hinc discederem. Sic enim magis instructus ad vos venirem. Nec alia modo.

Vale optime et me summo praesuli commendato curatoque, ut sua erga me benignitas angeatur potius quam minuatur. Itidem ego pro te apud Caesarem facio sedulo. De tuis familiaribus teneo, quae scribis. Vale. Ex Grez, die 18. Septembris[2] 1453.[3]

[1] ~~si videtur~~ *seq.* cod.; si videtur *add.* KO

[2] anno *add.* KO

[3] ~~Tuus Aeneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

[15] Our Most Holy Lord can write to the emperor that I had written thus about the emperor's mind and will and inform him that he would agree to arbitrate. Then the matter will easily be settled. Moreover, it would be good if the apostolic letter were sent to me before my departure so I could come to you more appropriately instructed. No more for now.

Live well. Commend me to the Supreme Pontiff, and please ensure that his benevolence towards me increases and does not decrease. I shall strive to do the same for you with the emperor. I have noted what you wrote about your familiars. Farewell again. From Graz, 18 September 1453.

368. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (18 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 149r-149v[1] [2] **; X1, f. 131r.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 53.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 139, p. 259-261 (on the basis of W1).*

{149r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, reverendo in Christo patri, domino Johanni Campisio, episcopo Placentino, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Quamvis dura et acerbissima sint, quae de Constantinopoli feruntur[4] et a te certa[5] scribuntur, libuit tamen intellexisse ex tuis litteris, quae me minime fallunt, seriem rerum. Idem, quod tu refers, ex Venetiis ac etiam ex Rascia ad nos delatum est nuntium: non est, cur amplius dubitemus. Cogitandum jam esset, quibus modis, quae imminere calamitas cernitur, evitari posset. Sed video Christianos principes intestinis odiis flagrare[6]. Male foris resistitur, si ab his, qui sunt intus, vulneramur. Intelligo, dominum nostrum sanctissimum operas paci navare, sed audio Renatum regem Italiam intrasse. Id mihi non[7] videtur concordiae subservire. Fertur oratores partium de pace tractaturos ad mandatum papae conventuros. Timeo, ne id sit verba dare. Cum circumspicio Christianos principes et eorum facta considero, invenio omnes Turci procuratores esse. Viam illi omnes apparant.

[2] Nihil est ergo, mi pater Johannes, nisi ut cogitemus, quod superest vitae in obsequio Dei consumere atque ibi quaerere pacem, ubi nullae[8] discordiae urgere[9] possunt. Hic peregrini sumus, exilium agimus; in patria quietem speremus. Quod[10] his in terris solidum gaudium habere possimus[11], neque spes promittit neque ratio suadet. Ego te propediem spero videre atque amplecti, tumque de his et aliis plenius colloquemur.

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[1] DV, 303-304
[2] *Autograph.*
[3] Aenes … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Johanni Canmpisio. Reverende in Christo pater et domine honorande W1
[4] ferantur X1
[5] tecta X1
[6] *corr. ex* fragrare W1
[7] voci X1
[8] mille X1
[9] vigere X1
[10] quia X1
[11] possumus X1

368. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (18 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *See the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Campisio that the imperial court now considers the Fall of Constantinople as certain. He has little hope for a concerted European military action against the Turks. He sends some news from Austria, Hungary and Bohemia.* [1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship Giovanni Campisio, Bishop of Piacenza.

[1] Although the news from Constantinople, as confirmed by you, is sad and bitter, I was content to read your report of the events which confirms what I now know, for we have had the same news from Venice[2] and Rascia.[3] There is no reason for further doubt. Now should be the time to consider how to avoid the threatening disaster, but I see the Christian princes inflamed with mutual hate. It is hard to resist those outside when you are wounded by those inside. I understand that Our Most Holy Lord[4] is endeavouring to make peace[5], but I hear that King René[6] has entered Italy, which I think is not conducive to peace. It is said the pope has summoned the parties[7] to peace negotiations.[8] I fear that it is only words. When I look at the Christian princes and consider their actions, I find that they are all agents of the Turk, busily preparing the way for him.

[2] So, dear Father Giovanni, we can only think of how to spend the rest of our lives in service to God and to seek peace where there can be no strife. Here,[9] we are pilgrims and exiles; only in our true fatherland can we hope for quiet peace.[10] We have no reason to hope for lasting joy on Earth. I hope to see and embrace you soon, and then we can talk more fully about these and other matters.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 37 (extract), 539, 548.
[2] Wolkan prints a letter from Doge Francesco Foscara to the emperor of 27 July on the Fall of Constantinople (WO, 3: 1, pp. 260-261-).
[3] Serbia.
[4] The pope.
[5] In Italy.
[6] René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Duke of Bar 1430 and of Anjou 1343 to his death. In 1435, he inherited the Kingdom of Naples after Giovanna II, but his right to the throne was contested by Alfonso V., who won the kingdom in 1442. Towards the middle of August 1453, he entered Italy as the ally of the Duke of Milan against King Alfonso, but he would soon leave again, never to return.
[7] The Italian powers.
[8] The negotiations that would lead to the Peace of Lodi (9 April 1454) and the subsequent more comprehensive Italian League (30 August 1454). The papal summons was issued on 18 September.
[9] On Earth.
[10] In Heaven.

[3] Interea de regionibus his has novitates habeto. Rex Ladislaus ex Posonio reversus in Austria conventum terrigenarum habet ordinatque rectores, qui[1] ducatum regant, dum ipse aberit. Nam Bohemiam {149v} ingredi ad festum Michaelis archangeli proximum statuit. Bohemi multa ei promittunt, ex quibus, ut est mos gentis, pauca servabunt. Bene cum eo actum fuerit, si sua in Bohemia non exposuerit. Axamit, insignis latro, dietim amplius in Hungaria crassatur neque regni viribus eliminari potest. Verum illud est, quod scriptura dicit: *"Vae terrae, cujus rex puer est."* Johannes, vaivoda Transilvanorum, imperium, quod sibi Ladislaus dederat, assequi minime potest. Cupiunt enim illi coronae magis quam Johanni subesse. Haec habui, que nunc tibi rescriberem.

Vale, et reverendissimo domino meo tuoque, cardinali vicecancellario, ut commendatus sim, curato. Ex Grez, die 18. Septembris 1453[2].

[1] ~~patrie~~ *seq.* W1

[2] ~~Tuus Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* W1

[3] Meanwhile, hear the news from these regions. King Ladislaus has returned from Pozon to hold a diet with his subjects in Austria[1]. He is appointing governors to rule his duchy during his absence, for he plans to enter Bohemia on the Feast of Archangel Michael.[2] The Bohemians have made many promises to him, but - as is their wont – few will be kept. It will be well for him if he does not have to spend his own resources on Bohemia. Axamit, a notorious bandit, grows bolder in Hungary by the day and cannot be expelled by that kingdom's forces. It is true what scripture says, *Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child*.[3] János, Voivode of Transylvania, has difficulties exercising the government Ladislaus had entrusted to him, for people there will rather be under the crown than under János. This is what I have to write to you for now.

Farewell, and commend me to your Most Reverend Lord and mine, the Cardinal Vicechancellor.[4]
From Graz, 18 September 1453.

[1] Landtag in Korneuburg, 18 September 1453.
[2] 29 September 1453.
[3] Ecclesiastes, 10: 16.
[4] Cardinal Francesco Condulmer.

369. Letter to Juan Carvajal (18 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 149v[1] [2] **; X1, 131v-132r.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 54.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 140, p. 262-263 (on the basis of W1).*

{149v} Domino Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit. Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino.[3]

[1] Ex Venetiis accepi litteras tuas, quae dignationem tuam Italicae paci navare operam affirmabant. Id fuit mihi jucundissimum, sed quid secutum sit non plane scio. Rescripsi dominationi tuae reverendissimae: cupio bene terminatam esse legationem tuam, namque si nostra Italia pacem non assequatur, timendum est, ne, dum inter nos acriter contendimus, aliorum praeda simus. Introitus Renati regis in Italiam si verus est, ut fertur, parum paci conducit. Vereor, ne nostri principes procuratores Turcorum sint. Deus, quae de nobis fieri decreverit, optime novit. Non est cur hoc vel illud oremus, optima pro jucundis Deus dabit.

[2] Legi Caesareo culmini, quae tua reverendissima paternitas scripsit. Gratanter cuncta recepit et obnoxium dignationi tuae se ait. Noviter scriptum est suae majestati cardinales omnes praeter dominationem tuam in facto Pataviensi esse sibi adversos. Dominus etiam noster sanctissimus per suum breve significavit nolle[4] se amplius differre. Quid respondeat Caesar, ex sanctissimo domino nostro intelliges. Una spes est bene gerendae rei, si fiat quemadmodum a me scribitur apostolico culmini. Id enim Caesari placet. Veniet intra 8 vel 10 dies dominus Johannes Hinderbach ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum et tuam reverendissimam paternitatem super uno satis notabili negotio. Ab eo singula cognosces; non est cur me modo multum extendam.

[3] Rex Ladislaus praeparat se, ut in Bohemiam eat. In Austria magnae divisiones sunt inter comitem Ciliae et Ulricum Azingher. Huic praelati et civitates favent, illi barones. Axamit adhuc vexat Hungariam. Spero me brevi dominationem tuam reverendissimam convenire, quia domum repetere non commoditas sed necessitas urget, mortuis, qui res meas gerebant, proximis et carioribus consanguineis et affinibus. Recommendo me dignationi tuae supplexque peto, ut onere annatarum levare me velis, sicut magister Henricus Senfleben spem facit.[5]

Ex Grez etc.

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[1] DV, 304
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Domino Johanni … domino: *corr. ex.* Cardinali Sancti Angeli. Reverendissimo in Christi pater et domine mi colendissime. Post recommendationem W1; Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Johanni cardinali Sancti Angeli Eneas episcopus Senensis salutem plurimam dicit X1
[4] nulle X1
[5] ~~alia non occurrunt. Recommendo me dominationi tuae reuerendissimae~~ *seq.* W1

369. Letter to Juan Carvajal (18 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *As the preceding letters.*[1]

To Juan, Lord Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, his Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] I received your letter[2] from Venice informing me about your endeavours for peace in Italy. That was most joyous news, but I do not know what followed. I answered Your Most Reverend Lordship that I wish your legatine mission success, for if our Italy does not get peace and we continue to fight each other fiercely, it must be feared that we will become prey for others. King René's[3] coming to Italy - if the rumour is true - will do little to bring peace. I fear that our princes act as if they were agents of the Turks. God knows best what He has decided to do with us, so there is no reason for us to ask for this or that: God will give what brings us the greatest joy.

[2] I read Your Most Reverend Paternity's letter to His Imperial Highness. He was happy to hear it and says he is obliged to Your Grace. Recently, someone wrote to His Majesty that all the cardinals except for Your Lordship oppose him in the matter of Passau. And in another letter, Our Most Holy Lord has informed him that he will postpone the matter no longer. You will hear from Our Most Holy Lord what the emperor answers.[4] The only hope for an amicable settlement is that they do as I am writing to His Apostolic Highness, a solution which the emperor has accepted. In eight to ten days, Herr Johann Hinderbach will depart from here to meet Our Most Holy Lord and Your Most Reverend Paternity in another very important affair.[5] You will hear the details from him, so there is no reason for me to say much here.

[3] King Ladislaus is preparing to go to Bohemia.[6] In Austria, there are great conflicts between the Count of Celje [7] and Ulrich Eitzinger. The prelates and the cities favour Eitzinger, and the barons Celje. Axamit is still troubling Hungary. I hope to meet Your Most Reverend Lordship soon since not just convenience but necessity forces me to return home: the friends and dearest relatives who managed my affairs have died. I commend myself to Your Grace and humbly beg you to be relieved of the burden of annates, as Magister Heinrich Senfleben gives me hope.

From Graz etc.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 37, 539, 542, 548.
[2] Not extant.
[3] René d'Anjou.
[4] The letter is not extant, but see letter 389.
[5] The appointment of Ulrich Sonnenberger as Bishop of Gurk.
[6] For his coronation.
[7] Ulrich II of Celje..

370. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (18 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 150r[1] [2] **; X1, ff. 132r-132v.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 55.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 141, p. 263-264 (on the basis of W1).*

{149r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, magistro Henrico Senfleben, scriptori apostolico et imperiali secretario, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Suscepi litteras tuas, ex quibus intellexi, cum quanta diligentia et affectione res meas curas. Non est meum dignas persolvere grates. Solum peto, ut circa illa duo instes: de annata remittenda et de ecclesia obtinenda, si promoveatur electus. Deus tibi merces erit, nec me poenitebit, ubi possim ostendere gratitudinem. Dominus Petrus de Noxeto scribit mihi futurum omnino, ut ecclesia mihi commendetur et ita confirmat papam promittere. Noli considerare, quid dicat cardinalis Metensis. Quod promissum est Caesari, non debet violari. Ego quoque nepotes habeo, quibus me providere oportet non minus quam[4] ille, de quo ait Metensis. Franciscus Theutonicus est et jam[5] studio insudat juris canonici et bene proficit. Illi dabo ecclesiam in Castro Vindelico[6], si istam habuero.

[2] Litteras, quas ex Senis ad me misisti, plures habui. Intelligo illa negotia Italica turbata esse, et timeo, ne pacis negotia in fumum eant. Sumus omnes Turci procuratores et illi viam paramus. Deus melius consulat, quam meremur. Pax illa inter regem Ladislaum et Caesarem numquam confirmata fuit, nec spes est, quod umquam confirmetur. Ille rex jam se disponit ad intrandum Bohemiam, ubi plura sibi promittuntur, quam servabuntur. In Austria est magna divisio inter comitem Ciliae et Azingher. Illi barones assunt, isti communitates et praelati. Axamit adhuc vexat Hungariam. Dominus de Puchaim nuper concordatus[7] erat cum Caesare, deinde pro parva re discordia renovata est. Et sic semper tribulationes vigent. Dominus Johannes Hinderbach in magna quadam causa[8] infra 8 dies[9] iter ad vos accipiet[10], et ab eo cuncta intelligetis[11]. Ego quoque post expeditionem rei Prutenicae repetere domum decrevi, quia, vocatus assiduis cognatorum litteris, amplius differre non possum, et carissimus sororius meus novissime diem obiit.

Vale, et, cum facultas se offert, reverendissimo domino meo Firmano commendatum me facito. Ex Grez, die 18. Septembris 1453.

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[1] DV, 305
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *corr. ex* magistro Ulrico Senfleben. Venerabilis amice honorande W1
[4] *omit.* X1
[5] ~~est in~~ *seq.* W1
[6] *corr. ex* Windisgrets cod.
[7] ~~est~~ *seq.* W1
[8] magna quadam causa *corr. ex* una magna causa statim W1
[9] infra 8 dies : etc. X1
[10] accipiat X1
[11] et ab … intelliges : etc. X1

370. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (18 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *See preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Senftleben for taking care of his affairs in Rome and sends him news from the Imperial Court.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Magister Heinrich Senftleben, Apostolic Scribe and Imperial Secretary.

[1] I have received your letter showing your great diligence and affection in taking care of my affairs. I cannot properly repay my debt of gratitude. I only ask that you keep up the pressure on these two issues: the annates to be remitted and the church[2] to be obtained should the elect[3] be appointed. God will be your reward, and I shall not fail to show my gratitude when possible. Lord Pietro da Noceto writes that the church will certainly be commended to me, and he confirms the pope's promise. Do not be concerned about what the Cardinal of Metz[4] may say. A promise to the emperor must not be broken. I, too, have nephews to provide for, just as the one the cardinal talks about.[5] And my Francesco[6] is practically a German.[7] Now he studies canon law and is doing well. I shall give him the church in Windischgrätz[8] if I get the other one.[9]

[2] From the letters you sent from Siena, I see that the Italian affairs are in turmoil, and I fear that the peace negotiations will be in vain. We are all acting as if we were the Turk's agents and preparing the way for him. May God provide better for us than we deserve. The peace between King Ladislaus[10] and the emperor has not been confirmed, and there is no hope it will ever be. The king[11] is now preparing to enter Bohemia, where they make more promises to him than they will keep. In Austria, there is a great conflict between the Count of Celje [12] and Eytzinger.[13] The barons support Celje, and the cities and prelates, Eytzinger. Axamit still plagues Hungary. Lord Puchheim[14] was recently reconciled with the emperor, but then the conflict flared up again because of some trifling matter. And thus, trouble prevails as always. Herr Johann Hinderbach will depart from here for Rome in an important affair within 8 days, so you will hear everything from him. And I have decided to return home when the Prussian matter has been settled, for I am summoned by constant letters from my relatives and can no longer postpone my return. A dear relative, my sister's[15] husband,[16] died recently. Farewell, and when an occasion presents itself, please commend me to the Cardinal of Fermo.[17]
From Graz, 18 September 1453.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 37, 537, 539, 542.
[2] The church of Irdning, to be vacated by Ulrich von Nussdorf.
[3] Ulrich von Nussdorf.
[4] Guillaume Hugues d'Estaing (-1455): Archdeacon of Metz. Created cardinal by Nicolaus V 19 December 1449. Piccolomini knew him from Basel.
[5] This passage shows that nepotism, providing for one's nephews, was quite acceptable for prelates then.
[6] Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini (Pius III).
[7] Piccolomini was evidently preparing his nephew Francesco (future pope Pius III) for an ecclesiastical career and had brought him with him to Austria and even made him study at the University of Vienna (Sanfilippo: *Nell'estate del 1451 accompagnò in Germania lo zio e nell'autunno iniziò a frequentare l'Università di Vienna).* See also Strnad: *Francesco, p. 124*. He would presumably now be back in Ferrara.
[8] The present-day city of Gradec in Slovenia.
[9] Strnad: *Francesco,* pp. 128-129.
[10] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[11] Ladislaus.
[12] Ulrich II of Celje.
[13] Ulrich Eitzinger
[14] Georg II von Puchheim.
[15] Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi.
[16] Bartolomeo Guglielmi.
[17] Domenico Capranica.

371. Letter to Francesco Tolomei (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 147r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 152*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 142, p. 264-265 (on the basis of W1).*

{147r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Francisco Ptolomeo, canonico suo, salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Quae per nos gesta sunt in facto clari viri Johannis Peccii, concivis nostri, ex ipso cognosces. Nova Italie, quae scripsisti, molesto ferimus animo, quamvis frustra angimur ex his, quae sine culpa nostra fiunt. Speravimus pacem, procurante summo pontifice, non defuturam Italiae. Nunc accipimus ardentius fervescere bella neque spem esse concordiae. Cupiebamus domum reverti et cupimus, nescimus tamen qua via penetremus. Undique bella tonant. Peregrinum induere non possum; praelatum agere periculosum est. Statuimus tamen ad vos ire, quando vocibus[5] citamur omnium, neque littera ulla ad nos venit nisi reditum suadens. Quid dicamus tantis precibus, nisi "Vincite, etiam cum nostro periculo"? Scimus cum quanto incommodo revertemur: offendimus Caesarem, qui licentiam praebet invitus; papae rem ingratam facimus; mille nos[6] hoc tempore viarum periculis objectamus; ad patriam redimus suspicionum plenam. In ancipiti diu fuimus, at cum videremus tot preces, et aliquando minas cognatorum experiremur, succumbere[7] necesse fuit. Veniemus igitur, quando ita suadetis omnes. Scimus[8] tamen te, cum nos audieris, dicturum: "Haec si scivissem, numquam de reditu ad te scripsissem per hoc tempus de nostro episcopo Senensi. Nos enim extra Senas episcopatum habemus." Intelleximus, quae scribis; redeuntes de causa cognoscemus videbimusque sibi an nobis mitria debeatur. Interea bonum habe animum et vicarium nostrum hortare, ut viri cor se habere demonstret. Nos etiam sibi ad eam rem litteras damus.

Vale, ex Grez, die 25. Septembris 1453[9].

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[1] DV, 299
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 135r
[4] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Francisco Ptolomeo. Eximie doctor frater amantissime cod.
[5] ~~omnium~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~me viarum periculis~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~succumbi~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~scio t~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~Tuus Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

371. Letter to Francesco Tolomei (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Tolomei had sent Piccolomini yet another letter from Siena urging him to return.*
Subject: *Piccolomini promises that he will return soon, regardless of problems and dangers.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Francesco Tolomei, his canon.

[1] What we have done in the matter of the distinguished Giovanni Pecci, you will hear from himself. We were saddened at the news you sent from Italy, though it is futile to worry about things done through no fault of our own. We had hoped that, through the agency of the Supreme Pontiff, peace would come to Italy. Now we hear that wars are flaring up without hope of concord. We wished and still wish to return home, but now we do not know what route to take. The clash of war is everywhere. I cannot go disguised as a pilgrim, and to travel as a prelate is dangerous. Nonetheless, we have decided to come to you since all call us back and no letter arrives without urging us to return. What can we reply to such urgent requests except that, "You win - but at our peril!" We know what troubles our return will cause: we offend the emperor, who only gave permission unwillingly; we incommodate the pope; at this time, we expose ourselves to dangers on the road; and we return to a fatherland full of suspicions. For a long time, we were uncertain, but when we saw all those entreaties and even received some threats from relatives, we had to give in. So we shall come since you all demand it. But we know that when you hear this, you will say, "Had I known this, I would never have written to you now about the return of our Bishop of Siena, for we have a bishop of Siena who resides elsewhere." We have understood what you wrote. When we return, we shall examine the case[1] and see whether the *mitria*[2] is owed to him or us. In the meantime, be good and urge our vicar to show he has a manly heart. We shall also write to him.

Farewell. From Graz 25 September 1453.

[1] There is no indication what the case is about.

[2] ?. Mitre? Had someone else tried to usurp the episcopal function?

372. Letter to Giovanni Agazzari (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 147v*[1] [2] **;
Editions A: *KO, 149*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 143, pp. 265-266 (on the basis of W1).*

{147r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Johanni de Agazaria, ecclesiae Grossetanae pontifici, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit.[4]

[1] Fuerunt mihi gratissimae litterae tuae, ex quibus factus sum certior non solum de tua dignitate, verum etiam de summa felicitate, qua[5] in hac promotione es usus[6], qui celerrime atque uno impetu ad summum evasisti. Sentio me propterea Deo gratum, quando et amici mei suae pietati sunt curae. Tres uno anno ex his, quos in primis amavi, exaltati sunt: Nicolaus Amidanus ecclesiam Mediolanensem sortitus est[7] [8]; Johannes Campisius ad Placentinam vocatus est; tibi Grossetana obvenit. Quis non me felicem dixerit, cujus amici sunt fortunatissimi? Verum, Johannes amantissime, duobus illis longe a me positis uti non possum nisi litteris. Te frui etiam praesente potero festinoque, ut quam celerrime ad te veniam teque complectar et una vivam tecum, nec scio, quid hoc tempore ex caelesti numine[9] magis optare potuerim, quam quod divina pietas in te mihi praestitit[10]. Ago sedulo superis gratias, qui me respiciunt, dum meos amicos extollunt.

[2] Intelligo ex tuis scriptis, quam necessarius sit meus reditus ecclesiae meae. Idem quoque ceteri scribunt, omnes me vocant amici, necessarii, noti; vincor, veniendum est, nam etsi Caesari molestam rem facio neque summo pontifici morem gero ex Alamania recedens, satis est, quod ecclesiae, quod patriae, quod mihi[11] ipsi satisfacio. Facessant omnes aliae spes[12]. Vivere mihi cum Johanne, Grossetano pontifice, cum Mariano Sozino, cum Francisco Ptolomeo, cum Gregorio Lollio, cum Patritio, cum ceteris amantissimis patrie meae civibus majus duco quam papae aut imperatoris gratiam. Diu curialem servitutem servivi[13], diu militiam secutus sum: mitti tandem debeo et inter veteranos computari.

[3] Quaeris, quando hoc erit? Ante Martini festivitatem hinc abire decrevi. Quamvis scribis non esse timendum bellum, quia Romanus pontifex paci operam navat, ego tamen maxime anxius sum neque de pace magnam spem habeo, nisi Deus oculo mitiori Italiam intueatur. Accipiam tamen iter etiam cum discrimine; raro enim res meae sine periculo fiunt. Habeo Deo grates, quia superare soleo quasvis difficultates. Idem nunc mihi suadeo, etsi frequenter objectare sese periculis quam periculosissimum sit. Quod sponte offers in agendis ecclesiae meae tuum auxilium, accipio admodum libenter, nam id erit non utile solum, sed etiam necessarium.

Germanum tuum cupio bene valere, et tu optime vale. Ex Grez, die 25. Septembris 1453.

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[1] DV, 300
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 134r
[4] ~~fuerunt mihi gratissime littere tue que me certum reddiderunt et dignitatis accepte et felicitatis in accipiendo~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~usus es~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~video me quippe Deo gratum~~ *seq.* W1
[7] sortitus est *corr. ex* accepit cod.
[8] ~~Johanni Campisio Placentina comissa~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] caelesti numine *corr. ex* divino munere cod.; divino munere KO
[10] prescivit KO
[11] patriae quod mihi : patri KO
[12] species KO
[13] ~~vetera vetus~~ *seq.* cod.

372. Letter to Giovanni Agazzari (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *A friend of Piccolomini had been appointed bishop of the neighbouring diocese of Grosseto.*
Subject: *Piccolomini expresses his happiness at the appointment and promises to return to Siena shortly.*

To The Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship Giovanni Agazzari, Bishop of Grosseto, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] I was delighted to receive your letter[1] informing me of your [new] dignity and how fortunate you have been in connection with this promotion, which brought you speedily and directly to high office. I feel grateful towards Pious God for caring for my friends. This year, three of my closest friends have been raised up: Niccolò Amidano obtained the Church of Milan; Giovanni Campisio was called to the Church of Piacenza; and you got the Church of Grosseto. Who will not call me happy when my friends are so fortunate? But, my dear Giovanni, two of them are so far away that I can only converse with them by letter. But your company I shall be able to enjoy directly, and I hasten to come to you, embrace and live with you, and I do not know what gift I can now want from God more than what the Divine Piety has granted me in you. I fervently thank the celestial beings who favour me when they raise up my friends.

[2] I understand from your letter how necessary it is for me to return to my church. Others write the same: all my friends, relatives, and acquaintances urge me to return. I am defeated: I must come, for although my departure from Germany will offend the emperor and annoy the pope, it is enough that I satisfy my church, my country, and myself. Away with all other hopes.[2] I consider it more important to live with Giovanni, Bishop of Grosseto, with Mariano Sozzini,[3] with Francesco Tolomei, with Goro Lolli, with Patrizi,[4] and with the other beloved citizens of my country than having the pope's and the emperor's favour. Long enough have I served the courts,[5] long enough have I served the army[6]: now I have earned my release and to be counted among the veterans.

[3] "When will that be?" you ask. I have decided to leave before the Feast of Saint Martin.[7] You write that I do not need to have fears about war since the Roman Pontiff is endeavouring to make peace. However, I am really anxious and do not have great hope for peace unless God looks more favourably upon Italy. Still, I shall undertake the journey even if dangerous, for rarely have my affairs been without perils. I thank God that I usually overcome whatever difficulties I meet. I believe the same will happen now, though it is most dangerous to often expose oneself to danger. The help you offer in the administration of my church I accept gratefully: it will not only be useful but necessary.

I wish your brother well. Live well yourself. From Graz, 25 September 1453.

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[1] Not extant.

[2] Presumably, Piccolomini's hopes for further advancement (the cardinalate)?

[3] Sozzini, Mariano (1397-1467): Sienese jurist. Friend of Piccolomini. See DVI, ch. 19.

[4] Franceso Patrizi (1413-1492): Sienese humanist. A personal friend of Piccolomini who, as pope, appointed him Bishop of Gaeta (1463).

[5] The papal and the imperial.

[6] Metaphor.

[7] 11 November 1453.

373. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 150r-151r* [1] [2] **.
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 144, p. 267-269 (on the basis of W1).*

{150r} Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis et imperialis consiliarius, amantissimo filio suo Bartholomeo Massano, jurisconsulto, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Bartholomaeum, sororis meae virum,[3] ut primum oculos clausisse tuis litteris intellexi, non potui lacrimas continere. Fluxerunt[4] ubertim sponte sua, priusquam mens animum revocaret atque in morte[5] probati et sancti[6] viri non esse dolendum ex sacris[7] codicibus admoneret. {150v} Non est igitur apud me mirum, quod epistola refert te fore afflictum tali socero privatum, consternatam sororem amisso viro, quocum annos supra viginti consueverat, maestam et acerbissimo animo neptem Antoniam tanto et tam caro patre[8], prius quam pubesceret, orbatam. Quomodo enim ejus[9] hominis obitum sui non doleant, quem plorant[10] alieni? Neminem puto esse in civitate nostra, qui non talem virum rei publicae perditum non amarissime[11] defleat. Verum ego, cum mentis consilium[12] admitto, cum Bartholomei, qui mores fuerint, quae vita, considero, etsi nobis obest ejus transitus[13], cujus nobis consuetudo dulcis et consilium utile fuit, sibi tamen congaudendum existimo[14], qui ex hoc ergastulo carnis evolavit et ad lucem clariorem, ad vitam dulciorem, ad saeculum longe, quam istud esse[15] putemus, delectabilius evolavit[16]. Vetus, ut nosti, philosophorum schola[17], qui bene vixissent, horum animas, cum ex corpore abirent, in caelum reverti docere non dubitavit, aliorum inferna petere. Cicero noster *omnibus, qui patriam auxerint, juverint, defenderint, certum in caelo patere locum* affirmat. Omnes, qui sapientes apud veteres habiti sunt, interire animas negant,[18] mortibus animi loca mutant, non extinguuntur. Sed venit tandem ille magister verax, salvator saeculi, qui mundum illuminans omnem excussit errorem.[19] Ab eo edocti sumus, quid sperandum bono, quid timendum malo, cum moritur, siet: ille nobis, si pie, si caste sancteque vixerimus, mansionem apud patrem suum in aula caelesti, in paradiso felicitatis, in aeterna beatitudine repromisit.

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[1] DV, 305-307
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~clausisse jam~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~sponte sua u~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~proborum~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *corr. ex* xanti cod.
[7] ~~litt~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~orbatam antea quam pubesceret~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] ~~obi~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~extranei~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] *supralin.* cod.
[12] ~~audio~~ *seq.* cod.
[13] ~~sibi tamen congaudendum esse cognosco~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] *corr. ex* est cod.
[15] *supralin.* cod.
[16] ~~veteres ut nosti~~ *seq.* cod.
[17] ~~morientibus anima excedentibus ex corporibus animabus duplex iter patere non dubitavit~~ *seq.* cod
[18] ~~migra / non extinguntur~~ *seq.* cod.
[19] ~~ac non qui non verbo solum sed signis docu … ostendit~~ *seq.* cod.

373. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Piccolomini's brother-in-law, Bartolomeo Guglielmi, had died.*
Subject: *A letter of consolation to his niece's husband.*

Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena and Imperial Councillor, sends many greetings to his beloved son, Bartolomeo de Massa.

[1] When I read in your letter that Bartolomeo,[1] my sister's[2] husband, had died, at first, I could not hold back my tears. They flowed freely and of themselves before my mind restrained my spirit and reminded me that according to Holy Scripture, one should not lament the death of a good and holy man. Of course, I am not surprised that your letter tells me you are desolate at having been deprived of such a father-in-law, that my sister is devastated at the passing away of her husband of more than 20 years, and that my niece Antonia is stricken with grief that she has lost this wonderful and dear father before she reached maidenhood. For how could his relatives not mourn the death of this man when even others weep for him? I think there is no one in our city who does not bitterly regret that the state has lost such a man. Indeed, I myself am heartbroken at the death of someone whose companionship was sweet and whose advice was always helpful. But heeding the counsel of my mind and considering Bartolomeo's character and life, I believe we should now rejoice with him that he has left the prison of the flesh for the sweeter life and a world far more delightful than we consider the present one to be. As you know, the ancient school of philosophers did not hesitate to teach that when the souls of those who have lived well leave the body, they return to Heaven, whereas the others went to the underworld. Our Cicero declares that *all those who have preserved, aided or enlarged their fatherland have a special place prepared for them in Heaven*[3]. All those whom Antiquity considered wise denied that the souls perish and believed that when people die, their souls go to another place; they are not extinguished. In the end, the true teacher, the Saviour of the world, came and, illuminating the world, put an end to error. He has taught us what the good man should hope for at death and what the evil man should fear. He has promised us that we shall stay with his Father in the halls of Heaven, in the felicity of Paradise, in eternal beatitude if we live pious and holy lives.

[1] Bartolomeo Guglielmi. [2] Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi. [3] Cicero: *De Republica*, 6: 13.

[2] Cum ergo Bartholomaeus vitam omnem cum laude gesserit, domum pudice gubernaverit, manus[1] innocuas servaverit, linguam veracem custodierit[2], rei publicae utiliter consuluerit[3], necessarios, amicos, vicinos atque omne genus hominum adjuverit, religiose de fide Catholica senserit, quis non illum[4] ad ea profectum gaudia[5] judicet, quae[6] sectatoribus suis[7] salvator[8] in evangelio[9] promittit? {151r} Est igitur ille, non dubito, junctus angelorum choris, cum beatissimis spiritibus gloriae conditoris assistit. Itaque suum plorare decessum mentis est parum consideratae. Non est, cur ejus[10] causa doleamus, quem scimus jam esse felicem. Sed neque nostri causa tristari oportet neque enim recuperari ejus vita lacrimis potest. Nemo moritur et iterum nascitur, nemo nascitur et non moritur. Vixit ille suum tempus, plenam aetatem peregit. Non fugit ex provincia sibi commissa, vocatus recessit. Bene cum illo actum est, ad senectutem pervenit.[11] Corpus ejus morbi confecerunt, mentem integram reliquerunt. Postquam excessit ex ephebis, semper ille vir fuit, numquam repuerescere visus est. Integer abiit ad superos. Caveamus[12] ergo, ne dum mortem ejus acerbe ferimus, invidere suae beatitudini videamur. Quid est, cur tantopere affligamur? Diu stare nobiscum non poterat, exeundum[13] ei erat. Quis diu senex vivere potest? Nulli perpetua in terris vita est; communis omnibus mors datur[14]. Praecessit ille, nos sequemur[15]. Studeamus ita vivere, ut cum excedendum sit, eo mittamur, quo ille pervenit. Hoc ille ex nobis quaerit: securus jam sibi est, sollicitus nobis. Quippe de Bartholomaeo ego mihi ita persuadeo. Idem cupio et vos faciatis.

[3] Verum quia feminarum debiliora sunt pectora, tuum est, qui plus sapis, consolari et socrum et sponsam tuam, nam teipsum non dubito, quin philosophiae studium satis admonuerit mortem hominis non esse dolendam. Quod soror et neptis de meo reditu cupiunt, id mihi maximae curae est neque aliud nunc studeo, nisi ut quam celerrime ad vos redeam, nam, etsi audio turbatas apud vos res esse, fervere omnia bellis, iter insecurum plenumque discriminibus, ita tamen me preces urgent meorum, ut vel cum maximo periculo et damno meo ad vos reverti proposuerim quam celeriter. Movent me plurimum ecclesiae meae negotia, quibus subveniendum intelligo. Movent sororis preces, movent et matris imperia, cui adversari non possum. De Montanina[16] sum memor et anxius in re sua, sed facilius est eam expectare quam me properare. Non est, ut putatis, leve reverti, perdere gratiam Caesaris, montes transire[17] asperrimos, flumina tranare maxima,[18] iter obsessum latronibus penetrare[19]. Ad haec vos me pericula vocatis nec refugiam: objectabo me omni periculo, ut vobis morem geram. Timeo[20], postquam voluntati vestrae satisfecero, ne quis vestrum dicat: “Utinam numquam redisset homo iste,” non quia vobis me futurum taedio putem, sed quia multa in veniendo mihi instant discrimina, quae omnia vestri causa vel superabo vel superare conabor.

Vale, ex Grez, die 25. Septembris 1453.

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[1] ~~ab omni rapina servaverit~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] *corr. ex* fuerit cod.
[3] ~~vicinos amicos prox~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~ad meliora profectum existimet~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] *supralin.* cod.
[6] ~~nobis in evange~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~nobis in evange~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~in evangelio~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] in evangelio *supralin.* cod.
[10] ~~vicem~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~nec mente alienatus nec~~ *seq.* cod.
[12] *corr. ex* videamus cod.
[13] ~~erat~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] *corr. ex* datus est cod.
[15] ~~studendum est si cum amamus~~ *seq.* cod.
[16] Mortarama WO
[17] *supralin.* cod.
[18] tranare maxima *corr. ex* periculosa penetrare cod.
[19] *corr. ex* vadere cod.
[20] ~~ne~~ *seq.* cod.

[2] Bartolemeo lived his entire life commendably. He governed his household virtuously, kept his hands clean and his tongue truthful, benefitted the state, helped his relatives, friends, neighbours, and all kinds of people, and piously revered the Catholic Faith. So, who will not believe that he has attained the joys which the Saviour promises to his followers in the Gospel? I am sure that he has now joined the choirs of angels and stands with the blessed spirits in the glory of the Creator. Therefore, it is ill-considered to deplore his death. There is no reason to lament someone we know to be happy. But neither should we be sad on our own behalf, for we cannot make him come alive again with our tears. No one dies and is born again, and no one is born who does not die. He lived his allotted time and reached a ripe age. He did not escape from his assigned place, nay, he left because he was summoned. It ended well for him; he reached old age. Illnesses ravaged his body but left him sound of mind. After he put his youth behind him, he was always a man and never became a child again. He departed whole to the heavens. So let us beware that, while bitterly mourning his death, we seem to envy his happiness. Why are we so sorrowful? He could not stay with us for long; he was bound to leave us. Who can live long as an old man? Nobody lives forever on Earth; death is the common lot of all mankind. He went ahead of us; we shall follow. So, let us live in such a way that when we too must depart, we may be sent where he has arrived. This is what he asks of us. He himself is safe now, but he is concerned about us. This is what I firmly believe about Bartolomeo. I wish you to do the same.

[3] But since the hearts of women are feeble, it is up to you, who are wiser, to comfort your mother-in-law and your betrothed, for I am sure that the study of philosophy has taught you not to lament any man's death. That my sister and niece wish for my return weighs heavily on me, and nothing is more important to me than to return to you as soon as possible. I hear that the situation there is tumultuous, that there is war everywhere, and that travelling is unsafe and perilous. Still, the pleas of my relatives are so insistent that I have decided to return to you as soon as possible, even at great risk and cost. I am deeply moved by the affairs of my church[1], which I understand needs my assistance. I am also moved by the requests of my sister and the wish of my mother that I must obey. I am mindful and concerned about Montanina, but it is easier for her to wait than for me to make haste. It is not a light matter for me to return, though you think so. It is not easy to lose the emperor's favour, to cross harsh mountains and big rivers, and to follow a route infested by robbers. For these are the dangers you call me to. But I shall face any danger to accommodate you. However, I fear that when I have fulfilled your wish, someone will say, "I wish he had not returned", not because I think I shall trouble you but because of the many dangers on the way that I shall surmount or try to surmount.

Farewell. From Graz, 25 September 1453.

[1] Siena.

374. Letter to Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 151v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 58.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 145, p. 269-270 (on the basis of W1).*

{151v} Carissima sorella.

[1] Abbiamo inteso come a dio e piaciuto chiamare a se la buona memoria de Bartholomeo, tuo marito. Sappiamo che se molto afflicta et dolente. Preghiamoti che ponghi modo afacti tuoi e non volere contristarti indarno, perche 'l morire e comune a ogni huomo, chi nasce, et noi ancora di di in di doviamo aspectare esser chiamati. Bartholomeo e passato, et noi seguitaremo. Voglia la divina misericordia, che noi siamo degni essere collui doppo la morte nostra peroche non dubbitiamo lui esse in buono et felice luogo, considerato che sempre fu giusto et virtuosissimo huomo. Questo debba essere a te grande consolatione. Inde appresso sai, che gia due o tre anni lui e stato molto grave, siche era impossibile lui vivere longamente. Pensa adunque di consolarti. Noi verremo tosto di costa, et quello che ora scriviamo, piu largamente diremo a boccha. La persona savia non pone speranza in queste cose mondane, che sono fragili et caduce. Pensiamo di vivere in si facto modo, che nell' altro mondo troviamo la patria nostra, pero che[3] questa bisogna in ogni modo perdere et di di in di passiamo oltre. Antonia cia scripto di sua mano, che molto ci piace, fa ch' ella continui, perche ogni virtu sta bene a la persona. De facti di misser Bartholomeo, che lei ci scrive, non deliberiamo altro fare al presente domando noi presto venir costa. Conforto nostra madre et nostra sorella Laudomia e Ursina nipote e tucta la brigata, et vive in pace. Christo ti guardi, abbi buono animo. Per noi[4] non sarai abandonata.

Datum in Grez, a di 25. di[5] Septembre 1463.

[1] DV, 308
[2] *Autograph*
[3] perche WO
[4] *corr. ex* me cod.
[5] *omit.* WO

374. Letter to Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Caterina's husband, Picccolomini's brother-in-law Bartolomeo Guglielmi, had died.*
Subject: *Letter of consolation for the death of her husband.*[1]

Dearest sister,

[1] We have learnt that it has pleased God to call to Himself Bartolomeo, your husband, of good memory. We know that you are grieving and sorrowful. We beg you to take care of yourself and not to grieve in vain, because death is common to every man who is born, and we too, day by day, must expect to be called. Bartholomeo has gone ahead, and we shall follow. May divine mercy grant that us to be worthy to be with him after our own death, for we have no doubt that Bartolomeo is in a good and happy place, considering that he was always a just and most virtuous man. This should be a great consolation to you. Moreover, you know that for two or three years he had been very ill, so it was impossible for him to live much longer. Therefore, think of comforting yourself. We will soon come there, and what we now write, we will tell you more fully in person. A wise person does not place hope in worldly things, which are fragile and fleeting. Let us strive to live in such a way that we may find our true homeland in the next world, for this one we must, in every way, lose - and each day we move closer to that end. Antonia has written to us in her own hand, which pleases us greatly. See that she continues, for every virtue suits her well. As for the matters concerning Messer Bartolomeo[2] that she wrote to us about, we do not intend to take any other steps for the moment, hoping instead to come there soon. Comfort our mother, our sister Laudomia, and our niece Orsina, and all the household. Live in peace. May Christ protect you, and keep up your courage. You will not be abandoned by us.

Given in Grez, 25 September, 1463.

[1] Strnad: *Francesco*, p. 112.

[2] Her betrothed, Bartolomeo Pieri di Massa.

375. Letter to Antonia Guglielmi (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 151v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 146, p. 270 (on the basis of W1).*

{151v} Dilectissima Antonia.

[1] Ai fatto molto bene averci scripto, non credevamo che tu ancora sapesse, che cosa fusse penna. Vediamo che tu sei virtuosa et che vai di bene in meglio; aviamone grande consolatione. Preghiamoti che tu perseveri et che tu sia[3] simile a quelle sancte domne, che scrivevano spesso al sancto Hieronimo. In questo farai a noi grandissimo piacere. De facti di misser Bartholomeo scriviamo a tua madre. Di tuo padre non piglar piu dolore, pero che lui e im paradiso et aspecta tucti noi di la. Sia benedecta in Christo. Tuo fratello et tua sorella saluta per nostra parte.

Datum in Grez, die 25. septembre.

[1] DV, 308
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~una di quelle sanxcte donne~~ *seq*. W1

375. Letter to Antonia Guglielmi (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Antonia's father, Picccolomini's brother-in-law Bartolomeo Guglielmi, had died.*
Subject: *Letter of consolation for the death of her father.* [1]

Dearest Antonia,

[1] You did very well to write[2] to us - we didn't think you even knew what a pen was! We see that you are virtuous and that you are improving more and more; we take great consolation in this. We ask you to persevere and to be like those holy women who often wrote to Saint Jerome. In doing this, you will bring us great joy. Regarding the affairs of Messer Bartolomeo, we are writing to your mother. As for your father, do not grieve any longer, because he is in Paradise and is waiting for all of us there. May you be blessed in Christ. Greet your brother and sister on our behalf.

Given in Grez, on the 25th of September.

[11] Strnad: *Francesco*, p. 112.

[2] Letter not extant.

376. Letter to the City of Siena (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 152r-152v[1] [2] **.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 147, p. 271-274 (on the basis of W1).*

{152r} Magnificis et potentibus dominis prioribus et capitaneo populi civitatis Senarum Aeneas, episcopus ejusdem urbis, salutem plurimam dicit[3]. Post recommendationem.

[1] Quamvis sponte mea magnopere cupiam spectato viro, Johanni Thomasii de Pecciis, rem gratam gerere, accedentibus tamen precibus vestris, quae penes me vicem mandatorum obtinent,[4] non est quod in ejus negotio quampiam intervenire negligentiam patiar. Feci ergo, quod mearum partium fuit: nihil omisi ex his, quae per me curanda videbantur. Quomodo autem res gesta sit, ex eodem Johanne plenius intelligetis. Puto et vestro et suo desiderio abunde satisfactum, quamvis res fuerit multis de causis difficillima et a me ipso[5] antequam fieret impossibilis reputata.

[2] Venio nunc ad novitates harum partium, quas ex me[6] nosse optatis. Hae hujusmodi sunt: inter Caesarem et Hungarie ac Bohemiae regem Ladislaum hebdomada sancta, quae novissime defluxit, pax composita fuit sub spe ratihabitionis, quae ad festum Georgii fieri debuit, quemadmodum tunc senatui vestro significavi. Sed adveniente termino rursus dies altera dicta est ratificationi ad nativitatem Johannis Baptistae neque tunc promissa completa sunt[7]. Non placent Hungaris leges pacis, quibus et aurum dare et castella quaedam dimittere jubentur. Non tamen Caesari bellum movent, turbatum regnum habentes. Surrexit enim in Hungaria insignis quidam latro, nomine Axamit, natione Bohemus, qui cum magna praedonum manu Sepusinam terram devastat. Ea est Hungariae portio trans Danubium, vicina Poloniae et ad Wallachiam respiciens, quam prisci mortales Daciam vocavere. Habet ille supra 6 milia latronum in armis, quos fratres vocat, et cum quibus viritim praedas partitur. Occupavit loca quaedam natura et arte munitissima. Inde discurrens ingentes rapinas agit, vicinas villas[8] vectigales facit, remotas incendit, copias saepe contra se missas prostravit. Sic Hungari vexati nobis magis concedunt quam promittunt pacem. Habentes enim, quae domi curent, externa negligunt.

[3] Neque hoc solum eis incommodum est, viget et aliud intestinum apud eos malum. Transilvani enim, quos Ladislaus rex Johanni, {152v} gubernatori regni, ob rem publicam bene administratam dono dederat, indignati ex mutatione dominii, qui sub corona potius quam sub Johanne malunt esse, parere novo domino nolunt armisque se contra eum tuentur. Sic Hungaria per se misera est, cujus olim fuit vicinis afferre miseriam. Habet et Turcos ab latere, qui magnam regni partem occupant, jam victoria Constantinopolitana superbissimos. Rex[9] eorum puer est tantisque rebus impar neque consilii neque auxilii in se copiam habet.

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[1] DV, 309-310
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Magnificis … dicit *corr. ex* Dominis Senensibus. Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi cod.
[4] ~~non jam voluntatis solum est / non est in eius negocio cur ullam possim vel negligentiam vel tergiversationem / non est in ejus negocio cur ullam possim vel velim~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] *supralin.* cod.
[6] ~~requirere~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~Videntur Hungari male ad pacem inclina~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] vicinas villas *corr. ex* vicinos cod.
[9] ~~Hung~~ *seq.* cod.

376. Letter to the City of Siena (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *The Sienese city government had recommended the cause of Giovanni Pecci to Piccolomini.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs the city government that he has successfully concluded Pecci's affair and sends news on the situation in Central Europe.* [1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Magnificent and Mighty Lords, the Priors and the Captain of the People of the aforesaid city. After recommendation.

[1] I would, of my own accord, much desire to accommodate the distinguished Giovanni di Tommaso dei Pecci, and your request,[2] that for me hold the place of commands, gave me all the more reason to not allow any negligence in this matter. So, I have done all I could and omitted nothing I thought should be done. The result you will fully hear from Giovanni himself. I believe that your desire and his have been abundantly satisfied, though, for many reasons, the matter was quite difficult - indeed, I first thought it would be impossible.

[2] I now come to the news from these parts you wish to hear from me. It is as follows: the peace arranged between the emperor and Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, during the last Holy Week,[3] was to be ratified on the Feast of Saint George, as I have previously informed your senate. But when the term approached, another date was chosen for the ratification, viz. the Nativity of John the Baptist, but the promises were not fulfilled then, either. The Hungarians do not accept the peace terms since these stipulate that they must pay money and give up certain castles. However, because of disturbances in their kingdom, they are not making war against the emperor. Indeed, a notorious bandit named Axamit, a Bohemian, has risen up in Hungary and is pillaging the region of Sepusium[4] with a large band of robbers. Sepusium is a part of Hungary on the other side of the Donau, bordering Poland and Wallachia, which men of old called Dacia. Axamit has more than 6,000 bandits under arms. He calls them brothers and shares the booty with each of them. He has seized certain places that are well protected both by nature and design. From there, he roams everywhere, makes the neighbouring villages pay taxes, and burns the remote ones. He has defeated the forces often sent against him. Thus harassed, the Hungarians leave us in peace without promising it. Being occupied at home, they neglect foreign matters.

[3] And this is not their only misfortune: another internal evil afflicts them. King Ladislaus had entrusted Transylvania to János,[5] the governor of the realm, because of his excellent administration of public affairs. But the Transylvanians were angered at the change of lordship and would rather be under the crown than under János. So, they refuse to obey their new lord and defend themselves against him with arms. Thus, Hungary, which used to inflict misery upon her neighbours, is miserable on her own account. At their flank, they also have the Turks, who occupy a large part of the kingdom and have become most haughty because of their victory in Constantinople. The King of Hungary is a boy and not capable of handling such important matters, and he does not have much counsel or help in himself.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 37, 537, 539, 548.
[2] Letter not extant.
[3] April 1452,
[4] Present-day Szepesség.
[5] János Hunyadi.

[4] Is nunc intentus est, quo pacto coronam in Bohemia suscipiat, ad quam rem diem dixit festum Archangeli Michaelis jam proximum. Vocant eum Bohemi summisque precibus orant, ut quam celerrime ad eos pergat, atque, ut est mos gentis, auri montes promittunt, cum eo venerit. Satis erit, si nihil dare cogatur. Lacerum regnum est, quassatum et concussum undique[1]. Duae ibi factiones sunt[2]: Catholici plures numero, haeretici potentia majores. Nihil[3] est[4], quod illa ex gente[5] sperari bonum possit. Georgius, gubernator regni[6], terrori omnibus est sequiturque maxime consilium archimandritae, hypocritae et haeresiarchae Johannis Rochezane, qui se contra sedem apostolicam in archiepiscopum erigere non dubitavit. Timendum est, ne tenera regis aetas Hussitarum venenis inficiatur, apud eos manens. Deus meliora praebeat.

[5] In Austria quoque divisiones maximae vigent: civitates ac praelati unam partem fovent, alteram barones et nobiles. Illis Ayzingherus quidam praeest, vir sensatus et animus[7] fortis[8], horum princeps est comes Ciliae Ulricus neque ipse vecors. Illi Caesarem ad regimen patriae, dum puer est Ladislaus, iterum[9] optare se ajunt, hi Caesari adversissimi sunt, sed Caesari de rebus eorum nulla cura est, quorum fidem et variam et fallacem expertus est.

[6] Apud Rheni ac Sueviae partes reformata pax est. Marchio Albertus, qui cum civitatibus imperialibus superioribus annis[10] bellum gessit, accepta pecunia in gratiam cum his rediit.

[7] Dux Borgundiae cum Gandavensibus gravi proelio congressus victoriam {153r} obtinuit stragemque civibus illis edisse fertur, in qua supra 12 milia civium cecidere. Non tamen capta civitas est, sed dedita, ut ajunt, auri magno pondere repromisso.[11] Filippus[12] nunc exercitum adversus aliquas civitates, quae res novas moliebantur et ad regem Hungariae Ladislaum inclinabantur, in ducatu Luzeburgensi traduxit terramque sibi ex integro subjicere conatur.

[8] In Pruscia, quae ad mare Balteum pertinet, quinque[13] et quinquaginta civitates adversus fratres ordinis Beatae Mariae Teutonicorum, qui eis dominabantur, ex magna parte jugum excussere dicentesque se nimis dure teneri, foedus invicem percusserunt, quod fratres iniquum esse asserunt. Summus pontifex jam illud, cognita causa, damnavit, sed cum civitates non acquiescerent, ad tribunal imperatorium ambae partes vocatae sunt ex compromisso earum. Fratres ordinis ad dictam diem venerunt; legati civitatum, cum per Moraviam iter facerent, latrones inciderunt magnumque pondus argenti pellesque pretiosas, quas Caesari dono ferebant, amiserunt neque adhuc ex integro liberati sunt, quamvis rex Ladislaus, in cujus territorio capti fuerunt, eos relaxari mandaverit. Ob eam rem judicium dilatum est, cujus dies ad 12. kalendas Novembris[14] statutus est[15]. In dubium jam vertitur, an civitates denuo judicium subeant, tum quia causam parum justam habere videntur, tum quia regem Poloniae faventem habent et plus in armis quam in legibus esse praesidii putare creduntur.

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[1] ~~inter catholicos et haereticos~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~catholicorum et haereticorum~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~ibi~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~sperare / quod illic boni illic illih~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~re~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~heretica labe infectus~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] animi WO
[8] ~~hos~~ *seq.* cod.
[9] supralin. cod.
[10] superioribus annis *corr. ex* diu cod.
[11] sed dedita … repromisso *add. in marg.* cod.
[12] *corr. ex* is cod.
[13] ~~et quinqua~~ *seq.* cod.
[14] *corr. ex* Octobris diebus cod.
[15] ~~dubium~~ *seq.* cod.

[4] He is now intent on receiving the crown in Bohemia and has decided that the coronation will take place on the Feast of Saint Michael. The Bohemians insist that he should come as soon as possible and - as is their wont - promise him mountains of gold when he comes. He will be lucky if he is not forced to give them anything. The kingdom is in complete disorder, harassed, and weakened on all sides. There are two factions there: the Catholics,[1] who are more numerous, and the heretics,[2] who are more powerful. Nothing good can be expected from this people. Georg, the governor of the kingdom, is a terror to all and mostly follows the counsel of the archimandrite, hypocrite, and heresiarch Jan Rokycana, who has not hesitated to set himself up as an archbishop[3] against the [will of] the Apostolic See. It is to be feared that the king of tender age will be infected with the Hussite poison when he stays with them. May God provide better for them.

[5] In Austria, too, division prevails: the cities and prelates favour one party, the barons and the nobles the other. Eitzinger, a sensible and courageous man, leads the former, and the Count of Celje,[4] no fool, either, leads the latter. The first party say they want the emperor to govern the country during Ladislaus' childhood, but the emperor will have nothing to do with those whose fickle and false loyalty he has experienced.[5]

[6] In the Rhineland and Swabia, peace has been re-established. In previous years, Margrave Albrecht[6] fought with the imperial cities[7], but now he has received a sum of money, and amicable relations have been restored.

[7] The Duke of Burgundy[8] has won a fierce battle[9] against the people of Ghent and reportedly inflicted a veritable massacre upon them, in which 12,000 citizens fell. The town was not conquered but surrendered, having promised - they tell - a large amount of gold. Philippe has now led his army into the Duchy of Luxembourg against cities that were plotting against him and favoured King Ladislaus of Hungary, and he is seeking to subjugate the whole territory.

[8] In Prussia, bordering the Baltic Sea, 55 cities have [allied themselves] against the brothers of the Order of Saint Mary of the Germans[10] and have largely thrown off their yoke, claiming that they are ruled too harshly. The brothers, however, declare the cities are acting badly. After an investigation into the matter, the Supreme Pontiff condemned the cities, but when they did not obey, the two parties agreed to be summoned before the imperial tribunal. The brothers of the Order arrived before the appointed day, but while the cities' legates were travelling through Moravia, they fell into robbers' hands and lost a large sum of money and precious furs they were bringing with them as gifts for the emperor. They have not yet been set free, though King Ladislaus, in whose territory they were captured, has ordered their release. Therefore, the court proceedings have been postponed to the 21st of October. However, it is now in doubt whether the cities will accept the judgement since their cause seems to have little merit and they have the support of the King of Poland[11] and are believed to trust more in arms than in laws.

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[1] Loyal to the Roman Church.
[2] The Hussites.
[3] Archbishop of Prague, as recognised by emperors Sigismund, Albrecht and by Ladislaus.
[4] Ulrich II of Celje.
[5] Indeed, the year before, the Austrians, under Eitzinger's leadership, had rebelled against the emperor's tutelary government of Austria and forced him to release Ladislaus from his wardship.
[6] Albrecht II von Brandenburg.
[7] Especially Nürnberg.
[8] Philippe III le Bon.
[9] The Battle of Gavre, 22 July 1453.
[10] The Teutonic Order.
[11] Kazimierz IV.

[9] Sic partes Germaniae tribulatae sunt nec meliores quam Italicae. Itaque tempus sibi aptissimum Turcus invenit, quo Christianos invaderet. Nostro et alieno gladio confodimur, procuratores Turci omnes sumus Mahumetoque viam praeparamus. Nisi mitiori nos oculo Deus intueatur, maxima Christiano populo jactura instat. Haec habui, quae modo scriberem.

Recommendo me et ecclesiam meam senatui vestro. Spero me brevi ad vestras magnificentias venturum, quarum mandatis praesto sum obedire. Caesar vestrae rei publicae affectissimus est et quantum fieri potest, ut pacem sectimini suadet. Ex Grez Styrie, die 25. Septembris 1453[1].

[1] ~~Eneas Dei et apostolicae sedis gratis episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

[9] Thus, there are troubles in Germany, and things are not better in Italy. Indeed, the Turk has found the most opportune time to invade the Christians. We are being transpierced both by our own and by others' swords. We are all acting like Turkish agents and preparing the way for Muhammad. Unless God looks more kindly upon us, a catastrophe threatens the Christian people. This is what I had to write for now.

I recommend myself and my church to your senate and hope shortly to join Your Magnificences, whose commands I am always ready to obey. The emperor greatly favours your republic and urges you to pursue peace as far as possible. From Graz in Steiermark, 25 September 1453.

377. Letter to Goro Lolli (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 153v*[1] [2]**.
Editions A: *Weiss, 61.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 148, pp. 274-275 (on the basis of W1).*

{153v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Gregorio, legum doctori et fratri suo amantissimo salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Tuis et aliorum assiduis vocibus accersitus domum, quid aliud agam, nisi ut quam primum veniam? Multae sunt remanendi causae: bellum patriae, quod fervescere in dies magis ajunt; imperium Romani pontificis, qui me penes Caesarem esse cupit; imperatoris affectio, qui me dimittit invitus. Intelliges ex me aliud, cum rediero, majus. Sed vincit amor amicorum et patriae zelus. Necesse est ecclesiae subvenire; illi ante omnes obligatus sum. Veniam: sinite rogare ulterius; vicistis; nemo in me supra quam vos potest. Dicis "Quando?" Prope[4] festivitatem divi Martini, si vixero, hinc recedere animus est. De via nihil judicare temporis conditio sinit. Perdo ad vos rediens[5] utriusque monarchi gratiam, plus mihi vos estis. Quod jubetis amici, necesse est, faciam. Malo cum vestro consilio perire, quam meo[6] regem fieri.

[2] De litteris ad me missis non est, cur amplius queraris. A quattuor mensibus citra frequentes tuas epistolas accepi: hoc mense novem epistolae tuae mihi redditae sunt[7]. De morte matris tuae, amitae meae carissimae, dolorem tuum intellexi, meum sensi. Rescripsi tibi, non est frustra cor affligendum: illi bene esse non dubito[8], cujus vita sanctissima fuit. Praecessit, non recessit: sequenda est, nec nos diu manebimus, fugit ante oculos vita. Mors est, quidquid praecessit. Gaudeo Franciscam nuptui traditam esse. Novitates non scribo ad te: magnificis dominis nostris omnia nota efficio, neque illa te latebunt.

Vale. Ex Grez, die 25. Septembris 1458. Tuus Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[1] DV, 312
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Gregorio doctori. Eximie doctor frater amantissime cod.
[4] *corr. ex* ante cod.
[5] papam *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~solo~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] hoc mense … sunt *add. in marg.* cod.
[8] non dubito *corr. ex* cupio cod.

377. Letter to Goro Lolli (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Piccolomini's relatives and friends had repeatedly urged him to return to Siena.*
Subject: *Piccolomini assures Lolli that he will return to Siena in the near future.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ser Goro, Doctor of Laws and his beloved brother.

[1] You and others insistently urge me to return home, so what else can I do than come as soon as possible? There are many reasons to remain here: the war in our country, which is said to grow fiercer daily; the command of the Roman Pontiff, who wants me to remain with the emperor; the affection of the emperor, who is reluctant to let me go. And there is an even more important reason that I shall tell you about when I return.[1] But my love for friends and zeal for our fatherland prevail. It is necessary to provide for my church [of Siena], and I am more obliged to her than to anything or anyone else. So, I shall come! You need to ask no more, for you have won, and nobody has greater influence upon me than you. "When?" you ask. If I am still alive, I intend to leave here around the Feast of Saint Martin. The present situation makes it difficult to select a route. When I return to you, I shall lose the favour of both monarchs,[2] but you mean more to me. I must do what you, my friends, request me to. I would rather perish for your sake than become a king for my own.

[2] Concerning the letters you have sent to me, you need no longer complain. I have received several of your letters in the last four months. Indeed, this month, nine letters from you were delivered to me. So, I have heard about your sorrow at the death of your mother,[3] my dearest aunt, and I felt it myself. I replied that you should not lament in vain: I am sure that she, whose life was most holy, is now blessed. She did not leave us; she preceded us. We shall follow her, for we will not remain here for long: life is fleeing before our eyes. Death will come, whatever happened before. I am happy that Francesca[4] has married. I do not send you news, for I have done so to Our Magnificent Lords,[5] and they will let you know.

Farewell. From Graz, 25 September 1458. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] The Emperor and King Ladislaus were requesting the pope to make Piccolomini a cardinal. If Piccolomini left now, he might lose their support.

[2] The Emperor and King Ladislaus.

[3] Bartolomea Tolomei Lolli.

[4] Presumably, a member of the Lolli family.

[5] The city government of Siena, see letter 376.

378. Letter to Mariano Sozzini (27 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 153v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 62.*
Editions B *WO, 3: 1, 149, p. 275 (on the basis of W1).*

{153v} Domino Mariano Sozino. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Mariano Sozino, clarissimo juris interpreti, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Brevissimas[3] et tui similes[4] ad me litteras[5] scripsisti. Accipe breviores et mihi conformiores[6]. Commendasti Johannis Pecci, optimi et nobilis adolescentis, negotium[7]. Non fuerunt[8] preces tuae frustra: absoluta res est.

Vale. Ex Grez, 5. Kalendas Octobris 1453.

[1] DV, 312
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *corr. ex* brevissimam cod.
[4] *corr. ex* similem cod.
[5] *corr. ex* litteram cod.
[6] *corr. ex* conformes cod.
[7] ~~absolutum est~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~frustra tue~~ *seq.* cod

378. Letter to Mariano Sozzini (27 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Also Mariano Sozzini had recommended Giovanni Pecci to Piccolomini (see letters 371 and 376)*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Sozzini that the matter had been settled favourably.*

To Ser Mariano Sozzini. Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ser Mariano Sozzini, distinguished jurist.

[1] You have written me a letter that is very short, just like yourself. Receive this letter that is even shorter, just like myself.[1] You recommended the matter of Giovanni Pecci, an excellent and noble young man. Your request was not in vain: the matter is settled.

Farewell. From Graz, 27 September 1453.

[1] This is a joke on the short size of both Sozzini and Piccolomini.

379. Letter to Juan Carvajal (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 153v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 63.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 150, p. 276 (on the basis of W1).*

{153v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, commendatum se facit.[3]

[1] Veniente Johanne Hinderbachio Romam, {154r} qui tuae dignationis servum sese profitetur, vir doctus et omnium, quae apud nos aguntur, gnarus, non est cur multa scribam. Ipse mea vox erit; meum animum ex ipso cognosces. Quia tamen amici causa negligenda non est, dicam in re domini Ulrici Sonemberger pauca, non quod intendam eum commendare dignationi vestrae, apud quam suis precibus indigerem, sed ut testimonium veritati praebeam, quod ab ipso recipi non potest. Res illa Gurcensis praticata est et conclusa me non solum praesente, verum etiam laudante. Scio pura et sincera omnia esse. Quomodo initium habuerit et quo pacto deducta sit, scribo sanctissmo domino nostro. Si quis aliter ausus fuerit dicere, scito illum a vero procul esse. Haec idcirco dixerim, quia cum in aliis ecclesiis Ulricus repulsam habuerit, possent esse, qui eum contra jus fasque ambire dignitatem dicerent. Sed cum mihi nota sit rei series et ipsius Ulrici sinceritas[4], dignum duxi, etiam non rogatus, veritati servire et homini, de Romana ecclesia bene merenti, ne quid ob malas linguas, quae in omnem curiam serpunt, detrimenti patiatur, occurret[5] [6]. Habes ergo, quamvis leviusculum est, testimonium meum, quod adversus obloquentes possis objicere. Cetera penes dignationem vestram abunda sunt, quibus amici causam juvetis. Commendo me dignationi tuae reverendissimae, et, si possibile est, auxilio tuo annatarum sarcina levari cupio.

Ex Grez, die 25. Septembris 1453.

[1] DV, 312
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Reverendissimo … facit *corr. ex* Domino Sancti Angeli. Reverendissime in Christo pater domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[4] et ipsius … sinceritas *add. in marg.* cod.
[5] *em.;* occurre cod.
[6] ~~reliqu~~ *seq.* cod.

379. Letter to Juan Carvajal (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *The Bishop of Gurk had been persuaded to retire in preparation for the episcopal appointment of Ulrich Sonnenberger, a rising imperial official and counsellor.*

Subject: *Picccolomini informs Carvajal that the procedure in the matter of Gurk has been fair and honest and warns him against slanders that might prevent Sonnenberger's appointment.*

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Lord Cardinal Juan of Sant'Angelo, Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

[1] Johann Hinderbach, a learned man who is well-informed about all that happens here and declares himself a servant of Your Grace, is going to Rome. Therefore, I need not write much. He will be my voice and tell you what I think and feel. Nevertheless, since a friend's cause should not be neglected, I shall say a few words regarding Herr Ulrich Sonnenberger's case, not because I wish to commend him to Your Grace, since, indeed, it is I who would need his recommendation [and not the opposite], but to give a testimony to the truth that you can not hear from himself.[1] The matter of Gurk[2] was negotiated and concluded in my presence, and I praised the outcome: I know that all was done honourably and sincerely (I shall write to Our Most Holy Lord[3] how the matter was initiated and conducted). If anyone dares to say otherwise, know that he is far from the truth. I say this because since Ulrich was not accepted by some other dioceses, some may claim that he is grasping for the [episcopal] dignity against justice and right. But since I know how the whole matter developed and how guileless Ulrich is, I find it worthwhile - even if unasked - to serve the truth and a man who has deserved well of the Roman Church, lest he should be harmed by those evil tongues that infest[4] every court. So, this is my testimony, lightweight as it may be, that you may use against detractors. But Your Grace has other [arguments] that you can use to help a friend. I commend myself to Your Most Reverend Grace and ask for your help, if possible, to relieve me of the burden of the annates.[5]

From Graz, 25 September 1453.

[1] Presumably, because his modesty would forbid it.

[2] Presumably, the abdication of Johann Schallermann from the See of Gurk in preparation for the election of Ulrich Sonnenberger.

[3] The pope.

[4] "serpunt"

[5] Fee to be paid to the papal treasury for his appointment to the See of Siena.

380. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 154r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 64.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 151, p. 277 (on the basis of W1).*

{154r} Magnifico et generoso comiti domino Petro de Noxeto Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Johannes Hinderbachius, juris interpres ac Caesarei culminis orator, mihi singulari benevolentia conjunctus est[4]. Id volui, ut scires, ut ad te veniens non sua tantum virtute sed meam quoque ob causam[5] tuum et favorem et auxilium inveniat. Litteras tuas, quas de militia fieri jussisti, ipse dictavit et nunc ad te defert. Cupit annumerari servitoribus tuis {155r} mererique tuam gratiam, quod sibi non diffcile proposui et propter tuam in omnes lenitatem et propter ejus praestantiam, qui vir bonus est et supra mores suae gentis doctus. Causam is acturus est nostri Ulrici Sonemberger, imperialis consiliarii, quam cupio pro tua consuetudine commendatam suscipias. Honesta est enim et digna tuo favore, nam et Caesari cordi est[6]. Si ostenderis preces meas aliquid in hae re valuisse[7], me non parum extolles.

[2] In facto Pataviensis ecclesiae scripsi tibi nuper id esse imperatoris propositum, ut papa inter se et electum arbitretur et judicio suo acquiescet. Id etiam Johannes ratificabit. Rogo ergo, quia finis illi ecclesiae eo modo dari poterit, ne me fraudari promissionibus patiaris, nam cardinalem Metensem adversari mihi subodoro, non tantum, ut mihi incommodet, quantum ut amici sui causam promoveat. Sed puto te non minus posse quam ille.

Vale. Ex Grez, die 25. Septembris 1458[8].

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[1] DV, 313
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Magnifico … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Petro de Noxeto. Magnifice et generose comes major honorande cod.
[4] *supralin.* cod.
[5] ~~a te~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~rogo ostens~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~magnipendam~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~Tuus Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

380. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks for da Noceto's help in the matters of the dioceses of Gurk and Passau.*[1]

To His Magnificence, the Noble Lord, Count Pietro da Noceto, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Johann Hinderbach, jurist and ambassador of His Imperial Highness, is a close friend of mine. I want you to know this so that when he comes to you, he will find favour and help not only because of his own virtues but also for my sake. It was he who wrote the letter[2] concerning your knighthood, and now he brings it to you. He wishes to be counted among your servants and to gain your favour. I have told him that it will not be difficult given your kindness towards all and also because of his own excellent qualities since he is a good man and learned more than usual among his people. The matter he will take up with you is that of our Ulrich Sonnenberger, Imperial Councillor, which I recommend you support in your usual manner. It is an honourable cause worthy of your assistance, for it is close to the emperor's heart. If you show that my request has any weight in this matter, you will do me a great honour.

[2] Concerning the Church of Passau, I wrote to you recently[3] that the emperor proposes that the pope arbitrate between himself and the elect[4], and that he will then accept the pope's judgement. Johann will formally confirm it. I ask that the matter of this church be settled in such a way that you will not allow the promises[5] made to me to lapse since I perceive that the Cardinal of Metz[6] opposes me, not to make trouble for me personally but to promote the cause of a friend. But I believe you can do more than him.

Farewell. From Graz, 25 September 1458.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 542.
[2] The imperial letter of appointment.
[3] Letter 367.
[4] Ulrich von Nussdorf.
[5] That Piccolomini be awarded a benefice of the elect, viz., the parish of Irdning.
[6] Guillaume Hugues d'Estaing.

381. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 154v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 155*[3].
Editions B: *AC, vol. 2/2, nr. 3649; WO, 3: 1, 152, pp. 277-278 (on the basis of W1).*

{155v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Nicolao, Sancti Petri cardinali, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, commendatum se facit[4].

[1] Venit ad Romanam curiam[5] Johannes Hinderbach, servitor tuus, in facto ecclesiae Gurcensis, sicut ex eo cognosces. Supplico, res illa commendata sit dignationi tuae, quoniam pura et simplex est omnique labe carens. De re Pataviensi scripsi mentem Caesaris domino nostro sanctissimo. Si sua sanctitas medium apertum amplectetur, poterit negotium[6] facillime componi. Ibi rogo, ut mei sis memor, quemadmodum alias spem certam dedisti. Scripsi dignationi tuae ad Brixinam de rebus Constantinopolitanis longam epistolam; nescio an illam habueris. Doleo, si perdita est. Scribebam etiam de factis tuis apud Caesarem agitatis. Clericus quidam tuae diocesis illas tulit, qui huc venerat impetraturus legitimationem. De novis harum partium non est opus me scribere, quia ex Johanne cuncta intelliges. Precor, operam des ad pacem Italiae, ne dum litigamus invicem, praeda Turcorum simus.

Vale et me commendatum inter servulos tuos habeto. Ex Grez, die 25. Septembris 1453[7].

[1] DV, 314
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 135v
[4] Reverendissimo … facit *corr. ex* Domino sancti Petri. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem cod.
[5] ~~d.~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *corr. ex* res cod.
[7] ~~Servulus vester, Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

381. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs the cardinal of Johann Hinderbach's arrival in Rome and recommends the matter of Gurk to him. He also mentions his own previous letter to the cardinal on the Fall of Constantinople.*

To the Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Nikolaus, Lord Cardinal of San Pietro, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Johann Hinderbach, your servant, is going to the Roman Curia in the matter of the Church of Gurk, as you will hear from himself. I beg to commend this matter to Your Grace since it is pure, straightforward, and blameless. Regarding the matter of Passau, I have written[1] to Our Most Holy Lord about the emperor's intentions. If His Holiness accepts the proposed solution, the matter can be settled easily. Please remember me as you have otherwise assured me you would. I have written a long letter[2] to Your Grace in Brixen about the events in Constantinople. I do not know whether you received it. I regret if it has gone lost. I also wrote about your own affairs,[3] which were taken up with the emperor. A certain cleric from your diocese, who had come to apply for legitimation,[4] brought the letter back with him. There is no need to write about the news from these parts since you will hear it all from Johann. I beg you to work for peace in Italy, lest we become the prey of the Turks while we fight each other.

Farewell, and do consider me as one of your servants. From Graz, 25 September 1453.

[1] Not extant. Piccolomini may be referring to his letter of 18 September 1453 to Pietro da Noceto asking him to submit a proposed solution to the pope (letter 376).

[2] Letter of 21 July 1453 (letter 341).

[3] The matter of customs duties at Klausen, see letter 341:1. See notes in AC.

[4] Presumably, from illegitimate birth.

382. Letter to Leonardo Benvoglienti (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 155r-157v [1] [2] **; BNF / 4154, ff. 90r sqq.[3]; (WO: BAV / Ottob. 1170, ff. 351r sqq.; BMA / cl. XIV, 252 sqq.; ÖNB / 3244, ff. 123v sqq.)[4]*
Editions A: *Weiss, 66.*
Editions B: *RTA, 19/1: pp. 38-41 (large extract); WO, 3: 1, 153, pp. 278-285 (on the basis of W1 and BNF);*

{155r} Leonardo de Benevolentibus, civi Senensi et apud illustre dominium Venetorum oratori, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Bene a te factum est, qui res Latinas et Graecas ad me scripsisti, nam etsi captam[5] Constantinopolim, Peram eversam, Turcum magna minantem, bellis Italiam extuantem neque spem esse concordiae sciebam, non tamen ordinem rerum, ut a te seriose traditus est, tenebam. Tuas litteras in senatu Caesareo recitavi, et quantum facundia suppeditabat, excitare torpentes animos sum conatus. Audiverunt me omnes attente dignamque rem putaverunt, pro qua cuncti Christiani et loquerentur et agerent. At Caesar ipse, ut tibi fatear, quod in re est, etsi Christianae religionis cladem invitus audit, non tamen is est, qui tam potenti hosti resistere possit, neque Christianitas ea est, quae unius capitis subire judicium velit. Non est, cur ceteras nationes referam: Germania suo regi[6] minime obsequitur. Quid dico Germaniam? Anno proxime decurso Austriam vidimus suo principi rebellantem. Parum est, quod Caesar per se potest, nisi Christiani principes in unum conveniant et unitis viribus saevissimum hostem a nostris finibus amoveant. Sed neque reges hi sunt, qui vocatu Caesaris comparere velint. Nescio, quantum Romani pontificis voces audiant.

[2] Teneo tamen sententiam tuam: intelligo male futurum Christianis rebus, nisi Christianorum unanimi consensu hostis impetus retundatur. Cum vero nostrorum principum desidiam privatasque populorum inimicitias intueor, videre videor exterminium[7] nostrum. Omnes Turci procuratores sumus. Maumetho viam omnes praeparamus. Dum imperare singuli volumus, omnes imperium amittemus[8]. De proprio commodo sumus anxii, rei publicae nulla cura est, privatis affectibus inservimus.

[3] Hinc rex Alfonsus et Veneti, inde Florentini et Mediolanenses suas injurias prosequuntur. Vindictam isti atque illi deposcunt. Injurias Christo irrogatas pauci deflent, nullus ulciscitur. Quod[9], si facta nostra recte pensare vellemus, inveniremus Deum proculdubio nobis jure merito magis infestum esse debere quam Turcis[10]. Ille deceptus ei, quem prophetam esse credit, obsequitur. Nos scientes mandata divina negligimus.

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[1] DV, 315-319
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *As collated by WO.*
[4] *Not collated.*
[5] urbem *add.* BNF
[6] *corr. ex* principi W1
[7] *em.;* sterminium W1
[8] amittimus BNF
[9] quare WO
[10] *corr. ex* Turcho W1

382. Letter to Leonardo Benvoglienti (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Benvoglienti had written to Piccolomini about the Fall of Constantinople.*
Subject: *Piccolomini describes the deplorable passivity of the European powers despite the threat of continued Turkish aggression.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Leonardo Benvoglienti,[2] Sienese citizen and ambassador to the illustrious Venetian dominion.

[1] It was good of you to write[3] to me about the Latin and Greek affairs, for though I knew that Constantinople had been conquered, that Pera had been subjugated, that the Turk is fiercely threatening, that Italy is aflame with war, and that there is no hope for concord, I did not have a complete picture of the events you described so meticulously. I read your letter to the imperial senate[4] and endeavoured to arouse the sleepy minds as far as eloquence allowed. All heard me attentively and considered the matter so important that all Christians should discuss and act upon it. But - to speak frankly - though it pains the emperor[5] to hear about this disaster to the Christian religion, he is unable to oppose such a powerful enemy [on his own], and Christendom is not willing to obey a single leader. There is no need to mention other nations: Germany hardly obeys its own king. But why talk about Germany? Just last year, we saw Austria rebel against its prince.[6] The emperor can do little unless the Christian princes meet and, with united forces, remove the savage enemy from our lands. But the kings will not obey the emperor's summons, and I do not know if they would heed even the Roman Pontiff.[7]

[2] Nonetheless, I agree with your opinion and think it will be bad for Christianity if the enemy's attack is not checked by unanimous Christian consensus. But when I see the apathy of our princes and the private enmities of our peoples, I seem to see our destruction. We are all the agents of the Turk. We are preparing the way for Mehmed.[8] Wanting to rule individually, we lose our power together. We are only concerned about our own affairs and have no regard for the commonwealth: we are slaves of our private passions.

[3] On the one side, King Alfonso[9] and the Venetians, on the other, the Florentines and the Milanese pursue their own vendettas. Both the first and the second want revenge. Few lament the injuries inflicted upon Christ; there is no one to avenge them. Therefore, if we properly considered our actions, we would undoubtedly find that God has much greater reason to be angry with us than with the Turks. Mehmed[10] follows one[11] whom he erroneously believes to be a prophet, whereas we knowingly neglect the divine commands.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 38, 537, 548.
[2] Benvoglienti, Leonardo (c. 1400 to c. 1483): Sienese poltician, official and diplomat. He was a friend of Piccolomini. When Piccolomini became pope, Benvoglienti supported his papal crusade project but energetically opposed his interventions in Sienese politics (see article by Prunai in DBI).
[3] Letter not extant.
[4] The imperial council.
[5] Friedrich III.
[6] The Austrian rebellion in 1452 to obtain the release of Ladislaus the Posthumous from Friedrich's wardship and his tutelary government.
[7] Bisaha: *From*, p. 76.
[8] Or the prophet Muhammad.
[9] Alfonso V of Aragon.
[10] Mehmed II.
[11] Muhammad.

[4] Insignis civitas, caput orientis, Graecie columen[1], imperii ac patriarchae magni sedes prostrata jacet. Insignia Christi salvatoris deleta sunt, loca suo nomini dedicata spurcitiae patent, nomen ejus sine fine blasphematur, reliquiae sanctorum ante ora canum porcorumque jaciuntur, nec excuti[2] potest Christianorum somnus. Quid caedes in regia urbe factas referam, prostitutas virgines, ephebos muliebria passos, violatas sanctimoniales, omne monachorum[3] feminarumque genus turpiter habitum. Horret animus dicere[4] insolitum inauditum scelus, dicam tamen ad confusionem nostram, qui talia pati possumus[5]. Ajunt, qui praesentes fuere, spurcissimum illum Turcorum ducem, sive, ut aptius loquar[6], taeterrimam bestiam apud summam aram sancte Sophiae propalam videntibus omnibus nobilissimam virginem ac fratrem ejus adolescentem regalis sanguinis construprasse necarique deinde jussisse[7].

[5] {155v} Haec fiunt et silemus. Parum est, quod Deo debere nos arbitramur. Sed ait fortasse quispiam non posse facta infecta esse. Verum, si quis hortum nostrum[8] ingressus vi poma nostra vel olera sustulerit, non est, quod iram nostram moderari quisquam possit: turgent animi, furiunt mentes, jubet arma bilis capere neque vel leve furtum sinit inultum ire. Divinae majestatis injurias sedatis animis toleramus. Siccine Moyses factitavit? Siccine Phineas aut Mathathias zelatus est legem domini? O miseri Christiani, ingratum genus hominum! *Nulla est natio tam grandis, quae habet deos appropinquantes sibi, sicut adest nobis dominus Deus noster*. Immensa beneficia sunt, quae nobis divina pietas elargita est. At ubi gratitudo nostra est? Quae nobis pro divino nomine cura imminet? Quae nos sollicitudo pro Christi honore remordet? Nullum in Graecia simulacrum ejus relinquitur, nullum signum. Taceo de sepulchro suo, quod Saraceni tenent: vetus illa res est, nova ista commemoro. Nullum non templum in Constantinopoli profanatum est, omnia sacra polluta sunt. Quid faciemus ad haec? Credo iterum crucifigi dominum sineremus, si rursus mortalibus se aspectibus praesentaret. Quid dixi? Sineremus alios crucifigere dominum? Vereor, ne nos ipsi manus impias in eum injiceremus[9].

[6] Tanta est nequitia ac perfidia nostra, nam quid est, quod nos de lege divina servemus? Quae civitas non admittit usuras? Quis jejunat, quis festos dies religiose colit? Quot falsa testimonia, quot perjuria, quot adulteria dietim admittuntur? Quis promissi tenax aut honesti amans reperitur? Ille prudentior habetur, qui plures fallit. Nec parentes honoramus nec filios honesta docemus. In dominos rebelles,[10] in servos superbi sumus. Avaritie omnes studemus, libidinem sequimur, voluptati servimus. Innocentiae nullus est cultus. Quid mirum, si furor domini supra nos excitatus Turcum elevat et inimici gladium super cervices nostras extendit? In leges divinas impie agere impune non cedit.

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[1] culmen BNF
[2] *corr. ex* excitare W1; excuti BNF
[3] ~~genus~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~inauditum / insolidum~~ *seq.* W1
[5] qui talia possumus *add. in marg.* W1
[6] sive ut … loquar *supralin.* W1
[7] necarique deinde jussisse *corr. ex* ac deinde necari jussisse W1
[8] *omit.* BNF
[9] *corr. ex* eiiceremus W1
[10] ~~in subditos~~ *seq.* W1

[4] The eminent city,[1] the capital of the East, the pillar of Greece, the seat of an empire and a great patriarch lies prostrate. The images of Christ the Saviour have been destroyed, and the places dedicated to His name have been defiled. His name is endlessly blasphemed, and the relics of the saints are thrown to dogs and pigs, but still the Christian slumber cannot be broken. Why recount the killings in the royal city, the virgins prostituted, the young men assaulted sexually, the nuns raped, and all monks and women abused? The mind shudders to speak about such egregious and unheard-of crimes, but still, I shall mention them to our shame since we can tolerate such things. Those who were present claim that the filthy leader of the Turks, or better, that horrible beast, in the sight of all, violated the most noble virgin and her young brother of the royal blood on the high altar of Hagia Sophia and then ordered them put to death.

[5] While this is happening, we stay silent. Apparently, we think that we owe little to God. Maybe somebody will say that we cannot undo what has been done. But if someone were to enter our garden and carry off our fruits and vegetables, our anger would be unrestrained: the souls would swell, the minds would rage, and bile would command us to take up weapons and not allow even the slightest theft to go unpunished. Yet we tranquilly tolerate outrages done to the Divine Majesty. Is that what Moses did? Is that the zeal Phineas and Matathias showed for the Lord's law? O wretched Christians! O ungrateful race of men! *There is no other nation so great, that hath gods so nigh them, as our God is present to all our petitions.*[2] Immense are the favours shown us by the Divine Piety, but where is our gratitude? Where is our concern for the divine name? What solicitude for Christ's honour troubles us? No image or symbol of His remains in Greece. I say nothing about His tomb, which the Saracens hold: that is an old grievance; here, I am talking about the new. Every temple in Constantinople has been profaned; all the holy things defiled. What will we do about that? I believe that if the Lord showed Himself again to men, we would allow Him to be crucified again. What did I say? Would we let others crucify the Lord? Nay, I fear that we ourselves would lay our impious hands on Him.

[6] Such is our wickedness and perfidy, for how do we keep the divine law? What city does not allow usury? Who keeps the fast, who observes the feast days piously? How many false testimonies, how many perjuries, and how many adulteries are not committed daily? Who is found loyal to his word and loving honesty? That man is considered clever who deceives many. We do not honour our parents, and we do not teach our sons decency. We rebel against our lords and treat our servants with arrogance. We applaud greed, indulge in sex, and serve pleasure. There is no respect for innocence. Is it surprising that the Lord's anger has flamed up, that He raises up the Turks and points the enemy's sword at our necks? Acting impiously against the divine laws carries its own punishment.

[1] Constantinople.

[2] Deuteronomy, 4: 7.

[7] Turcus igitur, hostis immanissimus, divino judicio Constantinopolim expugnavit, Peram delevit, multos mortales occidit, gravissimo vulnere Christianitatem afflixit. Verum cum neque sic excitemur neque mores mutemus, prosequitur ille victoriam suam: Cicladas omnes invadit, Aegaeum atque Jonicum sibi mare substernit, nullas incolumes Greciae reliquias dimittit. Transit etiam versus Hungaros, retro se nihil dubium, nihil adversum sibi relinquit. Facile non repugnantes[1] evincit. Italiam anno proximo invadere statuit, classem ingentem struit, bello quoque necessaria providet. Transitum[2] ex Durachio in Brundusium sibi delegit. Hac olim Pompejus Caesarque trajecit in Graeciam, hac Latini saepe transeuntes exercitus reges Asiae domuerunt. Non est ab re, si hac diebus nostris orientales copiae penetrantes Latinas opes evertant. Omnium rerum vicissitudo est, nulla potentia perpetuo manet. Fuerunt Itali rerum domini, nunc Turcorum inchoatur imperium. Justa divinae majestatis ira est. Abusi potestate praecipites imus, ex regno in servitutem damur, digna pro factis supplicia pendimus. Haec ego non tuis solum litteris edoctus sum, verum etiam ex his, qui de Rascia {156r} dietim ad nos convolant.

[8] Ab his asseritur despotus, quae pretiosa et carissima sibi sunt[3] in abdita loca deportasse, neque enim satis Turco fidit, quamvis habet cum eo foedus[4]. Nec enim quidquam levius apud illum esse quam fides traditur. Dictum indictum facit, nihil stabile, nihil in eo certum est.[5] Saepe illud ab eo auditum fertur: “Neque magnus neque liber imperator essem, si verbis obligari possem.” Timet igitur despotus inconstantiam hominis. Hungaria et omnis vicinia potentiam ejus[6] reformidat, qui[7] proximam quamque[8] victoria gradum alterius ducit neque per socordiam aut ignaviam torpescere milites sinit. Haec nostri principes velut somnia reputant et inanes fabellas.

[9] Crede mihi, Leonarde, etsi nunc, dum vulnus est recens, nonnulli videntur incensi et de communi bono curare, tamen post menses, ubi tepuerit fervor, non erit, qui verbum faciat. Silebimus[9] de his rebus et inter nos totis viribus concertabimus, donec veniat nuntius, qui Turcum jam litus Italicum appulisse confirmet. Judicium Dei est; plectimur pro peccatis nostris. Proh, gentes in reprobum date sensum! Cur viscera nostra confodimus, cur nostras maculamus manus? Si mori placet et pectus aperire ferro, cur non potius hostili quam nostro gladio cadimus? Quid bello civili quaerimus? Imperium Turco paramus, non nobis.

[10] Illi fortasse durus esset introitus, si viribus suis Italia salvis expectaret adventum[10]. Sed conterimus nosipsos, manus nostras brachiaque truncamus, ne venienti Turco supersit, qui vim ejus retundere possit. Haec agunt[11] Itali nostri, ut a te audio, quos[12] summo pontifici quaerenti pacem negare aures scribis[13]. Indurati sunt, ruere cupiunt.

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[1] pugnantes BNF
[2] ~~sibi~~ *seq.* W1
[3] ~~versus~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~aiunt enim~~ *seq.* W1
[5] ~~qui propterea se magnum affirmat, solet autem illum usurpare sermonem~~ *seq.* W1
[6] *supralin.* W1
[7] ~~potitus victoria~~ *seq.* W1
[8] quamcunque BNF
[9] ~~et~~ *seq.* W1
[10] Illi fortasse … adventum *omit.* BNF
[11] *del.* W1
[12] *corr. ex* nec enim W1
[13] *corr. ex* praebent W1

[7] So, the cruel Turk,[1] by God's judgement, conquered Constantinople, destroyed Pera, killed many people, and severely wounded Christianity. But since this does not shock us or make us change our ways, Mehmed pursues his victory: he invades all the Cyclades, spreads out over the Aegean and the Ionian Sea, and leaves nothing safe in Greece. He also proceeds towards Hungary and leaves nothing safe and no resistance behind him. He easily overcomes those who do not fight back. He has decided to invade Italy next year. He is building a massive fleet and procuring the necessities for war. He has chosen to pass over from Durazzo to Brindisi. That is where Pompey and Caesar once crossed over to Greece; this is where the Latins often passed over to subjugate the kings of Asia. So, it is not surprising that, in our time, the Eastern armies should take passage there to destroy the Latin troops. All things fluctuate; no power lasts forever. Once, the Italians were the lords; now the Turkish rule begins. Just is the anger of the Divine Majesty. We have abused our power, so now we are being overturned. From lords we are made into slaves. We suffer the just punishment for our sins. I know this not only from your letter but also from those who daily flee to us from Rascia.[2]

[8] They tell us that the despot[3] has removed his valuables and dearest possessions to a hiding place, not trusting the Turk, though he has a treaty with him. For they say that nothing is less important to the Turk than his given word. He takes back what he has said, and nothing is solid or certain with him. It is told that he has often been heard to say "I would be neither a great nor a free ruler if I could be bound by words." So the despot fears the man's inconstancy. Hungary and all the surrounding regions dread his power since he uses each victory as a stepping stone to the next. He does not allow his soldiers to indulge in sloth and laziness. But our princes think that all this is but dreams and fables.

[9] Believe me, Leonardo, while the wound is recent, many are aroused and care for the common good, but after some months, the fervour will cool, and nobody will keep his word. We will not talk about it but instead fight each other with all our strength until a message arrives to announce that the Turk has arrived on the shores of Italy.[4] It is God's judgement: we are being punished for our sins. Alas, the nations have been *given over to a reprobate mind*![5] Why do we stab ourselves? Why do we stain our hands with our own blood? If we want to die and bare our chests to the sword, why do we not fall by the enemy's rather than our own? What do we seek in civil war? We are preparing the Turkish rule, not our own.

[10] Possibly, their invasion would be difficult if Italy awaited their arrival with its strength intact. But we are destroying ourselves, and we are cutting off our own hands and arms, lest there be enough strength left to repel the Turk. As I hear you, this is what the Italians are doing since you write that they refuse to heed the Supreme Pontiff seeking peace. They are stubborn; they wish to be destroyed.

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[1] Mehmed II.
[2] Serbia.
[3] Durad I Brankovic (1377-1456): Despot of Serbia from 1427 to his death. Vassal of both the Ottoman sultans and the Hungarian kings.
[4] As indeed they did in 1484.
[5] Romans, 1: 28: *tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum.*

[11] Sed nec ceteri Europae populi melius agunt, sequetur sua quemque calamitas. Nescio, qui sit modo Hispaniarum status; non arbitror eos ceteris Christianis quietiores esse. Gallia semper in motu est, nunc pulsatur ab Anglicis, nunc suo sese mucrone confodit. Philippus, Borgundorum dux, acerbo nuper proelio Gandavenses afflixit, modo in Luceburgenses copias movit, qui Ladislai, regis Hungarie, dominatum vocabant. In Rheno atque Suevia novissime lites compositae sunt, novae tamen pullulare timentur. Bohemi sub expectatione novelli regis quiescunt, quem ad festum archangeli Michaelis proximum ad se venturum putant. Non desunt tamen illic simultates acerbissimae inter eos[1], qui ritum Romanae ecclesiae[2] servant, et qui novum quendam modum communionis invenerunt, cum sacramenta divina suscipiunt. Australes nondum Caesari[3] reconciliati sunt. Leges pacis inter se dixerunt, quas deinde ratas habere recusant, suntque[4] invicem civitates et barones admodum adversi. In Hungaria novae dietim contentiones emergunt. Ibi latro insignis Axamit, homo Bohemus, cum magna manu praedonum cuncta conturbat nec regni conatibus opprimi potest. In Pruscia, nobili provincia, quinque et quinquaginta civitates adversus ordinem beatae[5] Mariae Teutonicorum foedus percussere, super qua re lis modo apud Caesareum tribunal pendet. Sunt autem, qui rem potius armis {156v} quam legibus diffiniendam putant et magnum illum Poloniae regem cum civitatibus sentire confirmant. Periculosa res et multum sanguinis effusura, nisi prius componatur, quam ferrum partes stringant. Hic est Europae vultus, hic status Christianae religionis. Quocumque me verto, aut bellum reperio aut belli metum.

[12] Optimum Turco tempus et ad pernitiem nostram accomodatum. Non latent illum[6] nostrae dissensiones; quidquid agimus, apertum ei est. Non deest Asiatico prudentia sanguini. Quanto[7] [8] videbit invicem[9] discordantes periculosius, tanto nos undique urgebit vehementius. Haec, mi Leonarde, dolenda et collacrimanda tecum occurrunt, quamvis fortasse satius esset amovere ista de mente, quae nostro consilio neque curari neque levari possunt.

[13] Quid si ruat omnis terra, quam colimus? Exules hic, non cives sumus; patria nostra in caelis est: eo nostra feratur intentio.[10] Vivamus caelo et astris digni. Fugere hinc oportet. Brevis est, quam facturi sumus, in terris mora. Nihil ad nos, hujus dominium quis obtineat. *Caelum caeli domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum.* Nos, si exilium nostrum patienter et moderate duxerimus, in adoptionem veniemus filiorum Dei et in caelesti patria mercedem accipiemus bene transactae peregrinationis. Haec habui, quae tibi de rebus Graecis Latinisque responderem.

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[1] hos WO
[2] ~~tene~~ *seq*. W1
[3] ~~eor~~ *seq*. W1
[4] ~~inter~~ *seq*. W1
[5] sancte BNF
[6] ~~dissensiones nostrae / tantoque nos urgebi~~ *seq*. W1
[7] ~~nos~~ *seq*. W1
[8] quando WO
[9] ~~acrius discordantes acrius~~ *seq*. W1
[10] nostra nostra feratur intentio *corr. ex* noster aspiret intentus W1

[11] But the other peoples of Europe are not faring any better: they all face ruin. I do not know the present situation in Spain, but I believe they have no more peace than the other Christians. France is always in turmoil: now it is attacked by the English, now it wounds itself with its own sword. Duke Philippe[1] of Burgundy recently defeated the people of Ghent in a ferocious battle and has now moved his troops against the people of Luxembourg, who are clamouring for the lordship of Ladislaus,[2] King of Hungary. In the Rhineland and Suabia, conflicts have recently been settled, but new ones are feared to be festering. The Bohemians are tranquil, waiting for their new king,[3] whom they expect to arrive at the Feast of the Archangel Michael. But still there is bitter strife between those who follow the rite of the Roman Church and those who[4] have invented a new form of communion when they receive the holy sacraments.[5] The Austrians have not yet reconciled with the emperor.[6] They agreed to peace terms[7] that they afterwards refused to ratify, and their cities and barons violently disagree. In Hungary, new conflicts arise daily. There, the notorious brigand, Axamit from Bohemia, disturbs all with a large band of marauders and cannot be overcome by the kingdom's efforts. In the noble province of Prussia, 55 cities have allied themselves against the Order of Holy Mary of the Teutons. The conflict is still pending before the imperial tribunal, yet there are those who believe the matter should be resolved not by laws but by arms, and they claim that the mighty King of Poland[8] supports the cities. This is a dangerous matter and likely to cost much blood unless it is settled before the parties draw the sword. This is the situation in Europe; this is the state of the Christian religion. Wherever I turn, I find either war or fear of war.

[12] This is an ideal moment for the Turk[9] and well suited for our destruction. He is well-informed about our conflicts[10]; he knows about all our doings. Astuteness is not foreign to Asian blood. The more he sees us involved in perilous strife, the more vehemently he will pressure us from all sides. This, dear Leonardo, is what I will lament and cry about together with you, though it may be wiser not to think about what cannot be cured or eased by our counsel.

[13] But what does it matter if the whole Earth that we inhabit is destroyed? We are not citizens here; we are exiles. Our fatherland is in Heaven, and that is what we should be concerned with. Let us live as men worthy of Heaven and the stars. Let us flee from here. Brief is our stay on Earth. It matters not to us who gets to rule. *The heaven of heaven is the Lord's: but the earth he has given to the children of men.*[11] If we suffer our exile with patience and moderation, we shall become God's sons by adoption and receive the reward in the heavenly fatherland for a well-conducted pilgrimage. This is what I can answer to [your letter on] the Greek and Latin affairs.

[1] Philippe III.
[2] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[4] Thue Hussites.
[5] The communion under both species.
[6] Friedrich III.
[7] The Peace of Wiener Neustadt, March 1453
[8] Kazimierz IV.
[9] Mehmed II.
[10] Bisaha: *From*, p. 76.
[11] Psalms, 113: 24.

[14] Nunc ad ea transeo, que de sancto viro Johanne Capistranio attigisti. Placet a te scriptum esse in excusationem meam, quamvis excusatione non egeat innocens. Numquam ego illi pio et optimo pati detraxi; commendavi autem suos mores suamque vitam frequentibus litteris ac sermonibus. Meo[1] suasu Romanus eum pontifex in Germaniam misit, plurima in ejus laudem a me Caesari dicta sunt. In Vienna, maxima Austriae civitate, cum essent, qui eum persequerentur, ego ejus partes acerrime defendi. Multa in Bohemia de sua virtute praedicavi. Ad Romanam curiam et ad senatum vestrum Senensem saepe litteras dedi suae commendationis plenissimas. Quocumque locorum veni, nomen ejus extuli magnumque feci.

[15] Inique agitur mecum, si haec mihi, que scribis, praemia redduntur: malum pro bono fero. Quae me causa impellere potuisset, ut tanti viri famam lacerarem, qui me numquam laesit? Cur ego sancto viro invideam, qui nostrae nationis gloriam amplificat? Non sunt credenda mala, ubi videntur bona. Tu meorum scriptorum verborumque testis es[2]. Non est, quod me putes[3] virum vituperasse, quem me laudasse cognoscis.

[16] Taceo de[4] beata[5] illa et illustri anima jam caelum tenente divi Bernardini Senensis, nam quibus ego in locis ejus memoriam non celebrem facere sum annixus, quamvis humano praeconio non egeat, qui divino testimonio commendatur[6]. Infelicem me crederem[7] [8] ac miserrimum, si umquam, non dicam loqui adversus tam candidam animam sed somniare me[9] quidquam accideret. {157r} Nam spiritum illum sublimem atque clarissimum in *concilio deorum* receptum summoque Deo proximum esse non ambigo, cujus conversatione fuisse[10] me quondam usum adhuc gaudeo et in partem magnae felicitatis accipio.

[17] Certe, Leonarde, virorum optime, numquam[11] in mentem cecidit meam, ut tanta et tam[12] clara nomina obfuscare conarer, quorum tantus splendor est, ut nec augeri commendando nec minui detrahendo possit. Intelligo tamen, unde haec contra me jacula veniunt neque pudet referre. Cum Senis agerem anno jam[13] prope secundo, accesserunt me duo fratres ex his, quos vocamus observantes, qui postquam generalia, ut fert consuetudo, dixerunt, percunctati sunt ex me diligenter, quid rerum ageret ac ubi terrarum esset Johannes Capistranius, qua populorum frequentatione audiretur, quam gratiam Germanicae gentis haberet.

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[1] enim *add.* BNF
[2] *corr. ex* est W1
[3] ~~male de vir~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~sancta illa~~ *seq.* W1
[5] *corr. ex* sancta W1
[6] ~~dicerem me~~ *seq.* W1
[7] me crederem *supralin.* W1
[8] dicerem me infelicem *corr. ex* infelicem me crederem BNF
[9] *supralin.* W1
[10] *supralin.* W1; *omit.* BNF
[11] ~~numquam in mentem meam venit / cec~~ *seq.* W1
[12] supralin. W1
[13] *omit.* BNF

[14] Now I turn to what you wrote about the holy man, Giovanni da Capistrano. I am glad that you have written in my excuse, though the innocent have no need of excuses. I have never spoken ill of this pious and excellent father; on the contrary, I have commended his character and life in many letters and conversations. It was at my request that the Roman Pontiff[1] sent him to Germany,[2] and I have praised him greatly to the emperor. When some people opposed him in Vienna, the largest city in Austria, I defended him vigorously. I have said much about his excellent work in Bohemia. I have often written letters to the Roman Curia and your Sienese senate with commendations of him.[3] I have extolled his name and praised him everywhere I came.

[15] If this is my reward - as you write - then I am being treated unfairly and receive evil in return for good. What reason could have made me denigrate this great man who never did me any harm? Why should I envy a holy man who increases the glory of our nation? One should not believe bad things where you only see good. You are the witness to my letters and my words. You have no reason to think I have vilified a man when you know I praised him.

[16] I will say nothing about the blessed and illustrious soul of Saint Bernardino da Siena,[4] now in Heaven, for where have I not endeavoured to propagate his memory - though a man commended by divine testimony has no need of human praise? I would consider myself unfortunate and miserable if I ever - under any circumstances - spoke or just dreamed of speaking against this *white soul*.[5] For I am sure that this exalted and illustrious spirit has been received in *the assembly of gods*[6] and stands right next to the Most High God. I am still glad and consider myself fortunate to have once met him.[7]

[17] So, Leonardo, best of men, it never occurred to me to try to tarnish these great and illustrious names, whose splendour is such that it cannot be increased by praise nor diminished by criticism. However, I do understand from where these spears are thrown against me, and I am not ashamed to explain it. When I was in Siena more than a year ago, two friars from the so-called Observant [Franciscan Order] visited me. After the customary general remarks, they carefully asked me what Giovanni da Capistrano was doing, where he was staying, how many people came to hear him, and how popular he was with the German people.

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[1] Nicolaus V.

[2] In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote: *In the course of this same journey [to Rome, 1450] Aeneas also persuaded Pope Nicholas to send that holy man, Giovanni da Capistrano, a disciple of San Bernardino, to Germany to plant there the rule of St. Francis …* (COM (Meserve), 1: 20, 7).

[3] See also the emperor's letter to the pope of 12 January 1455, written by Piccolomini (vol. 10, letter 138).

[4] Bernardino da Siena [degli Albizzeschi] (1380-1444): Franciscan friar and preacher. Saint. As a youth, Piccolomini had heard and met him personally, and he wrote about him in his *De Viris Illustribus* (DVI, ch. 17).

[5] Horatius: *Satirae*, 1: 5, 41.

[6] Ps.-Sallustius: *In Ciceronem*, 3. Or, possibly, *deorum* is a scribal error for *justorum*, and then it would be a quote from Psalms, 1:5, which might be more appropriate to the context,

[7] Actually, in the company of Leonardo Benvoglienti, see DVI, 100: *He [Gabriele da Spoleto] also claimed that a man was obliged to fulfil all his intentions to do good, and from this he concluded that if someone wanted to join a religious order and afterwards regretted it, he could not get absolution unless he fulfilled his intention. This upset me since I had once wanted to join an order. I, therefore, went to see Bernardino in Rome [1426] and asked him for advice. He told me that he had never heard such a thing and put me at ease.*

[18] Ubi cuncta bona[1] audiverunt[2], ad miracula transiverunt asserentesque precibus sancti viri multos in Germania mortuos suscitatos accepisse, veritatem ex me quaesiverunt. Respondi me nihil horum compertum habere. Tunc illi, qui non tam verum quam testimonium qualecumque affectabant, contorto naso et inclinatis capitibus et, ut hypocritarum est, demissis oculis a me recesserunt. Non est mihi dubium, quin horum me[3] protervia detulerit. Nihil tamen moveor: scio, quae dixi; gaudeo conscientia mea. Si frater Johannes mihi succenset, rem se non dignam facit, nec propterea virtutem suam non colam[4]. Suo nomini suaeque famae[5] favebo, dum vixero, neque bonum virum timebo[6], qui nec Deum timere debeo, ut Senecae visum est, *incedens recta*.

[19] Loquar tecum et libera voce dicam. Multa ego de miraculis illius[7] patris audivi, nihil supra naturam ab eo factum vidi. Non tamen illo inficior, quae ceteri narrant: praebeo et auribus aliquid. Pauca sunt, quae oculis subjiciuntur, danda est gravibus viris fides, vulgi verba momento carent. Frater Johannes, si quando me audiverit aut si negotium plane discusserit, inveniet se nihil habere[8], quod de me culpet, et multa esse, quae probet, cognoscetque me suae probitatis[9] non amatorem solum sed etiam praedicatorem. In hac causa ad eum non scribam, nec enim plebis rumusculos magni facio. Ad verum esse vivendum, non ad opinionem scio, neque vir gravis et sanctus omnibus, quae sibi referuntur, assensum praebet. Is nunc in remotis agit nec facile reperiuntur, qui eum accedant. Fuit in Polonia, deinde apud Vratislaviam aegrotavit. Quocumque venit velut apostolus Dei suscipitur. Nescio an convaluerit: Deus eum incolumen[10] Italis remittat. Bono viro ubique patria est.

Vale et Laurentium nostrum, si quando ad eum scribis, meo nomine salvum dicito. Ex Grezio Styrie, die 25. Septembris[11] 1453.

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[1] audiretur quam … bona *omit.* BNF
[2] *In the margin, in another hand:* ibi debet incipi alter quaternus W1
[3] mos *add.* BNF
[4] virtutem suam non colam *corr. ex* non amabo virtutem suam W1
[5] suaeque famae *omit.* BNF
[6] ~~recte vivens~~ *seq.* W1
[7] illis WO
[8] ~~quod de me culp~~ *seq.* W1
[9] ~~et amatorem et predicatorem~~ *seq.* W1
[10] ~~remitt~~ *seq.* W1
[11] anno domini *add.* BNF

[18] When they had heard all the good things [I had to say], they passed on to miracles. They claimed they had heard that many dead people in Germany had been resurrected through the prayers of this holy man and they asked me whether this was true[1]. I answered that I knew nothing of the sort. Then they, not caring about truth but only about testimony, turned up their noses, bowed their heads, and - as hypocrites do - left me with downcast eyes. I am sure it is they who, in their impudence, have denounced me. But it does not affect me: I know what I said and am glad I have a [clean] conscience. If Brother Giovanni is angry with me, he acts unworthily, but I shall still respect him for his virtues. I shall treasure his name and fame as long as I live, and I shall not fear a good man, when - as Seneca believes - I ought not to fear God as long as I *walk on the straight path.*[2]

[19] To speak frankly with you: have heard many things about that father's miracles, and I have never seen him doing something supernatural.[3] But I do not deny what others say about him, for I give my ears their due. One can only see a little, so therefore, one must trust what serious men say - but the words of common people have no importance.[4] If Brother Giovanni hears me or talks plainly with me about this matter, he will find that he has nothing to reproach me for but much to approve of, and he will see that I not only love but even proclaim his integrity and decency. I shall not write to him about it, for I attach little importance to people's gossip. I know that one must live by truth and not by opinion, and a serious and that a serious and holy man does not agree with all he is told. He is now staying in remote regions, and finding people who may reach him is difficult. He was in Poland and later fell ill in Wroclaw. Wherever he goes, he is received like an apostle of God. I do not know whether he has recovered. May God return him to the Italians safe and sound, but for a good man, the fatherland is everywhere.[5]

Farewell, and if you write to our Lorenzo, greet him from me. From Graz in Steiermark, 25 September 1453.

[1] Evidently, the Observant Franciscans were already then gathering evidence of miracles performed by Giovanni da Capistrano, with a view to a future canonisation process. Piccolomini's statement would have been seen as obstructive in this regard.

[2] ?. Quotation not identified.

[3] Concerning Piccolomini's general scepticism about miracles, see COR, 6.: 3, 7, 4.

[4] In his Commentarii, Pius II wrote: *Aeneas later heard him preach at Vienna, where he was very popular with the people and it was said he performed miracles* (COM (Meserve), 1: 20, 7).

[5] See the letter from emperor to Pope Nicolaus V of 12 January 1455 (vol. 10, letter *138). In this letter, written by Piccolomini, presumably at the instigation of Giovanni da Capistrano, the emperor not only highly praises Capistrano, but also helps him in a matter of great importance for his order.

383. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (25 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 158v*[1] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 67.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 155, pp. 286-287 (on the basis of W1).*

{158r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, magnifico comiti, domino Jacopo de Ptolomeis, fratri suo, salutem plurimam dicit[2].

[1] Redditae sunt mihi infra biduum epistolarum tuarum duae, quibus intellexi te gravi morbo detentum fuisse, nunc vero paene convaluisse. Conturbasti me litterarum tuarum principio, recreasti fine. Sed nec tu solus aegrotasti, me quoque gravis valitudo depressit et ad salutis usque desperationem deduxit. Petrus vero noster ita decubuit, ut de sepultura magis quam de medicina me anxium redderet. Sed sumus ambo divino munere extra periculum positi. Ego ex integro valerem bene, nisi tussis domesticum malum dietim cresceret. Petrus nondum exit domum, gravis adhuc.

[2] Durus est hic annus nostro sanguini. Amita nostra Bartholomea, modestissima femina, diem obiit. Bartholomaeus, sororis meae maritus, vir optimus, mense Augusto sepultus est. Sic vel morimur vel aegrotamus. Haec naturae lex est: pendere omnes hoc tributum oportet. Invia imus[3], Jacobe amantissime, non est, quod hic spem collocemus. Cogitandum est, mansionem ut in patria nobis bonam paremus. Eam bene vivendo acquirimus. Vivemus autem bene, si nos et in dies mori et longius vivere non[4] posse putaverimus.

[3] De Francisco audio libenter, quae scribis. Cupio illum continuare et virum fieri bonum. Veniam ad te cito, nam domum repetere decrevi. Tunc et satisfaciam tibi de sumptibus, et, quid tum amplius velim, cum tuo consilio deliberabo. Vadit modo Romam Johannes Hinderbachius, decretorum doctor et imperialis secretarius, amicus meus et sincerus et optimus. Ab eo has litteras recipies. Commenda eum et me principi tuo, cui ambo sumus deditissimi. Magistrum Sozinum et dominum Andream, nostros concives, meo nomine salvos dicito.

Cura, ut valeas optime cum conjuge[5] ut vos, cum rediero, laetos inveniam. Vale. Ex Grez, die 26. Septembris 1453.

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[1] DV, 322
[2] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Jacobo de Ptolomeis. Magnifice comes, frater honorande amantissime cod.
[3] *dub.* WO
[4] *del.* ? WO
[5] ~~et liberis~~ *seq.* cod.

383. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (25 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Jacopo Tolomei had written to Piccolomini that he had been ill.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Tolomei about his and Pietro's illnesses. He is happy about the news concerning his nephew Francesco and recommends Johann Hinderbach.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to His Magnificence, the Lord Count Jacopo Tolomei,[1] his brother.

[1] Within two days, I received two letters[2] from you. They told me that you have been gravely ill but are now almost healed. The beginning of your letter saddened me, but the end gladdened me. However, you are not the only one who has been ill, for I, too, have suffered a grave illness and reached a point where they despaired of my recovery. And our dear Pietro[3] has been so ill that I began to worry about his funeral rather than his treatment. But thanks to God, we are now both out of danger. I would be completely fresh again if I were not afflicted by a persistent cough that worsens daily. Pietro does not yet leave the house since he is still weak.

[2] This has been a hard year for our family. Our aunt, Bartolomea,[4] a most virtuous woman, died, and the husband of my sister,[5] Bartolomeo,[6] an excellent man, was buried in August.[7] Thus, we either die or fall sick. But that is the law of nature, and all must pay this tribute. There is only one way ahead of us,[8] dear Jacopo, and that is to not place our hope here [on Earth]. We must think of preparing a good dwelling in our true homeland.[9] We shall obtain that if we live well, and we shall live well if we accept that each day could be our last and that we cannot count on a long life.

[3] I am happy to hear what you write about Francesco.[10] I wish him to continue [in this way] and become a good man. I will come to you soon, for I have decided to return home. Then I shall pay your expenses[11] and discuss with you what to do next.[12] Johann Hinderbach, Doctor of the Decrees, Imperial Secretary, and a sincere and good friend, is now going to Rome. You will receive this letter from him. Please commend him and me to your prince,[13] to whom we are both most devoted. Also, greet our fellow citizens Magister Socino[14] and Ser Andrea[15] from me.

Live well with your wife, and let me find you happy when I return. Farewell. From Graz, 26 September 1453.

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[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).
[2] Not extant.
[3] Pietro Todeschini, Piccolimini's nephew.
[4] Bartolomea Tolomei Lolli.
[5] Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi.
[6] Bartolomeo Guglielmi.
[7] Strnad: *Francesco,* p. 112.
[8] "invia imus": ?
[9] Heaven.
[10] Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini.
[11] For Francesco, who lived with the Tolomei family.
[12] Presumably, concerning the studies of Francesco.
[13] Borso d'Este.
[14] Socino Benci.
[15] Andrea Benci.

384. Letter to Johann Hinderbach (26 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 158v*[1] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 68.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 156, pp. 287-288 (on the basis of W1).*

{158v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Johanni Hinderbachio, imperiali secretario, salutem plurimam dicit[2].

[1] Jacobus Ptolomeus, legum interpres, frater meus, qui Ferrariae apud illustrem ducem moram trahit, hodie ad me litteras dedit, quibus modo responsum mitto. Cupio, cum Ferrariam perveneris[3], ad te hominem voces. Parebit imperio tuo libens, nisi ex consuetudine aegrotaverit. Ei, qua mecum sis benivolentia notum facito, Franciscumque nepotem meum, ut litteris operam ardenter cito praebeat, admonitum reddito. In Venetiis habuisse me aureos 70 dicito mercatori, quem novisti. Ethiopem nostrum libertate donari curato. Oratorem Senensem ad te accersito; scribito mihi etiam ex itinere. Si Tuscia iter facis, domum meam petito et pro voluntate rebus meis utito[4]. Perge bonis ominibus[5] et sanitati stude, ut munere divino et sanus et jocundus ad nos quam primum redeas.

Vale. Ex Grez, die 26. Septembris 1453.

[1] DV, 322
[2] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Johanni Hinderbachio, imperiali secretario. Eximie doctor, amice singularis et optime cod.
[3] veneris WO
[4] utitor WO
[5] *em.*; auibus cod., WO

384. Letter to Johann Hinderbach (26 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Various instructions.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Herr Johan Hinderbach, Imperial Secretary.

[1] Today, I received a letter from the jurist Jacopo Tolomei, my brother,[2] who lives in Ferrara at [the court of] the Illustrious Duke.[3] I am sending him my answer now.[4] When you arrive in Ferrara, please invite him to visit you. He will gladly accept your invitation unless ill - as he often is. Tell him about our close friendship and urge my nephew, Francesco,[5] to apply himself to his studies. In Venice, tell the merchant whom you know that I had 70 gold ducats. Give our Ethiopian[6] his freedom. Invite the Sienese ambassador.[7] Write to me even while travelling. If you pass through Toscana, go and stay in my house[8] and use my possessions as you please. Travel with favourable omens, and - God willing - return to us safe, sound and happy as soon as possible.

Farewell. From Graz, 26 September 1453.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 542.
[2] Cousin.
[3] Borso d'Este.
[4] See the preceding letter.
[5] Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (future Pope Pius III).
[6] Apparently, a black slave.
[7] Leonardo Benvoglienti, see letter 382.
[8] The episcopal palace in Siena.

385. Letter to Stefano Caccia di Fara (29 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 147r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *KO, 150*[3].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 154, pp. 285-286 (on the basis of W1).*

{147r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Stefano de Novaria salutem plurimam dicit[4].

[1] Non habui dudum ex te litteras: nescio quo pacto vales. Cupio tibi beni esse teque[5] memoriam mei habere. Tui ego, nisi fortasse dormiens, immemor esse non possum[6]. Hodie de te Caesari verba feci, qui libenti animo in consiliarium suum te accepit. Litteras ejus rei intra[7] paucos dies accipies per dominum Johannem Hinderbachium[8], qui ad curiam venturus est orator imperialis[9]. Ei suis in rebus assistere te oratum volo. Interea vive nostri amans, et quae geruntur in Italia tuis litteris me scire curato.

Vale. Ex Grez, die 29. Aprilis 1453[10].[11]

[1] DV, 299
[2] *Autograph*
[3] DV, 134r
[4] Aeneas … dicit corr. ex Domino Stephano de Novaria. Eximie doctor, amice carissime cod.; Eximie doctor, amice carissime KO
[5] te KO
[6] posse KO
[7] in tua KO
[8] *corr. ex* Hinderbach cod.; Hinderbach KO
[9] ~~interea~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] Anno quo supra KO
[11] ~~Tuus Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

385. Letter to Stefano Caccia di Fara (29 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Stefano Caccia di Fara that he has been appointed imperial counsellor and asks him to support Hinderbach's mission to the Curia.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ser Stefano de Novara.

[1] For a long time, I have had no letters from you. I hope you are well and remember me. I cannot forget you except, maybe, when I sleep. Today, I spoke with the emperor about you: he has graciously accepted to appoint you his counsellor. In a few days, you will receive the letter [of appointment] from Johann Hinderbach, who is going to the Curia as an imperial ambassador. Please assist him in his affairs.[1] Meanwhile, continue to hold me in affection and keep me informed about what is happening in Italy.

Farewell. From Graz, 29 September 1453[2].

[1] Primarily, the appointment of Ulrich Sonnenberger to the See of Gurk.

[2] Concerning the date, see note in WO, 3: 1, p. 286.

386. Letter to Rafaele Primadizi (29 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 157v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 70.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 157, p. 288 (on the basis of W1).*

{157v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Raphaeli de Primaditiis, vicario suo, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Litteras tuas accepimus his diebus duplicatas. Cognoscimus te in agendis opportunam adhibere diligentiam. Idem quoque ceteri de te scribunt. Laudamus operas tuas deque tuo officio contenti sumus. Rogamus nostrum reditum patienter expectes, neque enim diu differre mens est, sicut ex domino Gregorio cognosces, cui etiam diem recessus nostri ex his partibus faciendi scribimus, si tamen deus cogitata nostra secundabit. Scriptum nobis est operarium ecclesiae nostrae multa sibi usurpare, quae nostri juris sunt. Hortamur te, ne talia patiaris. Sume virilem animum nec velis justa promovendo minus audere, quam ille iniqua temptando. Haec pauca nunc scribimus, quia venturi ad vos plenius de cunctis loquemur.

Vale in Christo optime et officio tuo viriliter incumbe. Ex Grez, die 29. Septembris 1453[4].

[1] DV, 320
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aenes … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Raphaele de Primaditiis. Venerabilis dilecte noster cod.
[4] ~~Eneas Dei gratia episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

386. Letter to Rafaele Primadizi (29 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini commends his vicar and asks him to resolutely oppose the attempts of the foreman at the cathedral to usurp some of the bishop's rights.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ser Rafaele Primidizi.

[1] We recently received your duplicate letters. We see that you are diligently taking care of the affairs. Others write the same about you. We commend your efforts and are satisfied with how you perform your office. We ask you to patiently await our return, for we do not intend to postpone it for long, as you will hear from Ser Goro, to whom we are writing about the date of our departure - if only God will favour our plans. You have written that the foreman[1] at our church[2] is usurping many of our rights. We exhort you not to tolerate this. Be strong and determined, and do not allow yourself to be less bold in promoting justice than he is in attempting injustice. I am only writing briefly now since we shall talk fully about everything upon our return.

Live well in Christ, and perform your office manfully. From Graz, 29 September 1453.

[1] "operarius"

[2] The Cathedral of Siena.

387. Letter to Bartolomeo (Procurator) (29 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 157v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 71.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 158, pp. 288-289 (on the basis of W1).*

{157v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Bartholomaeo, procuratori et canonico suo, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Accepimus tuas litteras, quibus ais te bene concordare cum vicario nostro: facis in ea[4] re mentis nostrae conceptum. Domum nostram a te bene dirigi et disponi confidimus. Nos brevi reverti proponimus cupimusque domum esse juxta exigentiam praeparatam. Quod tibi debemus ratione facta, non retinebimus. Hortamur, ut perseveres et tuam in agendis diligentiam continues. Nobis es carus erisque perseverando carissimus. Antonium nostri parte urge, ut studeat sese doctum nobis redeuntibus ostendere. Si secus erit, iratos nos inveniet.

Vale et domino Mariano Sozino nostro nomine salutes dicito. Ex Grez, die 29. Septembris 1453[5].

[1] DV, 320
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Bartholomeo canonico et procuratori. Venerabilis dilecte vir cod.
[4] mea WO
[5] ~~Eneas Dei gratia episcopus Senensis~~ seq. cod.

387. Letter to Bartolomeo (Procurator) (29 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *See the preceding letters.*
iSubject: *Piccolomini asks his procurator in Siena to continue in this capacity.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Bartolomeo, his procurator and canon.

[1] We have received the letter,[2] in which you say you get along well with our vicar: this is how we wish it to be. We trust our home is well directed and managed by you. We intend to return shortly and expect our house to be prepared suitably. We shall pay you what we owe once the accounts are settled. We exhort you to persevere and show diligence in all our affairs. You are dear to us, and you will be even dearer if you persevere. Admonish Antonio[3] from us to show himself well educated when we return. Otherwise, he shall see us angry.

Farewell, and greet Ser Mariano Sozzini from us. From Graz, 29 September 1453.

[1] Strnad: *Francesco,* p. 118

[2] Not extant.

[3] Antonio Todeschini.

388. Letter to Giovanni Pecci (30 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 157v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 72.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 159, p. 289 (on the basis of W1).*

{157v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni de Pecciis salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Rem tuam magno labore absolvimus. Quomodo perfectum negotium sit, cum redierimus, plene tibi referemus. Fecimus pro te sicut pro filio necessarium esse putavimus nec umquam expediri rem posse credidimus nisi post factum. Gaudemus tui causa fortunam fuisse secundam. Tuus nuntius revertitur ad te cum litteris.

Vale. Ex Grez, die[4] ultima Septembris 1453[5].

[1] DV, 320
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Johanni de Pecciis. Spectabili vir tamquam fili amantissime cod.
[4] ~~XXX~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~Eneas Dei gratia episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

388. Letter to Giovanni Pecci (30 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Piccolomini had been asked to obtain some favour at the imperial court for a young Sienese, Giovanni Pecci*[1].
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Pecci that he has obtained the favour requested by him.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Giovanni Pecci.

[1] We have obtained the favour requested by you but with great effort. When we return, we shall explain fully how it was done. We did what we thought was necessary for you as for a son, though we did not believe it possible beforehand. We rejoice at your good fortune. Your messenger returns to you with the letter.

Farewell. From Graz, the last day of September 1453
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[1] Giovanni Pecci. Possibly a relative of the Pietro Pecci who was Piccolomini's teacher in civil and canon law when he studied at the University of Siena (DVI).

389. Letter to Nicolaus V (30 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 157 bis - 158r*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 73.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 160, pp. 289-290 (on the basis of W1).*

{158r} Beatissimo papae Nicolao Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, commendatum se reddit[3].

[1] De facto Pataviensis ecclesiae scripsi nuper vestrae beatitudini. Majestas imperialis perseverat in eo, quod a me scriptum est: acquiescet arbitrio vestro. Solum faciat clementia vestra, quod electus se humiliet et aliquid pro delicto suo rependat et non det verba sed facta. Si hoc fit, potest beatitudo vestra de illa ecclesia disponere, nec majestas cesarea aegre feret, nam quod scripsi nuper, suo ex mandato scripsi et sto in rei testimonium[4]. Johannes Hinderbach missus ad vestram sanctitatem idem confirmare jussus est. Expecto ex promisso clementiae vestrae ecclesiam parrochialem electi pro sustentatione mei status.

[2] De novis harum partium haec habeat pietas vestra: rex Ladislaus infra quinquendium iter versus Bohemiam recepturus est. Marchio Albertus Brandeburgensis ad eum venit cum 300 equitibus secuturus eum. Fertur et dux Bavariae Ludovicus venturus. Coronatio regis magno studio praeparatur. Interea Georgico baronem quendam Smirizschei nomine, catholicum et potentem, captivavit et in Praga publice decapitari jussit. Morti ejus hic titulus datus est: dicitur in hanc sententiam Ladislao regi scripsisse: “Si duo tibi capita sunt, rex optime, venire ad nos potes, dum alterum in Austria dimittas, alterum ad nos feras. Si unicum caput habes, tutius in Austria remanebis.” Quidam putant hoc factum esse, ut nobilis baro et bene de fide sentiens necaretur. Haec non potui sanctitati vestrae reticere, cui me recommendo.

Ex Grez, die ultima Septembris 1453[5].

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[1] DV, 321
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Beatissimo … reddit *corr. ex* ~~Papae Nicolao. Beatissime pater et clementissime domine post devota pedum oscula beatorum et humilem mei recommendationem~~ cod.
[4] ~~dominus~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~Servulus Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

389. Letter to Nicolaus V (30 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *The pope had not yet reached a decision in the matter of Passau. King Ladislaus would soon be going to Bohemia for his coronation.*

Subject: *Piccolomini urges the pope to settle the affair of Passau in accordance with the wishes of the emperor. He reminds him of his promise to grant the Parish of Irdning to himself. And he sends news about King Ladislaus' travel to Bohemia.* [1]

To the Most Holy Pope Nicolaus Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself.

[1] Regarding the Church of Passau, I have recently written[2] to Your Holiness. His Imperial Majesty maintains the position I wrote about. He will accept your decision on the condition that Your Clemency makes the elect[3] humble himself [to the emperor] and pay some compensation for his offence - and not only in words but in deeds. If this happens, Your Holiness may dispose of that church as you see fit, and His Imperial Majesty will not take offence, for what I wrote to you earlier, I wrote on his command, and I bear witness to it. Johann Hinderbach has been sent to Your Holines with instructions to confirm I it to you. I expect to be given - as promised by Your Clemency - the parish church[4] of the elect so that I may be able to uphold my status.

[2] The news I can send Your Piety from these parts is the following: King Ladislaus will depart for Bohemia within five days. Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg will join him with 300 cavalrymen. Reportedly, Duke Ludwig of Bavaria[5] will come, too. They are making all efforts to prepare a splendid coronation for the king. Meanwhile, Georg[6] arrested a powerful Catholic baron named Smiricky[7] and had him publicly beheaded in Prague. The reason given for his execution was that he had written to King Ladislaus as follows: "If you have two heads, Most Noble King, you can come to us if you bring only one and leave the other in Austria. If you only have one head, it will be safer for you to remain in Austria."[8] Some believe this was a pretext to kill that noble baron who was loyal to the Church[9] [10] I had to write this to Your Holiness, to whom I recommend myself.

From Graz, 30 September 1453.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 542, 548.

[2] Letter 355.

[3] Ulrich Nussdorf.

[4] Irdning.

[5] Ludwig IX der Reiche.

[6] Georg Podiebrad, Governor of Bohemia, leader of the Hussite party.

[7] Jan Smiricky (-1453): Catholic Bohemian baron. A personal enemy of Georg Podiebrad. Executed on 7 September 1453. See Heymann: *George,* ad indicem.

[8] A warning from a Catholic baron to the Catholic king that he would not be safe from the Hussite party.

[9] I.e., belonged to the Catholic party.

[10] On this affair, see Heymann: *George,* pp. 89-91. For other Piccolomini accounts of this episode, see HA, 2: pp. 812-814; HB, pp. 510-514.

390. Letter to Leonardo Benvoglienti (30 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 158r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 74..*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 161, pp. 290-291 (on the basis of W1).*

{158r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Leonardo de Benevolentibus salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Si preces meae apud te quidquam valent, oro, ut litteras his inclusas, quas ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum scribo, per aliquem ex cursoribus illustrissimi dominii ad Romanam curiam mittas, quia sunt non parvi ponderis[4] et domino nostro sanctissimo in hoc singularem facies complacentiam.

Vale. Datum ut in litteris prioribus[5].

[1] DV, 321
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Leonardo de Benevolentibus. Leonarde amantissime cod.
[4] parvi ponderis *corr. ex* parvae importantiae cod.
[5] superioribus WO

390. Letter to Leonardo Benvoglienti (30 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *See the preceding letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks his friend to forward a letter (letter 389) to the pope.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Leonardo Benvoglienti.

[1] If my requests carry any weight with you, I ask you to send the letter included here, which I have written to Our Most Holy Lord,[2] to the Roman Curia with one of the couriers of the Illustrious Republic,[3] for it is quite important, and in doing this, you will perform a singular service to Our Most Holy Lord.

Farewell. Given as in the preceding letters.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 542.

[2] Pope Nicolaus V.

[3] "dominii", i.e. the Republic of Venice.

391. Letter to Nanni di Pietro Todeschini (30 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 158r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 75.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 162, p. 291 (on the basis of W1).*

{158r} Eneas, episcopus Senensis, Nanni Petri, sororio suo, salutem plurimam dicit.[3]

[1] Tuas litteras accepimus, quibus nos de statu rerum nostrarum efficis certiores. Bene a te factum est. Speramus cito reverti et omnia videre et dirigere pro nostra prudentia. Unum est tamen impedimentum, quia Petrus tuus nondum convaluit ex febribus, quas patitur paene continuas, neque ducere eum audemus neque relinquere volumus, et aegritudines autumnales - ut vulgo dicitur - longae sunt. Non est tamen, quod mortis periculum timeamus. Tu tamen ista matri ne dicas, quae, ut scis, nimis affligeretur, nec suus dolor aegrotum juvaret. Antonium intelligimus discolum esse nihilque boni agere. Id[4] videmus ex litteris suis, quas ineptissimas scribit. Cuperemus eum meliorem ducere vitam et saltem bene scribere didicisse. Si pergit male agere, caveat, ne domi eum redeuntes inveniamus.

Vale. Ex Grez, die ultima Septembris 1453[5].

[1] DV, 321
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Nanni Petri. Honorabilis vir cognate carissime cod.
[4] *supralin.* cod
[5] ~~Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

391. Letter to Nanni di Pietro Todeschini (30 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Piccolomini's brother-in-law had written to him concerning his affairs in Siena.*
Subject: *Piccolomini writes that his departure for Siena has to be postponed because of his nephew's illness.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Nanni di Pietro,[2] his sister's husband.

[1] We have received the letter in which you informed us about the state of our affairs. You have done well. We hope to return soon to see and arrange everything as wisely as possible. However, there is one obstacle: your Pietro[3] has not yet recovered from almost continuous attacks of fever, and we do not dare to take him with us nor wish to leave him behind: autumn illnesses last long, as people say. However, we do not think he is in danger of death. But do not tell his mother[4]; you know how upset she will be, and her pain would not help her sick son. We hear Antonio[5] is unruly and misbehaving. We see this from his letter, which is quite inept. We wish him to lead a better life and at least to learn to write properly. If he continues in this way, he better not be there when we return.[6]

Farewell. From Graz, 30 September 1453.

[1] Strnad: *Francesco,* p. 113, 118.
[2] Giovanni Todeschini, husband of Piccolomini's sister Laudomia.
[3] Pietro Todeschini, son of Giovanni Todechini.
[4] Laudomia Piccolomini Todeschini, sister of Piccolomini.
[5] Antonio Todeschini Piccolomini.
[6] Here speaks the strict head of the family!

392. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (30 September 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 159v[1] [2] **, X1, ff. 130v-131r.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 76.*
Editions B: *AC, vol. 2/2: nr. 3662; WO, 3: 1, 163, pp. 291-293 (on the basis of W1).*

{159v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Nicolao, sancti Petri cardinali, commendatum se facit[3].

[1] Susceptis litteris tuis fui cum Caesarea majestate remque tuam commendavi, quibus[4] scivi et potui verbis. Astiterunt mihi ambo Ulrici bonaque fide negotium tuum adjuverunt. Caesar in hac demum sententia respondit: "Placet suae serenitati, ut consensum litteratorium habeas alicujus principis, in cujus dominio theolonium velis erigere, eoque facto litteras obtinebis in ea sententia, quam tua supplicatio deposcit." Super qua re ad majorem certitudinem[5] scripta Caesarea recipies. De theolonio novo in Valle Clusarum constituendo hoc modo sublimitas imperatoria contentatur: "Pro quolibet aequo onerato, qui alias nihil solvisset, poterit dignatio tua medium cruciferum recipere triennio continuo, deinde rursus ad Caesarem recurrere oportebit," superque hoc litteras fieri praecepit. Haec sunt, quae modo potuerunt obtineri. Plura etiam si potuissem impetrare non neglexissem. Ac tantum de re tua.

[2] De communi haec dicam: speravi dignationem[6] tuam esse Romae ibique cum ceteris patribus rei publicae Christianae jam labenti consulere: necesse id enim esset. Negliguntur omnia, ut video. Fama est jam Venetos Turci gratiam quaerere missis donariis[7]. Puto, id agunt, quia torpere[8] Christianos principes animadvertunt. Sed praestaret humiliare se fidelibus quam infidelibus. Rex Ladislaus apparat se magnifice, ut ajunt, Bohemiam ingressurus[9]. Interea tamen apud Pragam Smirischoni, tuo noto, qui Ratisponae fuit, cervix amputata est. Id causae fertur, quia scripserit Ladislao, ne intraret Bohemiam, nisi adeo fortis esset, ut praecipere posset, additis his verbis: "Si duo capita habes, unum in Austria dimitte, alterum affer tecum. Unum habens caput, nisi poteris mandare, cave, ne venias." Verum ille dum alieno capiti consulit, suum perdidit. Quae res ceteris baronibus horrenda et detestanda videtur. Fama est etiam Georgiconem, qui hujus rei auctor estitit, cum civitatibus Prutenorum foedus percussisse, quae contra religionem conspirarunt, nam fratres ordinis Caesari super eo questi sunt, petentes Ladislao regi litteras dari, ut intercipiat, quod factum est. Alia non occurrunt.

Recommendo me dignationi tuae, ad cujus placita sum paratissimus. Ex Grez die ultima Septembris 1453[10].

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[1] DV, 324
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aenea … facit *corr. ex* Sancti Petri cardinali. Reverendissime in Christi pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilen commendationem cod.
[4] ~~potui~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~vestram~~ *seq.* cod.; vestram add. AC; tuam add. WO
[6] dignitatem X1
[7] denariis AC, WO
[8] turpare X1
[9] *corr. ex* ingredi cod.
[10] ~~Servulus vester Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

392. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (30 September 1453, Graz).

Context: *Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues had asked for the emperor's permission to institute customs duties in a territory belonging to another prince (Duke Sigismund?) and in another territory belonging to the emperor.*

Subject: *The emperor agreed to the demands on the condition that the first request was approved by the prince in whose territory the duties were to be exacted. He was careful to demand written documentation of the matter (in case of problems arising later).*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself to the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Lord Cardinal Nikolaus of San Pietro.

[1] When I received your letter,[1] I went to His Imperial Majesty and recommended your affair in such words as I knew and could use. Both Ulrichs[2] were present and supported your request. In the end, the emperor made this decision: "His Serenity wishes that you should get the written consent of the prince in whose territory you want to institute duties, and when you have done it, you should receive a letter confirming that your request has been granted." So that this matter will be quite clear, you will then receive a letter from the emperor. Concerning the institution of a new toll in the Valley of Klausen, His Imperial Highness resolved that "Your Grace may for a period of three years exact a toll of half a Kreuzer for every loaded pack animal from such people who have not previously paid such duties. Thereafter, you must apply again to the emperor". Further, he commanded that letters be issued to this effect. This is what could be obtained for now. If I could have achieved more, I would have done so. So much for your affair.[3]

[2] Regarding public affairs, I can say this: I hoped that Your Grace would be in Rome to consult with the other Fathers[4] concerning the crisis of the Christian commonwealth. Indeed, that would have been necessary, for - as I see it - it is being entirely neglected. Rumour has it that the Venetians are seeking the favour of the Turk[5] and have sent gifts. I believe they do this because they see that the Christian princes are remiss, but it would be better for them to bow to Christians[6] than to infidels. King Ladislaus is reportedly making magnificent preparations for his entry into Bohemia. In the meantime, Smiricky, whom you know from Regensburg, has been beheaded in Prague.[7] The reason is said to be that he had written to Ladislaus only to come to Bohemia if he was strong enough to rule, adding that "If you have two heads, take one with you and leave the other in Austria. If you only have one head, take care to only come if you can command." But advising another about his head, he lost his own. This matter is abhorrent and detestable to the other barons. It is rumoured that Georg,[8] the author of this deed, has made an alliance with the Prussian cities conspiring against the Order,[9] for the brothers of the Order have complained about it to the emperor and requested that he write to King Ladislaus to request his intervention, which has been done. I have nothing further to write about.

I recommend myself to Your Grace, always ready to obey your wishes. From Graz, 30 September 1453.

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[1] Not extant.
[2] Ulrich von Sonnenberger and Ulrich Riederer, presumably.
[3] On this matter, see notes in AC; Reinle, p. 476.
[4] Cardinals.
[5] Mehmed II.
[6] "fideles"
[7] See letter 389: 2.
[8] Georg Podiebad,
[9] The Teutonic Order.

393. Letter to Antonio de Leo (1 October 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *Nach dem Fachsimile in dem Werke Kandlers: Pel fausto ingresso di Monsigmore Bartolomeo Legat. Trieste 1847.*[1]
Editions A: *Voigt: Briefe, 299 (p. 406 / 86).*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 164, p. 293-294 (on the basis of W1).*

{158r} Spectabilis vir, amice carissime.

[1] Recepi litteras vestras, quibus de comitatu vobis concesso ac de litteris expediendis facitis mentionem meque rogatis, apud Caesaream majestatem ut pro vobis partes meas cum solicitudine interponam. Sane pro vestris in me meritis cognosco me obligatum pro vestro et honore et commodo laborare, quantum mihi possibile sit, idque feci pro viribus. Fui cum Caesarea majestate de re vestra: non semel, sed pluries locutus rogavique quantum potui et scivi, ut desiderio vestro satisfaceret, sed non potui quovismodo obtinere, quia licet Caesar vestrae virtuti affectus sit, dicit tamen id non concessisse adhuc pro haeredibus nisi paucissimis personis et in alto statu collocatis, nec aliud a sua serenitate obtinere valui. De pecunia exbursata dixit velle se restituere, si non vultis privilegio misso esse contentus. Fuerunt etiam lectae litterae vestrae in praesentia mea imperiali majestati et iterum tunc recommendavi factum vestrum nec potui proficere. Feci, quod fratris fuit, implevi officium amici, non possum ex principe ultra suum velle. Forsitan alio tempore, quod nunc negat, libenter concedet. Alia non occurrunt modo. Sum paratus, ubi possum, desiderio vestro complacere.

Datum Grez, die 1. Octobris 1453. Eneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis.

[1] *Reproduced after WO*

393. Letter to Antonio de Leo (1 October 1453, Graz).

Context: *Antonio di Leo had been appointed palatine count by the emperor, and now he sought to have the dignity made hereditary.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Antonio de Leo that the emperor has refused his request.*

Distinguished sir, dear friend,

[1] I have received your letter[1] concerning the countship granted to you[2] and the letter of appointment to be issued. You ask me to intercede with the emperor on your behalf. Indeed, your merits towards me are such that I am obliged to work to my best ability for your honour and advantage, and this I have done as much as possible. I approached the emperor concerning your matter. I have spoken with him not once but several times and requested - as best I knew and could - that he grant your wish, but I did not succeed, for though you have the emperor's esteem, he says that until now, he has only granted the extension to heirs to very few persons, all high-ranking. I could obtain nothing more from His Serenity. He said the money you paid would be refunded if you were not content with the privilege as sent to you. Your letter was also read to His Imperial Majesty when I was present, and once again, I recommended your cause but in vain. I did as a brother should and fulfilled the obligation of a friend, but I cannot obtain more from the prince than he allows. Maybe he will later be ready to grant what he now refuses.[3] There is no more to write about now. I am ready to obey your wishes whenever possible.

Given in Graz, 1 October 1453. Enea, by God's grace, Bishop of Siena.

[1] Not extant.
[2] On 12 May 1453 (WO, 3: 1, p. 293, n. a).
[3] Antonio de Leo obtained the extension of the countship - on certain conditions - to his heirs in 1465 as a reward for having participated in the defense of Trieste during a Venetian attack in 1464. *Ibid.*

394. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (3 October 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 160r[1] [2] **; X1, f. 106r.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *AC, vol. 2/2: nr. 3667; WO, 3: 1, 165, pp. 294-295 (on the basis of W1).*

{159v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Nicolao, sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae tituli sancti Petri ad Vincula presbytero cardinali, domino suo colendissimo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Capellanus vester, qui de theolonio[4] transferendo[5] [6] litteras ad me detulit[7], quamvis rogatus meas epistolas reciperet[8], insalutato me abiit. Credo ita dominae suae diligenter et affectate servit comitissae Goritiae, ut omnium aliarum rerum obliviscatur. Venit post eum Henricus protonotarius, legatus[9] Sigismundi ducis, vir praestabilis et vestri amans, novasque litteras vestras mihi restituit. Non est cur scribam statum rei, cuncta ex eo cognoscetis. Habetis tota, quod mente petistis. Inclinatus est Caesar vestris precibus et animo libenti petitiones vestras exaudit. Ego pro modulo meo existimo satisfecisse me non debito[10] neque voluntati meae, sed possibilitati.

[2] De rebus Italiae audivi quam libentissime, quae scripsistis. Cupio patrie pacem quam puto etiam Christianitati utilem. Timeo tamen, ne plus mali quam boni possint. De Valachis ceterisque vicinis Constantinopoli nihil in praesentiarum audimus, nec mihi verosimile est illos arma sumere contra exteros, qui hostes domi habent. Johannes, etiam gubernator regni Hungariae, qui nonnihil ad rem acturus putari posset, amotus regimine dicitur et[11] Nicolaus vaivoda ei substitutus. Nescio tamen, an huic mutationi locus erit, nam comes Ciliae, ejus rei auctor, noviter extra gubernationem regis detrusus[12] asseritur et ab Australibus omnino dejectus. Sic brevi tempore in tribus maximis Ladislai dominiis tres insignes mutationes factae sunt: Smirischo apud Bohemos occisus, gubernator Hungariae depositus, comes Ciliae in Austria destitutus est. Quae si vera sunt, digna pro meritis comiti referuntur videmusque nostro tempore grande scelus punitum. Alia non occurrunt.

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[1] DV, 325
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Reverendissimo … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Nicolao cardinali sancti Petri. Reverendissime in Christo pateret domine mi colendissime. Post recommedationem W1
[4] Colonia X1
[5] transfretando X1
[6] de theolonio transferendo *supra lin.* W1
[7] ~~in re theolonii Brixiensis transferendi~~ *seq.* W1
[8] recipere X1
[9] ~~ducis~~ *seq.* W1
[10] dubito X1
[11] ~~nihil~~ *seq.* W1
[12] *seq.* ~~dicitur~~ cod.

394. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (3 October 1453, Graz).

Context: *See letter 392.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs the cardinal that his requests to the emperor concerning customs duties have been granted. It is not clear whether this means that the emperor had given up the reservations mentioned in letter 392.*

To his Lord and Father in Christ, Nikolaus, Cardinal Presbyter of the Holy Roman Church, with the title of San Pietro in Vincoli, his worshipful lord, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Though I asked your chaplain, who brought me your letter[1] regarding the transfer of the toll station duties,[2] to take my return letter, he left without saying goodbye. I think he must serve his mistress, the Countess of Görz[3] so diligently and intensely that he forgets everything else.[4] After he had left, the Protonotary Heinrich,[5] envoy of Duke Siegmund,[6] an excellent man who loves you well, arrived and gave me your new letter.[7] Since you will hear all from him, there is no reason to write about the state of the matter. In any case, you have all that you requested. The emperor heeded your requests and willingly granted your application. I may not have satisfied my duty or my wish, but I believe I have done - in my own modest way - what was possible.

[2] Concerning the Italian affairs, I read your letter with pleasure. I wish our country to have peace, which - I believe - would also benefit Christianity as a whole. However, I fear that the wicked men have more influence than the good. As for the Wallachians[8] and the other neighbours of Constantinople, we hear nothing at present, but it seems unlikely to me that they would go to war against foreigners while they have enemies at home. János,[9] Governor of the Kingdom of Hungary, who could do much in this matter, has reportedly been removed from power and replaced with Voivode Miklós.[10] Still, I do not know if this change will [really] come about, for its instigator, the Count of Celje,[11] is said to have recently been deprived of his governorship over the king and has been thrown out by the Austrians.[12] Thus, in a short time, three important changes have occurred in the three great dominions of Ladislaus[13]: Smiricky was killed in Bohemia,[14] the Governor of Hungary was deposed, and the Count of Celje was removed from power by Austria. If this is true, the count [of Celje] has had his just deserts, and we see that a great crime in our own time has been punished.[15] I have no more to write about.

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[1] Not extant. But see the cardinals's letter to Hans Ungnad of 28 september 1453 (AC, 2/2, nr. 3657).

[2] See letter 392.

[3] Katharina Garai (ca. 1390-1471): Daughter of the Hungarian Palatine Nikolaus Garai.

[4] It is not explained how the cardinal's chaplain could, at the same time, be the countess' servant.

[5] Leubing, Heinrich (1400-1472): Paris priest of Sankt Sebaldus in Nürnberg. Parish priest of Sankt Sebald in Nürnberg. Imperial protonotary. Canon of Meissen. Accompanied the emperor on his coronation voyage to Rome in 1452 and delivered orations on his behalf when Piccolomini was absent (COR, 1: p. 372). Much appreciated by Piccolomini for his learning. See RTA, 19/2, p. 77, n. 8.

[6] Siegmund (Habsburg) (1427-1496): Duke of Tyrol. See EUR (Bisaha/Brown), p. 196.

[7] Not extant.

[8] A region of present-day Romania.

[9] János Hunyadi

[10] Újlaky, Miklós (1410-1477): Hungarian noble. Voivode of Transsylvania. Later titular king of Bosnia.

[11] Ulrich II of Celje.

[12] In a palace coup led by Ulrich Eitzinger, see HA, 2./3. Version (Wagendorfer), pp. 819-825). See also EUR (Bisaha/Brown), pp. 129-130.

[13] King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

[14] See letters 389:2 and 392:2.

[15] The count's treason against the emperor in the Austrian rebellion

Recommendo me dignationi vestre, cui studebo quoad vixerim et complacere et servire. Ex Grez, die 3. Octobris 1453.[1] [2]

Scriptis et conclusis jam litteris, quae de gubernatore Hungariae referebantur, veritate carere percepi[3].

against the emperor and his role in setting up King Ladislaus as an enemy of the emperor.

[1] Die … 1453 : 1453 X1

[2] ~~Servulus vester Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* W1

[3] Scriptis … percepi *add. in marg.* cod.; *omit.* X1

I recommend myself to Your Grace, whom I shall endeavour to please and serve as long as I live. From Graz, 3 October 1453. When I had written and closed this letter, I learnt that the news about the Governor of Hungary was false.

395. Letter to Esterolo Visconti (4 October 1453, Graz).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 161v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 79.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 166, p. 295 (on the basis of W1).*

{161v} Magnifico viro Hesterolo de Vicecomitibus Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Acceptis litteris vestris fui cum Caesarea majestate, quae revera admodum moleste fert tribulationes vestras concessitque scribi marchioni Montis Ferrati juxta desiderium vestrum. Duci Sabaudie non scribit, quia ille est in quadam indignatione cum imperio nec jam dudum sibi scriptum est. Ego quantum scio et possum suadeo, ne sine causa necessaria domum relinquatis, quia non ubique reperietis amicos et necessarios. In patria melius est omnia pati quam apud exteros exulare. Si possem re juvare, ut verbis consulo, id facerem libenter. Si qua putatis me posse pro vobis, utamini amico vestro.

Valete. Ex Grez, die 4. Octobris 1453[4].

[1] DV, 328
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Magnifico … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Hestorolo de Vicecomitibus. Magnifice et generose domine amice honorande cod.
[4] ~~vester Eneas, episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod

395. Letter to Esterolo Visconti (4 October 1453, Graz).

Context: *Unknown.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Visconti that the emperor will write to the Marquess of Monferrat in his support.*

To His Magnificence Esterolo Visconti, Enea Silvio, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Upon receiving your letter,[1] I went to His Imperial Majesty. He is most sorry [to hear] about your troubles and ordained that a letter be written to the Marquess of Monferrat[2] according to your wishes. He will not write to the Duke of Savoy,[3] for the duke is currently in conflict with the Empire, and there has been no correspondence with him for some time now. As much as I know and can, I urge you to only leave your home if absolutely necessary, for you will not find friends and relatives everywhere. It is better to suffer everything in one's own country than to be an exile among foreigners. If I could help you not only in words but also in deeds, I should do so gladly. If you think I can do anything for you, then use me as your friend.

Farewell. From Graz, 4 October 1453.

[1] Not extant.

[2] Paleologo, Giovanni IV (1313-1464): Margrave of Monferrat from 1445 to his death.

[3] Louis I de Savoie (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 to his death.

396. Letter to Ulrich von Rosenberg (11 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *WO: Aus dem Original im Wittingauer Archiv ...*[1]
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO: Gedruckt bei Palacky: Urkundliche Beiträge z. Geschichte Böhmens (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, 2: 20, p. 64); WO, 3: 1, 167, pp. 296-297 (on the basis of Palacky).*

{161v} Magnifico et potenti domino Ulrico de Rosis, majori meo honorando. Magnifice et generose domine honorande.

[1] Laeto et jucundo animo vestras litteras accepi, per quas intellexi, nondum mente vestra nomen excidisse meum. Facio maximi in tanti viri me esse memoria, quem veneror et observo unice. Quod de me scire cupitis, breviter absolvam. Sum modo apud Caesarem, ut soleo, inter consiliarios minimus et inutilis. Circa festum divi Martini est animus domum petere, quoniam meorum necessariorum litteris vocor. Visitabo et Romanum pontificem, si Deus vitam facultatemque dabit. Ibi, si quid est a me gerendum, quod vestrae rei conducat, scitis habere me hominem, cui imperare possitis. Nescio, an brevi huc revertar, quoniam aetas mea quietem poscit et fessum corpus labores recusat. Amici quoque domi me volunt.

[2] De rebus Turcorum haec scribere possum: nemo est, qui curam ejus rei gerat nisi Romanus pontifex. Is operam dat imprimis, ut Italia pacem habeat. Misit legatos ad partes dissidentes Sancti Angeli et Firmanum cardinales. Modo utriusque partis legati Romae conveniunt. Ibi spes est, aut pax concludetur aut indutiae ad plures annos ducentur. Deputavit autem Romanus pontifex tres cardinales, qui modos excogitent, per quos retundi Turcorum violentia possit. Tres alios elegit, qui modos executionis admoveant. Exinde mandatum est cardinalibus, uti decimam partem reddituum suorum ad hanc rem contribuant. Creditur et decima imponenda super omni clero. Ipse autem Romanus pontifex omnes camerae redditus ac proventus et insuper decimam partem patrimonii sancti Petri in hoc opus segregavit intenditque legatos et ad Caesarem et ad reliquos orbis principes transmittere, instare, hortari monereque, ut pro Christi honore insurgant, estque animus ejus ad hoc ipsum ferventissimus, quemadmodum mihi ex urbe dietim scribitur. Nescio an ejus fervorem ceteri principes sequentur. Imperator quidem bono in eam rem animo est.

[3] Vos, qui modo in coronatione regis vestri apud Pragam cum multis principibus convenietis, rem Christianam agetis et nobilitate vestra dignam, si et regem et principes vestros hortabimini, ut in tanto negotio fidei negligentiam et socordiam omnem deponant. Haec habui, quae de apparatu contra Turcos instituendo referre possum.

Commendo me vestrae magnificentiae, cui rem gerere gratam cupio, ubique terrarum aut gentium fuerim. Ex Nova Civitate, die 11. Octobris 1458. Vester Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[1] *Reproduced after WO*

396. Letter to Ulrich von Rosenberg (11 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Ulrich von Rosenberg had asked for news about Piccolomini and the Turkish matter*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Rosenberg of the papal efforts to make peace in Italy, a prerequisite for a common Italian defence against the Turks, and to contribute to financing military operations by imposing a tenth on the clergy.* [1]

To His Magnificence, Lord Ulrich von Rosenberg, my Worshipful Master. Magnificent, noble and worshipful Lord.

[1] I was delighted to receive your letter letting me know that you have not forgotten my name. I greatly value being remembered by such a great man, whom I deeply revere and respect. I shall tell you briefly what you wish to know about me. For the time being, I am, as usual, with the emperor, the least and most useless of his councillors. I intend to return home at the Feast of Saint Martin,[2] for I am called back by the letters of my relatives. If God gives me life and opportunity, I shall also visit the Roman Pontiff. If I can do anything there[3] that might benefit you,[4] you know I am yours to command. I do not know if I shall come back here soon, for my age demands peace and quiet, my weary body refuses more labours, and my friends want me at home.

[2] Regarding the Turkish matter, I can report this: only the Roman Pontiff has that matter at heart.[5] He is working, above all, to ensure peace in Italy. He has sent the cardinals of Sant'Angelo and Fermo as legates to the feuding parties.[6] At present, the envoys of each party are meeting in Rome. It is hoped that peace will be concluded there or at least an armistice lasting several years. The Roman Pontiff has appointed a commission of three cardinals to consider ways to repel the violent Turks. He has appointed three others to prepare the implementation of those measures. Moreover, he has commanded the cardinals to contribute a tenth of their incomes to this cause. It is believed that a tenth will also be imposed upon all the clergy. The Roman Pontiff himself has set aside all the revenues and incomes of his treasury and, moreover, a tenth of the incomes of the Patrimony of Saint Peter for this cause, and he intends to send legates to the emperor and to the other princes of the world to urge, exhort, and admonish them to rise up for the honour of Christ. Every day, I receive letters from the City[7] informing me of his burning zeal in this matter. I do not know whether the other princes will be persuaded by his fervour, but the emperor is optimistic.

[3] Soon, when you meet with many princes at your king's coronation in Prague, you may serve the Christian cause - so worthy of your noble self - if you urge the king and your princes to do away with all negligence and passivity in this great cause of the Faith. This is what I can report regarding the preparations against the Turks.

I commend myself to Your Magnificence and wish to be of service to you wherever I am in the world. From Neustadt, 11 October 1458. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 542.
[2] 11 November.
[3] At the Papal Curia.
[4] "vestra res": possibly, in a broader sense, the Catholic cause in Hussite Bohemia.
[5] See Bisaha: *From*, p. 77.
[6] Cardinal Carvajal went to Firenze on 18 July, and Cardinal Capranica to Neapoli on 20 July (Pastor, 1: 598).
[7] Rome.

397. Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Prague (11 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 161v ff*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 80.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 168, pp. 297-299 (on the basis of W1).*

{161v} Venerabilibus viris, dominis decano et capitulo ecclesiae Pragensis, amicis suis honorandis, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Redeuntibus nobis ex Styria provincia in Austriam cum Caesare redditae sunt in via[4] litterae vestrae, quamvis ornatae et perpolitae querimoniarum tamen[5] et molestiarum plenae, quibus pressuras vobis non[6] modicas neque facile tolerabiles imminere cognovimus. Affligimur itaque vobiscum vestrumque scandalum ac periculum non aliter quam nostrum ducimus, neque enim vestrum quispiam *infirmatur sine nostra infirmitate.* Speramus tamen, quia infirmitas haec non erit ad mortem.[7] *Non sunt justi sine tribulationibus, sed de omnibus his liberabit eos dominus*. *Vultus enim domini super justos et aures ejus in preces eorum*.

[2] {162r} Fuit superioribus diebus etiam nostro tempore in regno vestro armata haeresis, quae templa sanctorum disjecit, sacerdotes occidit, strages innumeras dedit, domos atque urbes fidelium incendit, divina et humana jura pervertit. Quis enim referre possit vel caeci Zischae vel Procopii Rasi[8] crudelia gesta. Defecerunt tamen Deoque poenas sceleratae manus dedere. Magnum est, quod nunc instat malum, in se ipso consideratum, ad praeterita vero comparatum minimum est. Sumite igitur fortes animos et audacter temptationi resistite. *Fidelis est Deus neque vos temptari permittet supra quam ferre possitis. O passi graviora, dabit Deus his quoque finem. Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis*; adhuc redibit gloria regni vestri.

[1] DV, 328
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Venerabilibus .. dicit *corr. ex* Venerabilibus viris, dominis decano et capitulo ecclesiae Pragensis, amicis nostris honorandis. Venerabiles viri, amici nostri honorandi cod.
[4] in via *supralin.* cod.
[5] *supralin.* cod.
[6] ~~modicas~~ *(sic!) seq.* cod.
[7] ~~multae semper sunt tribulation~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~crudeles~~ *seq.* cod.

397. Letter to the dean and chapter of Prague (11 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *The Cathedral Chapter (exiled in Plsen) had written to Piccolomini about their critical situation in the Hussite-dominated country.*

Subject: *Piccolomini sends words of encouragement and expresses an optimistic hope that the accession of a Catholic monarch, King Ladislaus, will improve the chapter's situation.*

To the Venerable Dean[1] and Chapter of the Church of Prague, his honourable friends, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Your letter reached us on our way back with the emperor from the province of Steiermark to Austria. Though elegant and polished, it was nonetheless full of complaints and troubles, informing us how you are threatened by great and barely tolerable pressures.[2] We are suffering with you and share your troubles and peril. *Who is weak* among you, *and I am not weak?*[3] But we hope this affliction will not be to the death, for *many are the afflictions of the just; but out of them all will the Lord deliver them.*[4] *The countenance of the Lord is upon the just: and his ears unto their prayers.*[5]

[2] Formerly and in our own time, too, there was an armed heretical movement[6] in your kingdom that overthrew the temples of the saints, killed the priests, committed innumerable massacres, burnt the homes and cities of the faithful,[7] and perverted both divine and human law. Who can[not] name the cruel deeds of blind Ziska[8] and Prokop the Bald?[9] Yet they fell, and their criminal bands were punished by God.[10] In itself, the evil that threatens now is great but compared to the past, it is small. So, take courage and resist the trial bravely. *God is faithful and will not suffer you to be tried above that which you are able.*[11] *Oh you, who have suffered worse, this also God will end.*[12] *Endure, and live for a happier day.*[13] [14] The glory of your realm will return.

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[1] Wenzel von Bochow.

[2] Presumably pressures to accept some accomodation with the Hussites for reasons of political expediency since the new, Catholic, king would need to have tolerable relations with the Hussite party.

[3] 2. Corinthians, 11:29: *Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?*

[4] Psalms, 33: 20.

[5] Psalms, 33: 16-17: *Oculi Domini super justos, et aures ejus in preces eorum. Vultus autem Domini super facientes mala*

[6] The Hussites.

[7] The Catholics.

[8] Jan Zizka (c. 1360-1424): Hussite general.

[9] Prokop Holý [Prokop the Shaven; or Prokop Veliky = Prokop the Great] (c. 1380-1434): Hussite general.

[10] The Taborite Hussite army, led by Prokop Holý, was defeated by a Bohemian Catholic army in the Battle of Lipany on 30 May 1434.

[11] 1 Corinthians, 10: 13.

[12] Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1: 199.

[13] Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1: 207.

[14] Note how Bishop Piccolomini comforts his ecclesiastical brothers with passages both from the Bible and a classical, pagan author.

[3] Rex vester quamquam nondum pubes Christianus tamen est et orthodoxae fidei supra quam ferant anni cultor. Nolite timere, adhuc sub Ladislao Bohemia reflorebit[1] et in ecclesia fructus praebebit uberes neque decipiet aetatem teneram versutia Satanae, divina hunc puerum custodia tuetur. Sacer sanguis est neque labefactari potest. Purus in luto splendere sol potest[2]. Duo eum Alberti sequuntur sui sanguinis, alter dux Austrie, alter marchio Brandeburgensis, excelsae mentis et intemeratae principes, obstratas erroribus aures praebituri neque ullo veneno novelli regis infici sinent animum. Aderunt[3] ex Austria, Moravia Silesiaque docti et constantes praelati, qui neque decipi regem neque vos ad illicita cogi sinent. Decident, ut arbitramur, ignita saevi hostis tela neque vim habebunt in servos Dei.

[4] Utcumque sit, vestrum illud esse propositum credimus, ut veritatem non solum possessionibus aut agris, sed etiam vitae praeponatis, nam vita hujus saeculi brevis et caduca est; veritas immortalis aeternaque habetur, cujus sectatores in adoptionem filiorum Dei transeuntes immortalitatem consequi non est ambiguum. Haec ad pressuras dixisse libuit. Ceterum, quia nos Romano pontifici de rebus vestris scribere suadetis, significamus vobis, nos ante aliquos menses, dum priores litteras a vobis accepimus, sanctitatem apostolicam de rebus universis certiorem fecisse et id ipsum suasisse, quod modo petitis suaderi. Nihil enim omisimus ex his, quae pro vestra consolatione obtinenda putavimus necessaria. Nullum tamen adhuc responsum habemus.

[5] Intercidit medio tempore Constantinpolitana calamitas, quae et mentem Romani pontificis et omnium cardinalium animos[4] constravit. Occupata majoribus rebus Romana majestas minores respicere opportuno non potest. {162v} Est enim animus domini nostri sanctissimi totus erectus, ut ingens ignominia Christiano nomini per Turcum noviter illata vindicetur et opprimantur hostis truculentissimi conatus. Non tamen existimamus rem vestram negligi. Scripsimus enim cumulatissime non solum papae, sed etiam plerisque cardinalibus de negotio vestro et nunc etiam, quia id petitis, rescribere non negligemus, quamvis ad necessitatem imminentem tardius videatur. Scimus autem fuisse per hos dies Romae nuntios regis vestri, qui de compactatis verba fecerunt et habuerunt responsum Romano praesule dignum. Id, cum referetur, animos multorum commovebit, et res vestra multo melior efficietur.

[6] Habemus etiam ex Roma novellas litteras, per quas certiores reddimur legatum apostolicum ad serenissimum imperatorem nostrum prope diem in negotio Turcorum venturum, quem transiturum esse ad regem vestrum non ambigimus. Is procul dubio de re vestra sollicitus erit, quem et nos etiam ad vestram procurandam securitatem et rogabimus et pro viribus incendemus, facturi et in hoc negocio et in reliquis omnibus, quaecumque aut personis vestris aut memorabili ecclesiae vestre conducere putaverimus.

Datum in Nova Civitate Austriae, die 11. Octobris 1453[5].

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[1] ~~*ad Christum*~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] splendere sol potest *corr. ex* sol splendebit cod.
[3] ~~et alii~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~consternavit~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~Eneas episcopus Senensis apostolicae sedis nuntius et imperialis consiliarius~~ *seq.* cod.

[3] Though your king[1] has yet to reach manhood,[2] he is a Christian and fervently - and even beyond his years - believes in the orthodox[3] Faith. Fear not: under Ladislaus, Bohemia will flourish again and yield abundant fruit within the Church. Satan's cunning will not deceive Ladislaus' tender age, for the boy is under divine protection, and his holy[4] blood cannot fail. The pure sun can shine even through filth. Two Albrechts of his own blood follow him, one the Duke of Austria,[5] and the other the Margrave of Brandenburg,[6] blameless princes of exalted mind, who will not lend their ears to errors nor allow any poison to infect the new king's mind. There will also be learned and loyal prelates from Austria, Moravia, and Silesia who will not allow the king to be deceived or you to be forced to act unlawfully. We believe that the fiery darts[7] of the savage enemy[8] will fail and have no power over the servants of God.

[4] However that may be, we believe it is your intention to place truth above your possessions and lands and even above your life, for life in this world is brief and fleeting, but truth is immortal and eternal. Undoubtedly, its followers pass on to be adopted as sons by God and acquire immortality. This is what I will say about the pressures you mentioned. Moreover, since you urge us to write to the Roman Pontiff, we advise you that already some months ago, when we had received your previous letters,[9] we informed His Apostolic Holiness about everything[10] and urged him to do what you now ask us. We have done everything we thought would bring you some solace, but we have not yet had a reply.

[5] In the meantime, the disaster in Constantinople has occurred which deeply shocked the Roman Pontiff and all the cardinals. As His Roman Majesty is now occupied with immensely important affairs, he cannot be concerned with the less important. Our Most Holy Lord is wholly intent upon avenging the immense disgrace the Turk recently inflicted upon the Christian name and on resisting the endeavours of this ferocious enemy. Still, we believe that your matter is not neglected, for we have written not only to the pope but also to several cardinals[11] about your problems, and we shall not fail to write again now, as you request, though it may be too late given the imminent peril. But we know that envoys from the king have, these days, been in Rome to discuss the compacts[12] and that they received a response worthy of the Bishop of Rome. When it is made public,[13] it will make many change their mind and considerably improve your situation.[14]

[6] We have also received a new letter from Rome informing us that an apostolic legate[15] will soon come to the Our Most Serene Emperor in the Turkish matter, and we are confident that he will proceed to your king afterwards. He will undoubtedly be concerned about your situation, and we shall certainly, to the best of our ability, request and urge him to obtain security for you. In this and all other matters, we shall do all we can to support your persons and your renowned church.[16]

Given in Neustadt, 11 October 1453.

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[1] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[2] He was 13 years old at the time.
[3] Catholic.
[4] Reference to his descent from Holy Roman Emperors.
[5] Albrecht VI (Habsburg).
[6] Albrecht III (Hohenzollern).
[7] "tela": spears.
[8] The hussites.
[9] Letters 344-345.
[10] This letter is not extant, if indeed Piccolomini had addressed the pope directly on the matter.
[11] See letter 350 to Cardinal Carvajal.
[12] The Bohemian Compacts, negotiated between the Council of Basel and the Hussites, granting them conditional use of communion under both species.
[13] In Prague.
[14] See Heymann: *George*, pp. 87-88.
[15] Giovanni di Castiglione (1420-1460): Bishop of Coutances, 1444. Transferred to the See of Pavia on 3 October 1453. Cardinal 1456.
[16] The Cathedral of Prague.

398. Letter to Wenzel von Bochow (11 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 162v ff*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 81.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 169, pp. 299-300 (on the basis of W1).*

{162v} Venerabili viro, domino Venceslao, decano ecclesiae Pragensis, amico suo carissimo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit. Venerabilis et eximie doctor, amice honorande. Post salutes plurimas[3].

[1] Ad ea, quae per capitulum vestrum scripta nobis sunt, respondimus eidem capitulo abunde. Non est, cur illa repetamus, quamvis etiam litterae vestrae eadem attingunt. Nos, ubi[4] scimus et possumus ecclesiae vestrae prodesse, voluntarii sumus. Dolemus autem, quia vulneri vestro sufficientem medicinam adhibere non possumus. Speramus tamen cito venturam consolationem. De presbytero absolvendo, qui prius apostataverat, committimus circumspectioni vestrae vices nostras vestramque conscientiam super eo reddimus oneratam, ut ita cum homine agatis, ne, dum salutem quaeritis unius, multorum jacturam ecclesia patiatur. Nos enim de vestra prudentia plene confidimus. Magnifico domino de Rosis etsi litteras damus, tamen acceptum habebimus, si nos ei et filiis suis, ut prius fecistis, iterum et iterum commendaveritis.

Datum ut supra.

[1] DV, 330
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Venerabilis … plurimas *corr. ex.* Decano ecclesiae Pragensis amico suo. Venerabilis et eximie doctor, amice honorande post salutes plurimas cod.
[4] ~~possumus et~~ *seq.* cod.

398. Letter to Wenzel von Bochow (11 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini sends words of comfort and hope. In the case of a lapsed priest, he advises Bochow to be circumspect lest he set a problematic precedence.*

To Herr Wenzel,[1] Dean of the Church of Prague, his dear friend, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings Venerable and distinguished doctor, honoured friend. After many greetings.

[1] Concerning your chapter's[2] letter to me, we have answered the same chapter in full. There is no reason to repeat what we wrote to the chapter though your own letter touched upon the same matters. We are willing to support your church as much as we know and can, but we regret that we are unable to administer a sufficient medicine to your wound. We hope that relief will come soon.[3] Concerning the absolution of a lapsed priest,[4] we entrust the case to your circumspect self to settle it on our behalf, and we charge your conscience with dealing with the man in such a way that the Church will not suffer the fall of many while you seek the salvation of one.[5] But we trust your prudence implicitly. Though we send letters to Lord von Rosenberg[6], we shall be grateful if you commend us again and again to him and his sons, as you have done before.

Given as above.

[1] Wenzel von Bochow, Piccolomini's friend and old colleague from the emperor's chancery.
[2] The Cathedral Chapter of Prague.
[3] With the arrival of the Catholic King Ladislaus.
[4] The priest had joined the Hussite schism but now wished to return to the Catholic Church.
[5] Piccolomini intimates that leniency in this case carries certain risks regarding others, but he does not specify the nature of the risk.
[6] Ulrich II von Rosenberg (Letter 396).

399. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (16 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 83v-84r[1]; V5, ff. 145r-146v **; V6, 111, ff. 119r-119v; V7, ff. 153v-154v.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 170, pp. 300-301 (on the basis of V5, V6).*

{145r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Stefano Cacciae Novariensi salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Munus accepi a te gratissimum, qui res Italicas, quo se modo haberent, ad me scripsisti. Cupio sequi pacem, de qua spem facis.[2] Divisi inter nos Itali Turcum repellere parum idonei sumus. Accipe vicem, et, quae apud nos aguntur, meis litteris agnosce. In Austria duae factiones fuerunt: altera comitem Ciliae sequebatur, altera quendam Eyzingerum. Haec fortior facta, comitem, qui regem Hungariae ac Bohemiae gubernabat, exclusit, neque ille jam in Austria locum habet. Ambae jam partes amicitiam Caesaris quaerunt.

[2] Rex in Bohemiam iter facit. Eum sequuntur Alberti duo, alter dux Austriae, alter marchio Brandeburgensis. In Bohemia fuit baro quidam nomine Johannes Smirischi, vir creditus et sermone potens, unus ex duodecim consiliariis Georgio[3] gubernatori datis. Hic, cum aliquid in Bohemia tractari persentiret, quod minus regi conducere putabat, in hanc sententiam litteras ad regem misit: "Si venire ad nos animum habes, ita venito, ne quemquam rogare opus sit. Alioquin cave, ne venias, nisi fortasse biceps fueris et alterum in Austria caput dimiseris, alterum ad nos duxeris." Hae litterae feruntur per comitem Ciliae ad gubernatorem Bohemie remissae, qui vocato ad se Johanne percunctatus est, quidnam meritus esset, qui regnum inhonestaret. Quo respondente "Mortem," "tibi ergo moriendum est," inquit jussitque mox hominis amputari caput. Sic vir bonus, dum alienum cupit salvare caput, suum perdidit[4]. Fertur uxor ejus matrona nobilis, cum ille vocatus ad Pragam equum conscenderet, admodum ejus itum dehortata, quoniam praecedente nocte multa per somnum passa fuisset. Sed ille contemnens, ut vulgo fit, muliebre somnium, ad mortem profectus est. Res omnibus in regno viris Catholicis funesta et acerba, haereticis admodum grata. Expectamus modo in dies audire, quae de regis coronatione sequantur, cui superi omnes faveant.

[3] In Hungaria adhuc latro Axamites crassatur neque regni conatibus compesci potest, quia divisi barones parum de communi salute cogitant. Optimum Turco tempus! Sic nos punit Deus. Vale et ad me saepius scribito neque idcirco pigriteris, quia venturum me domum sentias. Expedit frustra scribere quam frustra silere.

Reverendissimo domino meo Firmano, cui te familiarem intelligo, et Petro Noxetano commendatum me facito. Ex Nova Civitate, die 16. Octobris 1453[5].

[1] DV, 172-173
[2] nec *add.* F1, V6, V7
[3] Georgiconi F1, V6, V7
[4] perdit V5
[5] 1455 V5

399. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (16 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Piccolomini's friend had sent him a report on the situation in Italy and the efforts to make peace between the warring powers.*

Subject: *In return, Piccolomini sends his friend a report on the situation in Austria, Hungary and Bohemia.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Stefano Caccia of Novara.

[1] I have received your most welcome gift: the report you sent about the situation in Italy. I wish the peace you hope for will come. If we Italians are divided, we shall be unable to repel the Turk. Now, hear, in return, what happens here. In Austria, there were two factions: one followed the Count of Celje[2] and the other a certain Eitzinger.[3] The second party gained the upper hand and drove out the count, governor of the King of Hungary and Bohemia,[4] so that he no longer has a place in Austria. Both parties now seek the emperor's friendship.[5]

[2] The king is preparing to go to Bohemia. He is accompanied by two Albrechts, one the Duke of Austria[6] and the other the Margrave of Brandenburg.[7] In Bohemia, there was a baron named Jan Smiricky,[8] an influential, persuasive man, one of the 12 counsellors given to Governor Georg.[9] When he became aware that things were being planned in Bohemia that he thought did not bode well for the king, he sent a letter to the king saying that "if you dare to come to us, then do it in such a way that you do not need to ask anybody [for anything]. Otherwise, do not come unless you have two heads and can leave one in Austria and bring the other with you." The Count of Celje reportedly sent this letter to the Governor of Bohemia, who summoned Jan [Smiricky] and asked him what punishment was deserved by one who dishonoured the kingdom. Smiricky answered, "Death." Then Podiebrad said, "Then you must die," and ordered his immediate beheading. Thus, this good man lost his head while trying to save another's. It is rumoured that when he received the summons to Prague and mounted his horse, his wife, a noblewoman, begged him not to go since she had had a terrible dream that night. But - as usually happens - he disregarded the woman's dream and went to his death. This affair was abhorrent and a bitter blow to all the Catholics in the kingdom but most welcome to the heretics.[10] We are now waiting for news about what happens with the king's coronation. May the heavenly beings favour him.

[3] In Hungary, the bandit leader Axamit is still rampaging unchecked and cannot be subdued by the kingdom since the barons are divided and little concerned with the common good. This is, indeed, an ideal time for the Turk. This is how God punishes us.

Farewell. Write to me often, and do not grow negligent because you hear that I will return home. It is better to write in vain than to be silent in vain. Please recommend me to my Most Reverend Lord of Fermo,[11] whose familiar I hear you have become, and to Pietro da Noceto. From Neustadt, 16 October 1453.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 43, 540, 539, 548.
[2] Ulrich II of Celje.
[3] Ulrich Eizinger.
[4] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[5] In a remarkable reversal, the two parties, who had both rebelled against the emperor the year before now sought his support.
[6] Albrecht VI (Habsburg).
[7] Albecht III (Hohenzollern).
[8] Jan Smiricky.
[9] Georg Podiebrad.
[10] The Hussites.
[11] Cardinal Domenico Capranica.

400. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (16 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 84r-84v[1]; V5, 112, ff. 146v-147r **; V6, 112, ff. 119v-120r; V7, 112, ff. 154v-155r.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 171, pp. 301-302 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{146v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni Campisio, episcopo Placentino, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Bis ad me deTurcis scripsisti et plene[2] et diserte tuoque[3] more graviter ac[4] prudenter. Dolenda res est auditu. Quid illi dicant, qui viderunt? In angulum nostra[5] Christianitas[6] coartatur. Oriens nobis sublatus est, nihil in Africa possidemus, impia Maumethi perfidia manus ad Graeciam posuit, nec nos cura remordet. Christiani principes inter se bella gerunt, privatas injurias ultum[7] eunt, Christi contumeliam nihili pendunt. Digna patimur, scelestum genus et natio viperarum. Multum esset, quod tecum conqueri possem, sed major est dolor quam verbis exprimi queat, dum video Christiani populi negligentiam atque[8] secordiam.

[2] Consolatus es tamen me paululum[9], qui Romanum praesulem excitatum {147r} tradis[10] ferventemque senatum ad resistendum saevissime bestiae. Opto audire pacatam Italiam, nisi enim [h]ortus ille florentissimus[11] pacem habeat, nihil est, quod de ceteris sperem gentibus. Non est bene civitati, cujus arx quassata jacet. Nisi regina provinciarum et orbis Christiani caput, Italia, contra Turcos arma capessat, frustra ceterarum regionum populos advocabis.

[3] Nihil est, quod de partibus his ad te boni queam scribere: turbida omnia sunt. Axamites cum latronibus Hungariam depopulatur. In Austria comes Ciliae, qui gubernationem regis gerebat, exclusus est nuncque terrae minatur. Rex ad coronationem in Bohemiam profectus est, neque ibi tranquillae res sunt. Haeretici potiores habentur. Magnus ibi ex Catholicis baro noviter occisus est. Pruteni cum civitatibus subditis litigant. Poloni partes civitatum occulte juvant. Magnum illic imminere malum videtur.

Vale. Quando Deus et fata volent, veniemus ad te. Ex Nova Civitate, die 16. Octobris 1453[12].

[1] DV, 173-174
[2] plane WO
[3] quoque V7
[4] et WO
[5] vestra V7
[6] religio V5
[7] uultum V7
[8] et WO
[9] paulum WO
[10] tardis F1
[11] florentibus F1
[12] *omit.* F1, V5, V6

400. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (16 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Campisio for the news from Italy and laments the passivity of the Christian princes towards the Turkish war of aggression. He also sends news from Central Europe.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio, Bishop of Piacenza.

[1] You have written to me twice about the Turks, comprehensively and eloquently as well as seriously and prudently, as is your wont. It is painful to hear. What will they say, who actually saw the events? Our Christianity has been pressed together in a corner.[2] The Orient has been taken from us; we have nothing left in Africa. Muhammad's impious perfidy has laid hands on Greece, yet still, we feel no remorse. The Christian princes are warring against each other. They are only concerned with avenging their private injuries and care little for the affront to Christ. Our sufferings are deserved; we are a wicked race and a nation of vipers. There is much I could lament with you, but my pain surpasses words when I see the indifference and passivity of the Christian people.

[2] However, I was somewhat comforted by your report that the Bishop of Rome is rising to the challenge, and the senate[3] fervently desires to resist the savage beast. I wish to hear there is peace in Italy, for if that flourishing garden does not have peace, we can hope for nothing from the other peoples. A city cannot thrive if its fortress lies in ruins. Unless Italy, queen of the provinces and head of the Christian world, takes to weapons against the Turks, you will call upon the other peoples in vain.

[3] I have nothing good to write to you from these parts: all is in turmoil. Axamit and his bandits are ravaging Hungary. In Austria, the Count of Celje,[4] who governed for the king, has been ousted and is now threatening the country. The king[5] has left for his coronation in Bohemia, but there, too, there is no tranquillity. The heretics dominate, and a great baron[6] from the Catholic party was recently killed. The Prussians[7] are quarrelling with their subject cities. The Poles secretly support the cities. A great danger is looming there.

Farewell. When God and the fates permit, I shall come to you. From Neustadt, 16 October 1453.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA/1: pp. 537, 539, 548

[2] Piccolomini had already used this expression in his oration *"Et breviter me hodie"* of 6 July 1446 to Pope Eugenius IV. The *angulum* theme Piccolomini had from Flavio Biondo, who had used it in his Decades, II, bk. 3, where he put the following passage into the mouth of Urban II at Clermont: *Christianum nomen nostris temporibus ad parvum orbis angulum coangustari et quotidie de excidio periclitari videmus*. Biondo had sent his text to King Alfonso of Aragon in 1443, but Piccolomini came into contact with Biondo during his visits in Rome in 1445 and 1446 and may have learnt of his work at that time, becoming – as Mertens says – *der fleissigste der frühen Leser Biondos* (Mertens: *Claromontani*, p. 74)

[3] The College of Cardinals.

[4] Ulrich II of Celje.

[5] Ladislaus the Posthumous.

[6] Jan Smiricky.

[7] The Teutonic Order.

401. Letter to Juan Carvajal (16 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt)[1].

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 165r-169v[2] [3] **; M5, ff. 163v-167v[4] [5]; X1, ff. 109r-112v.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 84.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 172, pp. 302-311 (on the basis of W1).*

{165r} Cardinali sancti angeli[6]. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem.

[1] Ulricum, Sillacei comitem, magnum et potentem virum, qui regem Hungariae ac[7] Bohemiae Ladislaum nondum puberem gubernabat, ex administratione tanta per hos dies esse depositum[8] non est mihi dubium, quin multorum litterae dignationi vestrae retulerint[9]. Sed ordinem rei gestae, quia non existimo per alios scriptum[10], statui hac epistola recensere.

[2] Fortasse non erit ingratus labor Austriae mutationes ad vestram memoriam reducere, quae - ut mihi videtur[11] - sufficientes essent vel Genuae vel Bononiae. Quater enim intra biennium Austriae regimen immutatum est. Fuit sub Federico Caesare, priusquam Romam peteret, eique velut tutori Ladislai regis paruit. Mox, conspirante Azinghero, multitudo sibi regimen usurpavit, quae duodecím sibi gubernatores instituit et Azingherum terrae principem. Cum redisset ab Italia Caesar regemque, cujus erat tutor, extra manus dedisset, comes et ipsum et Austriam in potestatem accepit, sed eo[12] nunc dejecto[13] rursus[14] imperio multitudinis Austria gubernatur, quod, quemadmodum gestum sit, jam dicere ordior.

[3] Postquam comes Ladislai regis curam accepit, visus est popularibus insolentius agere, cum regem modo huc, modo illuc duceret; Azingherum, cujus maxime consilio multitudo uteretur, parvifaceret; senatores Viennenses sperneret; praelatos loco plebis haberet; onera subditis gravia[15] imponeret. Studebat igitur Azingherus et, qui cum eo sentiebant, comitem ex Austria propellere[16], indignum sibi esse dicentes ea ex comite tolerare, quae[17] ferre ab imperatore non potuissent. Id cum praesensisset comes, summo studio conatus est[18] Azingherum de medio tollere, si verum est, quod adversarii ejus ajunt. Ea res mihi parum comperta est, sed audita refero, dicta non vulgarium hominum, neque ista sunt, quae probari dilucide possint: veri periculum in alios transrefero.[19]

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[1] A copy of this report may have been sent to Guillaume Fillastre the Younger, Bishop of Toul (see Modlinska, p. 82, nr. 20).
[2] DV, 335-344
[3] *Autograph*
[4] DV, 332-338
[5] *Incomplete*
[6] Cardinali … Angeli *omit.* M5, X1
[7] et X1
[8] hos dies … depositum *corr. ex* depositum esse W1
[9] contulerint M5
[10] per alios scriptum *corr. ex* scriptum esse W1
[11] ~~satis essent~~ *seq.* W1
[12] ego M5
[13] electo X1
[14] et *add.* M5
[15] subditis gravia : gravis subditis X1
[16] ~~Indignum ducentes que non potuissent ex Cesare toleare ea se ferre a comi / de comite ferre~~ *seq.* W1
[17] ~~non potuissent~~ *seq.* W1
[18] ~~ut aiunt~~ *seq.* W1
[19] *corr. ex* refero W1

401. Letter to Juan Carvajal (16 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *After the release of the boy king Ladislaus from the emperor's wardship, his uncle, Count Ulrich II of Celje, became his guardian and effective ruler of his dukedom of Austria. His autocratic government soon became intolerable to the Austrians, and he was removed from power in a palace coup led by Ulrich Eitzinger.*

Subject: *Piccolomini gives an account of the coup leading to the removal of the Count of Cilly from the government of Austria.* [1] [2]

To the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo. Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ. After humble recommendation.

[1] I am sure many have written to Your Grace that Count Ulrich of Celje,[3] a great and powerful man, governor of King Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia, who has not yet reached manhood,[4] was recently deposed from this great office. But since I believe they have not written how this happened, I have decided to explain it in the present letter.

[2] It may be useful to remind you of the upheavals in Austria, which - to my mind - would be worthy of Genova and Bologna,[5] for Austria has changed its regime four times in two years! It was governed by Emperor Friedrich before he went to Rome,[6] and it obeyed him as the guardian of King Ladislaus. Soon after, Eitzinger[7] conspired to have the multitude usurp the government. It instituted 12 governors and made Eitzinger the first man in the country. When the emperor had returned from Italy and handed over his royal ward, the count[8] was given power over the king and Austria. Now that the count has been expelled, Austria is once again ruled by the multitude. Here is what happened.

[3] When the count took charge of King Ladislaus, the common people thought he was acting arrogantly when he brought the king now here, now there. He ignored Eitzinger, who had great influence with the multitude, despised the Viennese senators;[9] treated the prelates like commoners; and imposed grave burdens upon the subjects. Therefore, Eitzinger and his party plotted to expel the count from Austria, saying it was unworthy for them to tolerate such things from the count that they had not accepted from the emperor. When the count became aware of this, he strove to remove Eitzinger - if it is true what his opponents say. I have little personal knowledge of this matter but relate what I have heard from important men. Still, it is difficult to know exactly what happened, and I leave the burden of proof[10] to others.

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[1] For other Piccolomini versions of this account, see HA, 2: pp. 814 ff.; HB, pp. 514 ff.; EUR, 22: 74 (Bisaha/Brown, pp. 129-130).

[2] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 42, 548.

[3] Ulrich II of Celje.

[4] By now, Ladislaus was 13 years old.

[5] Two cities renowned for their frequent changes of government.

[6] For his coronation in 1452.

[7] Ulrich Eitzinger.

[8] Count Ulrich of Celje.

[9] The city council.

[10] "veri periculum"

[4] Convenerunt[1] apud Posonium barones Hungariae[2] cum rege suo. Ibi comes cum Johanne gubernatore statuisse dicitur, ut Azingherum venientem apprehenderet necique daret, id causae mortis ascribens, quia barones Hungariae criminatus esset tamquam regem perdituros, si ultra Pozonium pergeret. Sed cognitis Azingherus insidiis, quamvis ter eo litteris regiis accersiretur, nequaquam profectus est, remoratus autem[3] {165v} in Austria complices suos ad exclusionem comitis maturandam die noctuque hortabatur.[4] Promiserat Ladislaus Bohemorum legatis ad diem Michaelis archangeli sese Bohemiam ingressurum, ibi ut regni coronam ex more susciperet. Comes igitur ex Posonio reversus ad eam rem intentus dabat operam, ut quam magnificentissime[5] regem in Bohemiam duceret, cumque pecuniae publicae deessent, ad privatas[6] apponere manus[7] decrevit. Populares, qui paulo ante argentum contribuissent, declinare onus, maledicere comiti, rebellem animum ostendere.

[5] Hinc audentior factus, Azingherus in consilio regis assurgens negat pecuniarum contributionem populis indicendam[8], nisi quattuor regionis, ut ajunt, status conveniant exigendamque pecuniam decernant[9]. Dicit insuper, antequam rex ex Austria recedat, necessarium esse convenire terrigenas, qui de modo gubernandi Austriam in absentia regis disponant. In sententiam Azingheri complures ex consilio pedibus eunt. Comes, etsi multitudinem sibi adversam, ubi convenisset, nihil in usum suum facturam intelligebat, postquam tamen adversando parum se proficere cognoscit, conventum fieri Australium permittit[10] apud oppidum, quod Novum Frumenti Burgum appellant[11], eoque regem deducit. Ibi cum ex arbitrio suo terrigenae convenissent atque sine praesentia comitis alloquendi regem copiam habuissent[12], quaecumque volunt aetati tenerae persuadent.

[6] Comitem[13] sibi, non regi studere ajunt. Regem nomen habere dominantis, dominium penes comitem esse. Illum in Austria praefecturas, magistratus, sacerdotia vendere, vectigalia[14], theolonia[15], census quosque principis sibi usurpare, inde familiam maximam, equos, canes, meretrices alere[16]; castella et oppida et arces[17] munitissimas[18] praesidiis impositis[19] pro se custodire; omnem Austriam sibi subjectam et obsequentem habere. In Hungaria constituisse gubernatorem Johannem vaivodam, qui regi quotannis quattuor et viginti milia, sibi duodecim milia[20] auri nummum redderet. In Bohemia Georgiconi ad sex annos[21] administrationem regni commisisse[22].

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[1] *corr. ex* conventuri erant W1
[2] ~~eoque rex ituru~~ *seq.* W1
[3] *omit.* X1
[4] remoraturus WO
[5] magnifice X1
[6] ad privatas : apprivatas M5
[7] apponere manus : manus apponere X1
[8] incidendam X1
[9] ~~ait etiam~~ *seq.* W1
[10] permittit M5
[11] *omit.* M5
[12] ~~etati tenere~~ *seq.* W1
[13] ~~nihil~~ *seq.* W1
[14] ~~castra~~ *seq.* W1
[15] *corr. ex* castra W1
[16] inde familiam *add. in marg.* W1
[17] *Here begins the lacuna in the copy of the letter included in letter 409 to the Count Francesco d'Arco.*
[18] ~~suo nomin~~ *seq.* W1
[19] impositas X1
[20] ~~nummorum~~ *seq.* W**1**
[21] ~~regni~~ *seq.* W1
[22] ~~neque dubium esse, quin etiam ex Bohemia fructum comes desugat, id eum curare, ut se quam diutius in administratione regis detineat partitumque cum Johanne~~ *seq.* W1

[4] The Hungarian barons met with the king in Pozon.[1] There, the count[2] and Governor János[3] reportedly decided that when Eitzinger arrived, he would be arrested and executed on the pretext that he had accused the Hungarian barons of wanting to murder the king if he went further than Pozon.[4] But Eitzinger heard about the plot, and though summoned three times by royal letters, he stayed in Austria, all the time urging his accomplices to hasten their preparations for the count's removal. King Ladislaus had promised the Bohemian envoys to enter Bohemia by the Feast of Archangel Michael to receive the crown of the kingdom in the traditional manner. So, when the count returned from Pozon, he worked hard to organise a magnificent royal progress into Bohemia. Since public funds were lacking, he decided to exact money from private people. But the people had contributed money recently and refused the burden, cursed the count, and showed themselves in a rebellious mood.

[5] Emboldened by this, Eitzinger stood up in the royal council and refused the imposition of a pecuniary contribution on the people unless the four estates of the region, as they call them, met and decided to levy the money. Moreover, he said that before the king left Austria, it would be necessary to summon a popular assembly to determine how Austria should be governed in his absence. Many councillors agreed with[5] Eitzinger. The count saw that the people were against him and would not support him when they met. Realising there would be little profit in resistance, he allowed an assembly of the Austrians to be held in Korneuburg and brought the king there. When the Austrians met, as approved by him, they obtained permission to address the king without the count being present and persuaded their king of tender age to do whatever they wanted.

[6] They said the count was not acting for the king but for himself. The king ruled in name only, whereas the real power was with the count. In Austria, he sold prefectures, magistracies, priestly offices, taxes, and customs duties, and appropriated the king's taxes, which he spent on a large household with horses, dogs, and harlots. He placed garrisons in fortified castles, cities, and fortresses and kept them in his own hands. He held all of Austria in submission and obedience. In Hungary, he had appointed Voivode János governor, who would pay 24,000 ducats per year to the king and 12,000 to the count. In Bohemia, he had entrusted the administration of the kingdom to Georg[6] for a period of six years.

[1] Present-day Bratislava.
[2] Ulrich II of Celje
[3] János Hunyadi.
[4] A repeat performance of the murder of Smiricky in Prague.
[5] "pedibus ire in alicujus sententiam": a classical expression. In the Roman senate, the voting was made by a (physical) division of the senators. (Livius, 23: 1; Gellius, 3: 18, 2.)
[6] Georg Podiebrad.

[7] Regna et dominia regis ad triumviratum deducta esse, Johanni Hungariam, Georgiconi Bohemiam, Austriam comiti cessisse. Illos comiti et comitem illis ad retinendam administrationem auxilia promisisse, comitem autem velut superiorem et regis forma tenentem ex omni principatu fructum desugere, ejusque culpa nobilem baronem Johannem Smirischei[1] apud Pragenses[2] occisum, qui regem[3] pro sua fide commonuisset, ne Bohemiam ingrederetur, nisi adeo[4] fortis iret, ut[5] non valente rogatu praecipere[6] posset[7], adjiciens[8], si duo essent regi capita, alterum in Austria dimittendum, alterum in Bohemiam[9] ferendum, sed illum, dum regio capiti[10] salutem quaerit, suum[11] amisisse scelere comitis, qui scripta fidelis hominis in Bohemiam remiserit.

[8] Orant igitur, talem gubernatorem a se removeat, cujus vitam adeo corruptam foedamque dicunt, ut et sibi et regi dedecori sit. Audit attentus rex exclusionique comitis annuit. Et quoniam transitus ejus in Bohemiam festinus erat, persuadent[12] comiti aequum esse, priusquam rex abeat, senatum Viennensem primoresque cives urbis valedicat, qui sibi et progenitoribus suis semper et fidelissimi et obsequentissimi[13] fuissent. Eo cum rex venisset, Azingherus sequentis diei prima luce regiam per posticum ingreditur ac mille pene homines armatos in castrum deducit, loca sublimiora occupat. In templo Divi Augustini, quod proximum castro est, haud minorem armatorum numerum collocat edoctis praepositis, si forte tumultum in castro exaudiant, praesto cum armis assint. Ipse cum primoribus urbis senatoribus ac plerisque suae factionis baronibus regem adit, parata omnia ad repulsionem comitis dicit, ordinem datum ostendit.

[9] Comes, qui domi suae[14] extra regiam dormierat, certior factus quamplurimos[15] cives regiam esse ingressos et adversus se aliquid agitare[16] cum rege, mox in regiam sese recipit, {166v} quam etsi[17] undique occupatam invenisset[18] resque contra se novatas intelligeret, minime tamen deterritus regium thalamum adit. Ibi, cum aliquandiu ante fores[19], quae sibi prius patere omni tempore solebant, expectare jussus esset, impatiens more multaque bile commotus ostium importunius manu calceque quatere coepit. Tum rex intromitti eum praecepit, sed ingressum salutavit nemo, cumque silentium omnes tenerent et alter alterum respiceret, versus ad comitem Azingherus in hune modum locutus fertur:

[10] “Quae tibi dicam modo, comes, quasi ex rege accipias oportet; is est enim, qui me loqui jubet. Annum jam regem atque Austriam gubernasti. Nunc cessandum est. Neque gubernatione tua deinceps neque consilio vel servitio tuo rex indiget. Pergito[20], quo velis gentium aut locorum, regiamque tibi posthac interdictam curiam[21] scito.”

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[1] ~~in Praga necatum~~ *seq.* W1
[2] Pragam X1
[3] ~~admoni~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~tam~~ *seq.* W1
[5] ~~magis quam non valentibus pre~~ *seq.* W1
[6] percipere M5
[7] ~~alioquin suadebat~~ *seq.* W1
[8] ~~ex duobus cap~~ *seq.* W1
[9] ~~ducendum~~ *seq.* W1
[10] ~~salvum esse~~ *seq.* W1
[11] ~~amisit~~ *seq.* W1
[12] *corr. ex* dicitur W1
[13] *corr. ex* constantissimi W1
[14] domi suae *corr. ex* apud concubinam suam W1
[15] ~~cives castrum tenere~~ *seq.* W1
[16] ~~cum rege~~ *seq.* W1
[17] *corr. ex* cum W1
[18] ~~etsi malum sibi non tamen deterr~~ *seq.* W1
[19] ~~expectave~~ *seq.* W1
[20] ~~posthac~~ *seq.* W1
[21] interdictam curiam *corr. ex* curiam interdictam W1

[7] The king's kingdoms and dominions had now fallen into the hands of a triumvirate: János had Hungary, Georg Bohemia, and the count Austria. They have made mutual promises to help each other keep the government, but with the count as the superior charged with the royal government and enjoying the fruits of each princedom. Moreover, it was the count's fault that the noble baron, Jan Smiricky, was killed in Prague: he had loyally warned the king not to enter Bohemia unless he came in strength and was able to rule independently, adding that if the king had two heads, he should leave one in Austria and bring the other to Bohemia. But while seeking safety for the king's head, he lost his own through the crime of the count, who sent this loyal man's letter back to Bohemia.

[8] Therefore, they requested the removal of such a governor, declaring that his way of life was so corrupt and shameful that it brought disgrace both upon himself and the king. The king heard them attentively and agreed to the count's removal. Since he was soon to go to Bohemia, they persuaded the count that it was fitting for the king to first say goodbye to the senate and prominent citizens of Vienna, who had always been loyal and obedient subjects to himself and his ancestors. The early morning after the king's arrival, Eitzinger entered the castle by a back entrance, bringing almost a thousand armed men with him, and occupied the upper parts of the castle. In the nearby Augustinerkirche close to the castle, he placed nearly as many armed men, telling the leaders to come quickly with the men if they heard a commotion inside the castle. He himself went with the leading senators of the city and many barons from his faction to the king, told him that everything was ready for the count's expulsion, and explained the plan.

[9] The count spent the night at his own house[1] outside the royal palace. When he was informed that many citizens had entered the castle and were plotting against him with the king, he immediately went to the palace. Although he found it occupied on all sides and heard about the uprising against him, he did not become afraid but went to the king's chamber. There, he waited for some time before the doors that had previously been open to him at all times, but then he became impatient and indignant and began to knock on and kick the door. At last, the king ordered him to be admitted. When he entered, no one greeted him. All remained silent and looked at each other. Then Eitzinger turned towards the count and addressed him in about this way:

[10] "What I tell you now, Count, you must accept as coming from the king himself, for it is he who commands me to speak. You have governed the king and Austria for a year. This will end now. The king no longer needs your governance, counsel or service. Go wherever you wish and know that henceforth, you are barred from this court."

[1] The original version has "with his concubine".

[11] Ea cum comes audivisset, neque vultu neque animo motus in hanc sententiam respondisse traditur: “Quae modo locutus est Azingherus, rex inclyte, quamvis tuo nomine dicta sunt, non tamen ex tua mente prodire crediderim. Aliena sunt enim a tua majestate et adversa meis meritis. Ego avo tuo Sigismundo summa fide vel puer servivi. Aviam tuam ex magnis deduxi periculis. Genitori tuo Alberto et in Bohemia et in Hungaria[1] fidelis comes adhaesi, cum[2] sine me[3] nullum ingrederetur[4] pater[5] proelium. Saepe ille me vulneratum pro suo regno conspexit et laudavit. Matrem tuam, sororem meam, Helizabet, Hungarie ac Bohemiae reginam, non sine gravi discrimine, cum esset ab omnibus deserta, adversus Poloniae regem solus defendi. Antequam natus esses[6], bella tui causa et maxima et plena periculis gessi. Vix denique natus eras, cum ego cunctis Hungariae baronibus me objeci, salvum tibi ut regnum servarem. Propter te quoque captus ab Hungaris et in carcerem squalidissimum conjectus vix tandem et non nisi datis[7] vadibus ex terra mea bonis et[8] nobilibus viris, sum dimissus.[9]

[12] Denique, cum esses in manu Federici Caesaris invitusque cum illo maneres, ego, ut te libertati redderem, principi et domino meo imperatori bellum indixi teque tandem in dominia tua reduxi. Mea opera[10] et Hungari et[11] Bohemi ad oboedientiam tuam[12] reducti sunt. Quod si ego tacuissem, adhuc sub Federici tutela maneres, {167r} nec vel te Hungari quaererent vel Bohemi. Omnis aetas mea aut in tuo[13] aut in progenitorum tuorum obsequio consumpta est. Nullos pro te labores effugi, nulla pericula devitavi[14]. Dum tua negotia curo[15], patrimonium paene meum exhausi. Jam senex sum factus, jam debilis atque confractus, dum arma gestans tibi regnum, tibi gloriam paro. Indigna nunc praemia refero, neque juste neque belle mecum agitur, si tamquam inutilis aut infidus ex tuo consilio repellor, qui neque gessi neque dixi umquam, nisi quae tibi honori atque utilitati esse putavi[16]. Sed non sunt[17] ista, ut arbitror, tuae mentis decreta, quae neque meis obsequiis consonant neque sanguini, quo tibi conjungor. Azingherus est, qui talia meditatur et struit. Is ideo mihi aemulus atque[18] invidus[19] est, quoniam castra, quae tua occupat, ut tibi redderet, eum admonui neque permisi hominem ex arbitrio suo[20] barones hujus terrae ducere, Austriam[21] gubernare, regem esse. Spero, tua me pietas melius intuebitur neque meorum oblita servitiorum pro Azingheri libidine ludibrio me habebit.”

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[1] Bohemia et … Hungaria : Hungaria et in Bohemia M5
[2] *corr. ex* neque W1
[3] ille *add.* X1
[4] nullum ingereretur *corr. ex* nullum ingressus est tuus W1
[5] *omit.* M5, X1
[6] ~~bellum tui causa~~ *seq.* W1
[7] *supralin.* W1
[8] *omit.* X1
[9] ex terra … dimissus *corr. ex* pro me positis terrarum mearum claris et nobilibus libere dimissus sum W1
[10] ~~et Bohemi~~ *seq.* W1
[11] in *add.* M5
[12] *omit.* WO
[13] tua X1
[14] ~~patrimonium meum~~ *seq.* W1
[15] ~~pene~~ *seq.* W1
[16] *omit.* M5
[17] *omit.* X1
[18] et X1
[19] infidus X1
[20] ~~Austriam gubernar ducere~~ *seq.* W1
[21] ~~regere~~ *seq.* W1; omit. [blank space] X1

[11] When the count had heard it, he quite calmly and impassively answered, “Illustrious King, though what Eitzinger has just spoken was said in your name, I cannot believe that it reflects your mind, for it is unworthy of Your Majesty and contrary to my merits. From childhood, I served your grandfather Sigismund[1] with complete loyalty. I saved your grandmother[2] from great dangers. I was a faithful companion of your father Albrecht[3] both in Bohemia and Hungary, and he never entered a battle without me by his side. I was often wounded in the service of his kingdom, which he saw and praised. At great peril, I alone defended your mother, my cousin[4] Elizabeth,[5] Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, against the King of Poland[6] when all abandoned her. Before you were born, I fought great and dangerous battles on your behalf, and right after your birth, I opposed all the barons of Hungary to preserve the kingdom for you. For your sake, I was taken prisoner by the Hungarians and thrown into a filthy prison, from which I was released only with great difficulty, having provided good and noble men from my lands as hostages.

[12] And finally, when you were in Emperor Friedrich’s custody and only unwillingly stayed with him, I, to set you free, declared war on my prince and lord, the emperor, and brought you to your own domains. The Hungarians and the Bohemians were brought into your obedience through my efforts. Had I remained silent, you would still be under Friedrich’s guardianship, and neither the Hungarians nor the Bohemians would ask for you. All my life has been spent in service to you and your ancestors’ service. I have spared no labour and avoided no danger for your sake. Busy with your affairs, I have almost spent all my inheritance. I have grown old, weak, and worn out while fighting to ensure your kingdom [for you] and prepare your glory. The reward I receive now is unworthy. I am treated neither justly nor well if I am dismissed from your council as useless and unfaithful, for I have never said or done anything that I did not consider to your honour and advantage. But this decision is not yours, I believe, for it is incompatible with my services to you and the blood that unites us. It is Eitzinger who plots and does these things. He is envious and hostile because I demanded that he return the castles of yours that he is occupying and because I did not allow him to lead the barons of this land at his pleasure, to govern Austria, and to play king. I hope that, in your piety, you will hold me in higher regard. Do not forget my loyal service, and do not let Eitzinger mock me as he likes.”

[1] Emperor Sigismund (Luxembourg).

[2] Barbara of Celje (1392-1451): Empress. Married to Emperor Sigismund.

[3] Emperor Albrecht II (Habsburg).

[4] ”soror”

[5] Elizabeth of Hungary (Luxembourg).

[6] Wladyslaw III.

[13] Sic cum profatus esset comes, silentiumque cuncti tenerent, neque deessent, quos verba comitis commovissent, “Nihil est,” inquit Azingherus, “cur me culpites. Non ego[1] regia[2] gubernatione, sed tua te facta dimovent. Solus omnia gerere voluisti, de Bohemia, de Hungaria tuo arbitratu disponere, super Austriam injussu terrigenarum onera[3], quae nec subditi ferre possent, inducere, praelatos et civitates deglobere[4] modisque vexare omnibus. Federicum Caesarem, quoniam sine consilio nostro[5] regnare voluit, pati non potuimus, quamvis esset nostri principis proximus consanguineus tutorque legitimus[6] et in hac Austriae terra verus heres nostrique domini dominus[7]. Quo te pacto sustinere potuissemus, qui cum esses illo longe minor[8], majora tamen[9] multo audebas[10]? Veracis illius et mansueti domini jugum excussimus et tuam tyrannidem tolerabimus?

[14] Hic {167v} comes veluti contumelia tactus, “Veracem,” inquit, “Caesarem vocitas, tamquam mendacem incusare me velis?”, cui Azingherus, “Auditum est,” ait, “quod dixi[11], nec muto vel verba vel sententiam. De tua vero exclusione ne[12] me putes injussu regis locutum, omnes, qui assunt, testes adhibeo regis me ordinationem[13] exposuisse, non meam.” At cum circumspiceret astipulatoresque dictis suis quaereret, nemo hiscere ausus est: tacere universi[14], immutatum regis vereri animum, timere comitem, alter alterum intueri, jam comes vicisse se arbitrari. Sed Azingherus, minime fractus animo, postquam titubare consiliarios animadvertit, ad regem conversus, “Quid tu dicis, optime princeps,” inquit, tuane voluntas est comitem abs te repellere an non?” Tum ille[15], “Nostra est,” ait, “et voluntas et intentio.” Quo dicto fremere omnes, animum collaudare regium, contemnere comitem neque illi jam verba suppeditare.

[15] Inspiciens[16] tamen suos comes[17], ”Perge,” inquit uni, “jube Albertum marchionem huc accersiri, nam et is[18] consanguineus regis est. Necesse est illum adesse et consulere regi, quae sint ex usu, ne, quae dictitat[19] Azingherus, omnia fiant.” Lamberger fuit, ad quem verba comes direxit[20], antiquus ejus et fidus familiaris atque in paucis carus[21]. Huic parendi solicito et nuntium quaerenti, quem mitteret ad marchionem, “Quid tu,” ait[22] alter ex Azingheri fratribus, “huc et illuc circumspicis? Frustra laborem assumis: nemo ex his, qui assunt, pariturus est tibi[23]. Regnum jam satis in hac civitate possedisti, nunc finis imperii tui est. Decedendum et alteri provincia relinquenda est.” “At ista,” inquit Lamberger, “jus est,” et egressus foras quam celerrime marchionem accersivit.

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[1] ~~te sed tu~~ *seq.* W1
[2] regina M5
[3] ~~gravissima posuisti~~ *seq.* W1
[4] praelatos et … deglobere *corr. ex* nec praelatos nec civitates vexare W1
[5] vestro X1
[6] ~~et Austriae verus heres ubi Ladislaus de constans et verax dominus~~ *seq.* W1
[7] ~~quo pacto per persuadere tibi potuisti ut te tolerare~~ *seq.* W1
[8] ~~multo~~ *seq.* W1
[9] *supralin.* W1
[10] ~~con / manusetum illum et veracem dominum~~ *seq.* W1
[11] *corr. ex* sum locutus W1
[12] ~~mihi~~ *seq.* W1
[13] *corr. ex* voluntatem W1
[14] ~~timere comitem alter alterum~~ *seq.* W1
[15] ~~mea / nostra est ait~~ *seq.* W1
[16] ~~suos~~ *seq.* W1
[17] *supralin.* W1
[18] his M5
[19] dictat M5
[20] ~~qui par~~ *seq.* W1
[21] ~~is huic cum solitus parendi nuntium quereret~~ *seq.* W1
[22] ~~frater Eizingeri~~ *seq.* W1
[23] ~~diu et satis~~ *seq.* W1

[13] When the count had spoken, all were silent, and some were moved by the count's words. Then Eitzinger said, "You have no reason to blame me. It is not I but your own acts that remove you from the royal government. You wanted to rule alone, to dispose of Bohemia and Hungary as you wish, to impose intolerable burdens on Austria against the will of its subjects, to fleece the prelates and the cities and to harass them in all ways possible. We could not accept that Emperor Friedrich would rule us without our counsel, though he was the closest relative of our prince, the legitimate guardian, the rightful heir to this land of Austria, and the lord of our lord. How do you think we could tolerate you, who are far less than him but dared much more? We threw off the yoke of that truthful and gentle lord; how could we endure your tyranny?"

[14] The count indignantly answered, "You call the emperor truthful as if you wish to accuse me of being a liar?" Eitzinger said, "What I said was heard by all, and I change neither my words nor my opinion. But concerning your removal, do not think I have spoken without the king's command. I take all present as my witnesses that I have related the king's decision, not my own." But looking around for men who would confirm his words, no one dared to open his mouth; all remained silent. Fearing the king had changed his mind and fearing the count's power, they looked at each other and thought the count had won. But when Eitzinger saw the councillors vacillating, he, undaunted, turned towards the king and said, "What do you say, Noble Prince? Is it your will to remove the count or not?" Then the king said, "It is Our will and wish." At these words, all cried out, praised the king, scorned the count, and did not speak to him.

[15] But looking around him, the count said to one of his allies, "Go and ask Margrave Albrecht[1] to come here, for he, too, is a kinsman of the king. He must come and advise the king what is to his advantage, lest Eitzinger dictate everything." It was Lamberger[2] whom the count addressed, an old, trusted, and well-beloved familiar. Eager to obey, Lamberger was looking for someone to send to the margrave when one of Eitzinger's brothers said, "Why are you looking here and there? You search in vain: none of those present will do as you say. You have lorded it enough over this city; now it is over. You must depart and yield the province to another." "But I am doing the right thing," Lamberger said, and leaving the castle, he summoned the margrave as soon as he could.

[1] Albrecht III Achilles of Brandenburg.

[2] Friedrich Lamberger.

[16] Interea excluso comite rex cum Azinghero et aliis consiliariis in aulam exit, ubi barones convocati regium imperium expectabant. Illic cum Azingherus, jubente rege, depositionem comitis exposuisset, {168r} maximus ex baronibus Georgius de Pucham "Vereor," inquit, "maxime rex, ne male consulta consilia sequaris. Comes tibi sanguine proximus est, potens et animosus princeps, qui tibi et tuis progenitoribus[1] ingentia beneficia contulit. Nunc si per contumeliam tuo ex consilio dejicitur, cogitabit, quo se[2] pacto vindicet[3]. Castra munitissima in manu habet, amicis et in Hungaria et in Bohemia fultus est[4], neque populum tuum neque terram quiescere sinet. Tua sublimitas, si me[5] audiet[6], cum suo sanguine modestius[7] aget." Fuerunt et alii[8] nonnulli ex baronibus, qui Georgii sententiam probavere. At praelati et civitatum legati plebisque omnis multitudo manus ad caelum tollere, divinum regis consilium dicere, Azingherum salutare, qui comitis[9] amantes putarentur torvis intueri oculis neque comitis[10] illaesos[11] dimittere, cumque venisset in regiam marchio incassumque verba pro comite multa fecisset, adhaerens regi comes, "Satis hic," inquit, "mansum est; advesperascit[12], ut vides. Quin ascendimus equos atque in villam pergimus?" Cui rex, "Ito, ut lubet[13]; ego Viennae pernoctabo." Tunc comes[14], de se actum intelligens, marchionis dexteram apprehendens ad sororem regiam proficiscitur, cui cum suas injurias questus esset neque aliud[15] quam muliebres inde lacrimas reportaret, veritus[16], ne quid majus in se inimici ejus molirentur[17], ascendens equum, marchione comitante, cum quinque dumtaxat famulis ad portam perrexit, quae ad Hungariam ducit, ubi, valedicto marchione, multa in Azingherum Wiennensesque[18] comminatus velut in exilium missus in arcem quam prope Viennam[19] possidebat, sese recepit[20], revoluto[21] vix anno postquam Ladislaum regem in gubernationem[22] acceperat.

[17] Sic, quem paulo ante duo maxima[23] regna latissimaque dominia Ladislai veluti caeleste quoddam sidus intuebantur nec aliam quam hujus vocem audiebant, {168v} in horae momento[24] dejectus extra gratiam regis, rerum humanarum non parvum[25] exhibet documentum. Recte *Orontes, Artaxersis gener, cum ob illius iram ex alto[26] gradu dignitatis in ignominiam excidisset contemptuique esset, "Quemadmodum", inquit, "computatoris digiti nunc decies millenarios numeros, nunc unarios ponere possunt[27], eodem quoque modo regum amicos posse quandoque totum, quandoque minimum."* Invidiae subjecta est quaevis potentia neque longum manere potest. Qui nimios optat honores[28] aut nimias deposcit opes, numerosa sibi excelsae turris tabulata praeparat[29], unde altior casus fit et impulsae ruinae praecipitium immane.

[16] After the count's removal, the king, accompanied by Eitzinger and the other councillors, went into the hall where the barons had been summoned to hear the king's decision. When, at the king's command, Eitzinger had announced the count's deposition, the greatest of the barons, Georg Puchheim,[30] said, "I fear, Great King, that you are following bad advice. The count is your close relative and a powerful and bold prince, who has rendered immense services to you and your

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[1] ~~utili~~ *seq.* W1
[2] *omit.* M5
[3] ~~tuam terram~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~neque terram tuam~~ *seq.* W1
[5] *Here ends the text in M5*
[6] audiat X1
[7] molestius X1
[8] ibi X1
[9] comites X1
[10] conviciis X1
[11] illesus X1
[12] advesperescit X1
[13] libet X1
[14] ~~spe quavis decidens~~ *seq.* W1
[15] ~~ex ea~~ *seq.* W1
[16] ~~ne maior injuria in se surgeret~~ *seq.* W1
[17] ~~comitante marchione~~ *seq.* W1
[18] Wiennenses X1
[19] arcem quam … Viennem *corr. ex* castra que W1
[20] n~~ondum annum completo post quam~~ *seq.* W1
[21] *Here ends the lacuna in the copy of the letter included in letter 409 to the Count Francesco d'Arco.*
[22] *corr. ex* potestatem W1
[23] ~~duo~~ *seq.* W1
[24] ~~rerum~~ *seq.* W1
[25] ~~documentum exibe~~ *seq.* W1
[26] ~~dignitatis~~ *seq.* W1
[27] ponere possunt *corr. ex* ponunt W1
[28] et *add.* X1
[29] preponat X1
[30] Georg II von Puchheim.

ancestors. If he now suffers the indignity of being removed from your council, he will plan for revenge. He holds well-fortified castles and has friends in Hungary and Bohemia, and he will not leave you and your country in peace. If Your Highness heeds me, you will act with restraint towards your own blood." Other barons agreed with Georg. But the prelates and the envoys of the cities, and the whole crowd raised their hands towards the heavens, said the king's decision was divine, saluted Eitzinger, and glared grimly at those who were thought to support the count and would not leave them unharmed. When the margrave[1] had arrived and spoken in vain for the count, the count approached the king and said, "We have been here long enough. It is getting late, so why don't we take to horse and go to the country house?" The king answered, "Go where you please; I shall spend the night in Vienna." The count, understanding that he was done for, took the margrave's right hand and went to the king's sister.[2] He complained of his injuries but only got womanly tears. Fearing that his enemies were plotting something worse against him,[3] he mounted his horse and, accompanied by the margrave and only five attendants, reached the gate towards Hungary. There, he took leave of the margrave and, with many threats against Eitzinger and the Viennese, left as if going into exile and went to a castle he owned close to Vienna. Less than a year had passed since he took charge of King Ladislaus.

[17] Thus, the man whom Ladislaus' two great realms previously regarded as a heavenly star and the only man they listened to fell from the king's favour in less than an hour. This is a excellent example of how human affairs may develop. *When Orontes,[4] son-in-law of Artaxerxes,[5] who became angry with him, had fallen from his high position and become ignominious and despised, he rightly said, "An accountant's finger can count millions and single coins. In the same way, the friends of a king are sometimes everything and sometimes nothing."*[6] All power is subject to jealousy and cannot last for long. He who desires excessive honours and riches builds for himself a high tower from where there is a deep fall and a terrible plunge into ruin.

[1] Albrecht III von Brandenburg.
[2] Elizabeth (Habsburg)
[3] His murder.
[4] Orontes I (-344 BCE): A Bactrian nobleman.
[5] Artaxerxes II (c. 445 - c. 359 BCE): Ruler of the Achaemenid Empire from c. 405 to his death.
[6] Ploutarkos: *Regum et Imperatorum Apophthegmata* / Orontes (Loeb Classical Library, vol. 245, p. 21). The quotation is from a Latin translation (as yet unidentified).

[18] Haec cum acta apud Viennenses essent, complures litterae ad Caesarem missae sunt, quae et rem gestam traderent et adventum in Austriam ad Novam civitatem Caesari suaderent, quoniam novatis rebus[1] credibile esset ejus favorem ab aliqua parte quaesitum[2] iri[3]. Paruit Caesar moxque, superatis Alpibus[4] in Novam civitatem sese recepit. Sequenti die Vacciensis episcopus, Azingherus et alii Ladislai regis oratores ad eum venere in auditorio publico de pace, quam dux Albertus pridem tractavisset, verba fecerunt, dicentes non posse illi esse locum recusantibus Hungaris. Quod si Caesar novos ingredi tractatus vellet, spem concordiae non deesse. At semotis arbitris soli Caesari Azingherus solus[5] plura locutus est, quae licet mihi et quattuor consiliariis postea Caesar nota reddiderit, nondum tamen tempus est, ut palam fant.

[19] Comes autem legatum cum his mandatis ad Caesarem misit, quae hoc modo publice sunt exposita: "Quae mecum egerint nonnulli ex Austria, serenitatem tuam nequaquam latent, quo te prius, hoc me nunc[6] vulnere percusserunt[7] [8]. Ex latere pupilli regis, quem mihi gubernandum commiseras, violenter detrusus sum. Digna pro factis refero, qui[9] nec tuum audivi consilium[10] nec[11] adversus te, dominum meum, arma gestare[12] {169r} sum veritus. Sed da correpto veniam; non tantum[13] noxius tibi fui, quantum, si vivam, prodero: Hungaros tuae majestati conciliare possum Bohemosque tibi amicissimos reddere, et quibus[14] in Australes modis ulcisci possis ostendere. Pergere nunc in Bohemiam sententia mihi est, ut quod Viennae dicere regi non potui, Pragae dicam. Reversus, si fidem dabis, ad te veniam, et quae libenter audias tuo culmini referam. Neque pecuniam neque auxilia ex te peto: satis mihi fuerit in tuam redisse gratiam." Caesar se cognita habere cuncta respondit, quae acta essent in Austria[15], et antequam fierent, praevidisse futura. Neque prudenter comitem suum consilium contempsisse[16]; deliquisse[17] illum graviter, qui contra foedus contraque praestitam fidem[18] adversus se arma tulisset; consecuturum autem et veniam et gratiam, cum meruerit[19]; ad imperialem curiam cum proficisci voluerit publicam fidem habiturum. Haec acta sunt per hos dies in Austria, quae nota esse cupiens culmini apostolico[20] dignationi vestrae idcirco conscripsi, quoniam facilius ex ore vestro pietas domini nostri narrationem accipiet quam scriptis meis aures praebeat.

[20] Nunc rex Ladislaus in itinere est versus Bohemiam et forsitan jam Iglaviam pervenit. Ibi eum gubernator Bohemiae cum tribus milibus equitum expectat. Albertus, Austriae dux, et marchio Albertus Brandeburgensis et complurimi ex Austria et Hungaria in comitiva regis sunt. Johannes Huniat, Hungarie gubernator, cum mille et quingentis equitibus ad eum[21] festinat[22], cupiens regem prius alloqui quam Bohemiam ingrediatur. Noster Procopius a nobis recessit, ut[23] coronationi sui regis intersit. Capitulum Pragense admodum timet, ne compactata tenere cogatur, sic enim promisisse regem Bohemis ajunt. Quod si dominus noster suis litteris eis praeciperet[24], ne se de compactatis intromitterent, extra maximum se periculum reputarent.

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[1] ~~posset altera~~ *seq.* W1
[2] *corr. ex* quaerendum W1
[3] ~~cumque Caesar~~ *seq.* W1
[4] apibus X1
[5] ~~verba plura locutus est que post modum ab eo in hunc / in hanc sententiam locutus est ut poste mihi et~~ *seq.* W1
[6] *supralin.* W1
[7] ~~ex latere regis / regem quem mihi gubernandum commiseras ex re gis latere que~~ *seq.* W1
[8] qui *add.* X1
[9] ~~tuam majestatem fefelli~~ *seq.* W1
[10] nec tuum … consilium *corr. ex* tuam majestatem fefelli W1
[11] *corr. ex* et W1
[12] ~~presumpsi~~ *seq.* W1
[13] *corr. ex* tam W1
[14] ~~Australes~~ *seq.* W1
[15] ~~vidisse intelexisse futura~~ *seq.* W1
[16] ~~neque~~ *seq.* W1
[17] delinquisse X1
[18] ~~rebellasse suo / Australibus se junxisset contra~~ *seq.* W1
[19] ~~fidem / ad presentiam suam cum profici~~ *seq.* W1
[20] apostolice X1
[21] eam X1
[22] festinent X1
[23] ~~regie~~ *seq.* W1
[24] ~~ne quid compacta se~~ *seq.* W1

[18] After these events in Vienna, many letters were sent to the emperor informing him about what had happened and urging him to come to Neustadt in Austria since, after the political change, one of the parties would likely come to ask for his favour. This the emperor did, and having crossing the Alps, he arrived at Neustadt. The next day, the Bishop of Waitzen,[1] Eitzinger and other envoys of King Ladislaus came to him and, in a public audience, spoke about the peace[2] previously made by Duke Albrecht,[3] saying that it was not possible since the Hungarians refused it. But if the emperor would enter into new negotiations, there was hope of a settlement. Afterwards, however, the emperor spoke alone, without witnesses, with Eitzinger, and though he later informed me and four councillors about their conversation, it is not yet time to make it public.

[19] The count, too, sent an envoy to the emperor with a message that has been made public: "Your Serenity will know what some from Austria have done against me, wounding me now in the same way they wounded you before.[4] I have been forcibly removed from the side of the boy king, whose governor you made me. What I have suffered is well-deserved since I did not heed your counsel nor fear taking arms against you, my lord. But forgive a man who stands corrected. If I live, I shall profit you more than I harmed you. I can reconcile the Hungarians with Your Majesty and make the Bohemians your close friends, and I can show you how to take revenge on the Austrians. I now intend to go to Bohemia and, in Prague, tell the king what I could not in Vienna. If you trust me, I will come to you after I return and tell Your Highness things you will be pleased to hear. I do not ask for money or help from you: it will be enough for me to regain your favour." The emperor replied that he knew all that had happened in Austria and had foreseen it. The count had acted unwisely in scorning his advice and committed a grave error by taking weapons against him despite their treaty and his oath of loyalty. But he would obtain forgiveness and favour when he merited it, and whenever he wished it, he would gain a safe-conduct to come to the imperial court. This is what has recently happened in Austria. Wishing to inform His Apostolic Highness, I have written this report to Your Grace, for Our Pious Lord[5] will more easily hear it from your mouth than lend his ears to a letter from me.

[20] King Ladislaus is now on his way to Bohemia, and he may already have reached Iglau.[6] There, the Governor of Bohemia[7] is waiting for him with 3,000 cavalry. Albrecht, Duke of Austria, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, and many nobles from Austria and Hungary accompany the king. János Hunyadi, Governor of Hungary, is hastening towards him with 1,500 horsemen, hoping to speak with him before he enters Bohemia. Our Prokop[8] has left us to attend the king's coronation. The Chapter of Prague greatly fears that they will be forced to accept the Compacts,[9] for they say the king has promised this to the Bohemians. But if Our Lord[10] were to send a letter forbidding them to observe the compacts, they believe they would avoid a great peril.

[1] Vinzens, Bishop of Vac since 17 July 1450.
[2] The peace treaty made in April 1453 between the emperor and the rebels and Austrians/Hungarians but not ratified.
[3] Duke Albrecht VI (Habsburg).
[4] The Austrian rebellion against the emperor in 1452.
[5] The Pope.
[6] Present-day Jihlava.
[7] Georg Podiebrad.
[8] Prokop von Rabenstein, who would become King Ladislaus' Bohemian chancellor.
[9] The Bohemian Compacts, accepted by King Ladislaus, authorising communion under both species.
[10] The pope.

[21] Hoc scripsi pridem dignationi vestrae, quae suo ex more numquam mihi nisi truncate respondet et ad pauca, quae vult, non ad omnia. Ascribo haec maximis, {169v} quae dignationem vestram urgent, occupationibus, quamvis et aliquando, quae scribo, non negligenda sint. Si placet, dignemini operam dare, ut Catholici, qui sunt in Bohemia, consolationem recipiant[1]. De re Turcorum audivi cupide, quae sit domino nostro et sacro collegio sollicitudo, et qui detur ordo. Placuit Caesari intellexisse[2] scripta vestra. Legatum expectat, qui huc venturus dicitur. Festinandum est, ne prius armatum hostem videamus, quam nos de sumendis armis consilium capiamus.

Valete optime in Christo[3] et causam ejus forti pectore suscipite. Ex Nova Civitate, die 16. Octobris 1453. Servulus vester Aeneas, episcopus Senensis[4].

[1] ~~ex / et valete in Christo~~ *seq.* W1
[2] *corr. ex* audivisse W1
[3] ~~cujus causam~~ *seq.* W1
[4] Servulus … Senensis *omit.* X1

[21] I have written previously to Your Grace, but you have, as usual, only answered me briefly and only concerning the few points you will. I ascribe this to the pressing affairs that occupy Your Grace, though – as I believe - I sometimes write about things that should not be neglected. Please endeavour to ensure that the Catholics in Bohemia receive some consolation.[1] Concerning the Turkish matter, I eagerly heard how concerned Our Lord[2] and the Sacred College[3] are and what arrangements they are making. The emperor was pleased to hear your letter. He now awaits the [papal] legate[4] who is said to be coming here. There is need for haste, lest we see the armed enemy [in front of us] before we have even begun to discuss going to war.

Live well in Christ and defend his cause with vigour. From Neustadt, 16 October 1453l. Your humble servant, Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] Papal support.
[2] The pope.
[3] The College of Cardinals.
[4] Giovanni de Castiglione.

402. Letter to Johann Hinderbach (17 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 84v-85r[1]; V5, 113, ff. 147r-147v **; V6, 113, ff. 120r[2]; V7, 113, ff. 155r-155v.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 173, pp. 311-312 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{147r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni Hinderbachio salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quamvis te res meas non minus quam tuas curare certo[3] scio, tamen[4] pro consuetudine te hortor, omni conatu adnitaris, quo tandem annata liberer. Scio reverendissimum Sancti Angeli cardinalem dicturum non esse jam tempus, cum pecuniae undique conquiruntur, remissionem petere, cui ut dicas, oro, non me {147v} fugiturum tradere, quod ecclesiae meae in sortem venerit, sed hoc debitum esse vetus neque ad rem Turcorum spectare, cujus liberationem sua dignatio pluries mihi spopondit. Addito et alias causas, quas tua tibi subministrabit prudentia. Reliquum negotium existimo Deo magis relinquendum quam sollicitudine humana quaerendum. Senfleben te instruet, quid facto sit opus, qui rem ab initio orditus est. Nec plura de mea re.

[2] In rebus ecclesie Gurcensis non est, cur te admoneam. Ille pater meliuscule se habet; vires paene omnes pristinas praeter visum recuperavit. Ulricus in te spem suam collocavit; credo litteras ex eo recipies. Novitates harum partium scribo domino meo Sancti Angeli. Summa omnium haec[5] est: comes Ciliae amotus est regimine regis et exclusus consilio jamque Caesaris gratiam quaerit. Eyzingerus cum Caesare fuit cupiens et ipse in benevolentiam reverti. Rex in Bohemiam pergit; arbitror eum jam esse Iglaviae. Alberti duo eum sequuntur, dux Austriae et marchio Brandeburgensis. Comes quoque non vocatus eo proficiscitur. Johannes Smirischei baro in Bohemia capite truncatus est. Nos huc[6] festinantes venimus, audita comitis novitate, speravimus aliquid inesse boni, quod amplecti possemus: nihil adhuc invenimus. Procopius noster, vir bonus, a nobis recessit.

Vale et scribe, quid rerum agas. Ex Novacivitate, die 17. Octobris 1453.

[1] DV, 174-175
[2] DV, 124r-124v
[3] certe V7
[4] *omit.* V7
[5] *omit.* V5
[6] hic F1; *corr. ex* hic V5

402. Letter to Johann Hinderbach (17 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Piccolomini's wish to be relieved of paying the annates for his diocese of Siena had not yet been granted.*
Subject: *Piccolomini urges Hinderbach to do what he can in the matter of the annates and sends news from the imperial court.* [1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Johann Hinderbach.

[1] Though I know for sure that you take care of my affairs as if they were your own, I still - as is my wont - exhort you to do everything possible to finally obtain the remission of the annates. I know that the Most Reverend Cardinal of Sant'Angelo will say it is not the right time to ask for a remission when money is being scraped together from everywhere,[2] but tell him that I shall not fail to pay the contribution that falls to my church.[3] However, the debt [of the annates] is an old one and has nothing to do with the Turkish matter, and His Grace has several times promised that I would be freed of it. Add such reasons as your sagacity will provide. The rest, I believe, should be left to God rather than sought through human care. Sentfleben, who has handled the matter from the beginning, will let you know what to do. No more about my affairs.

[2] In the matter of the Church of Gurk,[4] I have no reason to advise you. That Father[5] is getting better and has regained all his faculties except his sight.[6] Ulrich[7] has placed his hope in you; I believe you will get a letter from him. I have written to My Lord of Sant'Angelo about the news from these parts.[8] They are, briefly: The Count of Celje[9] has been removed from the royal government and excluded from the council, and now he is seeking the emperor's favour. Eitzinger has visited the emperor, and he, too, wants to return to his favour. The king[10] is on his way to Bohemia; I believe he has now reached Iglau. He is accompanied by the two Albrechts, the Duke of Austria and the Margrave of Brandenburg.[11] The count has not been invited [to Bohemia] but is going there anyway. Baron Jan Smiricky has been beheaded in Bohemia. We[12] hastened to come here[13] when we heard about the count's fall, hoping there would be some good in it for us, but we have yet to find it. Our Prokop,[14] the good man, has left us.

Farewell, and write to me what you are doing. From Neustadt, 17 October 1457.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 539, 548, 552.
[2] For the war against the Turks.
[3] The tithes for the crusade to be imposed on the clergy.
[4] The emperor wanted Ulrich Sonnenberger to succeed the ailing bishop, Johann V Schallermann.
[5] Johann V Schallermann (1373-1465): Bishop of Gurk 1435-1453.
[6] He had apparently suffered a stroke.
[7] Ulrich Sonnenberger.
[8] See the preceding letter.
[9] Ulrich II of Celje.
[10] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[11] Albrecht VI (Habsburg) and Albrecht III (Hohenzollern).
[12] The emperor and his attendants.
[13] From Graz to Wiener Neustadt.
[14] Prokop von Rabenstein.

403. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (18 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 85r[1]; V5, 114, f. 148r **; V6, 114, ff. 120v-121r[2]; V7, 114, ff. 155v-156r.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 174, pp. 312-313 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{148r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Petro Noxetano salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Johannes Amici, pontificii juris interpres, inclytae civitatis Agrippinae secretarius, qui has litteras tibi restituet[3], et vetusta et jucunda mihi benevolentia conjunctus est ex tempore concilii Basiliensis. Hoc homine usque in hanc diem familiariter utor. Multa ejus in me beneficia sunt et talia, quibus rependere[4] vicem minime possim. Vir doctus est et amoenis moribus. Haec ideo ad te scribo, ut si opus ei sit tuo favore, scias te homini probato et mihi amicissimo praesidium ferre, cumque tuapte natura claris viris etiam non rogatus opitulari soleas, rem mihi gratissimam feceris, si huic homini non sua solum causa, sed mea quoque benignum faventemque te ostenderis.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 18. Octobris 1453.

[1] DV, 175
[2] DV, 124r-125r
[3] restituat V7
[4] respondere F1, V6, V7

403. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (18 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Piccolomini's close friend, Johann Vrunt, was going to Rome on some errand, possibly connected with an ecclesiastical benefice.*
Subject: *Piccolomini highly recommends his friend.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Pietro da Noceto.

[1] Johann Vrunt, a canon lawyer and secretary of the illustrious City of Köln, who will give you this letter, has - since the time of the Council of Basel - been joined with me in a long and pleasant friendship. He has been close to me ever since. His services to me are so many and such that I could not repay them. He is a learned man with pleasant manners. I am writing this to you so that, should he need your support, you may know that you will be helping a worthy man and a close friend of mine. Since it is in your character to assist distinguished men, even without being asked, you would do me a most welcome service by showing kindness and favour to this man not only for his own sake but also for mine.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 18 October 1453.

404. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (18 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 85r-86r[1]; V5, 115, ff. 148r-149r **; V6, 115, ff. 121r-121v; V7, 115, ff. 156r-156v.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 175, pp. 313-314 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{148r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Henrico Senfleben salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Johannes Hinderbachius, decretorum doctor, nisi fallor, jam Romae est. Ab eo cognovisti[2], quae velim; non est cur verba diligenti faciam. Res Pataviensis ecclesiae, quemadmodum reor, cito finem habebit. Ibi curandum est, ne promissa nobis desint. Cupio etiam absolvi veteri annatae debito. Nisi id fiat, sentio me ad inopiam redigi neque domum facile posse reverti. Scribo cardinali Metensi, {148v} mei ut memor in bonum sit. Dato[3] sibi litteras meas et commonefacito[4], ut velit[5] favorem impartiri homini, qui suus esse velit. Dicito[6] illi Johannem Amici Coloniensem, decretorum doctorem[7], brevi ad eum venturum, qui meam causam sibi commendabit: est enim et illi servitor et mihi amicus. Finzinus, familiaris meus, Romam propediem petiturus est, qui stulte, ut fert adolescentia, homicidium commisit. Cupit absolutionem. Juvato[8] hominem, rogo, bonis ortum parentibus ex civitate Norinbergensi. Si pecunia ei defuerit, subvenito[9] sibi meo nomine usque ad nummos auri decem; eos jubebo reddi primis litteris. *Steuram* ecclesiae tuae impositam rogavi Caesarem, ut remitteret, quod libens fecit, quantum ad te pertinet. Vicarium tuum, qui juxta terrae morem partem dare tenetur, sublevare non valui, neque id tibi damno est. In partibus iis[10] haec nova sunt: comes Ciliae dominatum in Austria perdidit; Eytzinger eum dejecit. Rex in Bohemiam proficiscitur coronam propediem suscepturus. Albertus, Austriae dux, et alter Albertus, marchio Brandeburgensis, eum sequuntur. Expectabimus rerum exitum. Pax neque ratificata est neque ratificanda videtur. Sed cum rex redierit, fortasse meliores res erunt.

Commendato[11] me dominis meis Firmano et Sancti Angeli cardinalibus ac Petro Noxetano et vale optime. {149r} Ex Nova Civitate, die 18. Octobris 1453.

[1] DV, 175-176
[2] cognovistis WO
[3] date WO
[4] commonefacite WO
[5] uelis V7
[6] dicite WO
[7] *omit.* V7
[8] juvate WO
[9] subvenite WO
[10] his V6, V7, WO
[11] *corr. ex* recommendato V5, V6; recommendato F1, V7 commendate WO

404. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (18 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks Senftleben to take care of his business in Rome: the Parish of Irdning, promised to him when the matter of Passau would be settled, and the remission of the annates for his appointment to the diocese of Siena.* [1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Heinrich Senftleben.

[1] Unless I am mistaken, Johann Hinderbach, Doctor of Canon Law, is now in Rome. You will have heard from him what I wish; I need not tell it to someone who is already engaged in the matter. Concerning the affair of Passau, I believe it will be settled soon. Care should be taken that the promises are kept.[2] I also want to be freed of the old debt of the annates.[3] If that does not happen, I fear I will be reduced to poverty, and it will be difficult for me to return home.[4] I am writing[5] to the Cardinal of Metz,[6] asking him to remember me kindly. Give him my letter and ask him to receive someone who would be his man. Tell him that Johann Vrunt, a Doctor of Canon Law from Köln, will shortly visit him and commend my cause to him: Vrunt would be his servant, and he is my friend. My familiar Fincino will soon go to Rome. He foolishly killed a man - such is youth! - and seeks absolution. Please assist this man, who was born of good parents in the City of Nürnberg. If he needs money, then help him in my name with up to 10 gold ducats. I shall order them to be repaid in my next letter. I asked the emperor to remit the tax imposed on your church, which he gladly did, but only for you.[7] I was unable to obtain some relief for your vicar, who, according to the customs of the land, is obliged to give a part, but that is no loss to you. The news from these parts is: the Count of Celje[8] lost his power in Austria; it was Eitzinger[9] who expelled him. The king[10] is on his way to Bohemia, where he will soon receive the crown. Duke Albrecht of Austria[11] and the other Albrecht, the Margrave of Brandenburg,[12] accompany him. We are waiting to hear how things turn out. The peace [treaty][13] has not been ratified, and it seems it will not be. But when the king returns, matters may improve.

Commend me to the Lord Cardinals of Fermo[14] and Sant'Angelo[15] as well as to Pietro da Noceto. Live well. From Neustadt, 18 October 1453.

[1] On this letter, see RTA/1: pp. 539, 542.
[2] For Piccolomini, it meant being awarded the parish church of Irdning, a "fat" benefice.
[3] To be paid for the appointment to the Diocese of Siena.
[4] See Brosius, p. 282.
[5] Letter not extant. It appears to have been included in the letter to Senftleben.
[6] Guillaume Hugues d'Estaing.
[7] I.e., not for his successors.
[8] Ulrich II.
[9] Ulrich Eitzinger.
[10] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[11] Albrecht VI (Habsburg)
[12] Albrecht III (Hohenzollern).
[13] The peace between the emperor and the Austrian rebels of April 1453.
[14] Domenico Capranica.
[15] Juan Carvajal.

405. Letter to Johann Hinderbach (22 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 85v-86r[1]; V5, 116, ff. 149r-149v **; V6, 116, ff. 121v-122r; V7, 116, ff. 156v-157v.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 176, pp. 314-315 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{149r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni Hinderbachio salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Dedi ad te litteras quinque diebus elapsis, quibus de novitatibus apud nos occurrentibus, quantum par fuit, instructum te feci. Pauca postea emerserunt, quae cupio reverendissimo domino meo Sancti Angeli nota reddas meque suae dignationi facias commendatum. Rex Ladislaus iter versus[2] Pragam accepit[3]. In comitatu ejus fuerunt duo Alberti, alter dux Austriae, alter marchio Brandeburgensis. Equitum duorum milium summa eum secuta est ex Austria ceterisque dominiis suis. Bohemi cum quattuor milibus ei apud Iglaviam obviarunt, quorum Georgico primus et potentissimus fuit. Cum intrasset Iglaviam rex ibique hospitia distributa comiti Ciliae invenisset, nam propediem eo venturus ille dicebatur, jussit loca ejus aliis assignari prohiberique, ne comes ingredi civitatem permitteretur. Ita ille delusus per aliam viam Pragam proficisci dicitur. Rex autem jam[4] creditur Bohemiam ingressus coronam regni intra[5] paucos dies suscepturus. Ejus personae curam Eyzingerus et Planchensteiner habent. Nescio quamdiu fortuna eis arridebit. Australes[6] {149v] habituri sunt conventum in Crempsa circa festum omnium sanctorum. Sunt, qui putant Eyzingeri gloriam ibi terminum habituram. Quidam opinantur regem non adeo cito Boheniam exiturum, ut vulgo dicitur; alii vero credunt brevem illic ejus futuram moram, quia non cupiat gubernator habere in Bohemia, qui praeter se mandare possit.

[2] Gubernator Hungariae ad regem profectus est, ut quidam putant, non sine magna pecunia. Dies Prutenis dicta ad octo rursum[7] dies prorogata est, quia nondum civitatum[8] procuratores adventarunt. Scripserunt autem ex Vratislavia, se brevi venturos. Nescio, an nugae sint. Rex Poloniae promisit civitatibus contra ordinem auxilia[9] non praebere. Fama est hic, quod Turci cum Tartaris foedus percusserunt: ita ait se habere quidam Prutenus de partibus[10], qui est hic, dominus de Plau[en]. Si[11] vera res est, admodum mala est expeditque festinare, ut Christianorum vires conveniant. Alia modo non occurrunt, nisi Silvestrum, Chiemensem episcopum, virum et prudentem et bonum, diem clausisse. Res meas esse tibi curae non ambigo. Magistrum Henricum Senfleben meo nomine salvum dicito, cui scribo, cum tibi scribo.

Vale[12]. Ex Novacivitate, die 22.[13] Octobris 1453.

[1] DV. 176-177
[2] aduersus V7
[3] recepit F1, V5
[4] non V7
[5] inter WO
[6] Austriales V5, V7
[7] rursus V7
[8] ciuitatis V6, V7
[9] auxilium V6, V7
[10] quidam Prutenus … partibus : de partibus quidam Prutenis V6, WO
[11] *omit.* V7
[12] *omit.* V7
[13] 17. F1, V5, V7

405. Letter to Johann Hinderbach (22 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *See the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini sends Hinderbach the most recent news from the imperial court.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Johann Hinderbach.

[1] Five days ago, I sent you a letter with appropriate information about the news from here. Later, a few things have happened that I wish you to communicate to My Lord of Sant'Angelo - and please commend me to him![1] King Ladislaus[2] has left for Prague. In his company are the two Albrechts, one the Duke of Austria,[3] and the other the Margrave of Brandenburg.[4] 2,000 horsemen from Austria and his other domains accompany him. At Iglau, he was met by the Bohemians with 4,000 men, of whom the first and most important was Georg.[5] When the king entered Iglau and found that lodgings had been allocated to the Count of Celje,[6] who was said to arrive shortly, he ordered them to be reassigned to others and forbade that the count be admitted into the city. Thus frustrated, the count is said to be going to Prague by another route. But the king is now believed to have entered Bohemia, where he will be crowned in a few days. Eitzinger[7] and Plankenstein[8] have the care of his person. I do not know how long Fortune will smile at them. It is said that the Austrians will hold an assembly in Krems on the Feast of All Saints.[9] Some think Eitzinger's moment of glory will end there. And some believe the king will not leave Bohemia as soon as commonly said, but others think his stay there will only be short since the governor does not wish there to be anyone to give orders in Bohemia besides himself.

[2] The Governor of Hungary[10] came to the king - some claim that he brought him a large sum. The court hearing on the Prussian case has been adjourned for eight more days since the cities' procurators have not yet arrived. They wrote from Wroclaw that they would be coming soon, but I do not know if there is any substance to that. The King of Poland[11] has promised not to help the [Prussian] cities against the [Teutonic] Order. Here, rumour has it that the Turks have made an alliance with the Tartars. This is, at least, what is said by Lord von Plauen, a Prussian from those regions, who is here. If the rumour is true, it is dreadful, and haste must be made to gather the Christian forces. There is no other news for now except that Bishop Sylvester[12] of Chiemsee, a wise and good man, has died.[13] I trust you will take good care of my affairs. Greet Magister Heinrich Senftleben from me; my letters to you are for him, too.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 22 October 1453.

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[1] Cardinal Juan Carvajal.
[2] King Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).
[3] Albrecht VI (Habsburg).
[4] Albrecht III (Hohenzollern).
[5] Governor Georg Podiebrad.
[6] Ulrich II of Celje.
[7] Ulrich Eitzinger.
[8] Pankraz von Plankenstein (-1465): Austrian noble, Freiherr (see Heinig: 1: p. 281).
[9] 1. November.
[10] János Hunyadi.
[11] Kazimierz IV (Jagiellon).
[12] Sylvester Pflieger.
[13] 9 October 1453.

406. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicky (22 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 142v-153r[1]; M5, ff. 148r-164r[2]; V5, 181, ff. 308r-327r **; V6, 181, ff. 245v-262r; V7, ff. 296v-315r; V11, ff. 7v-29v; W1, ff. 169v-187v[3] [4]; XI, ff. 116v-128r.[5]*

Editions A: *KO, 417[6]; Codex epistolaris 2: 2, 320.*

Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 177, pp. 315-347 (on the basis of the mss. listed above).*

Translations: *BA, 10, pp. 44-75.*

Literature: *Hausmann*

Note: *The text exists in two versions, the original version (M5, V11, W1, X1, KO) and a later slightly revised version made for inclusion in Piccolomini's collection of Epistolae episcopales (F1, V5, V6, V7). KO is related to V11.*

[1] DV, 290-311
[2] DV, 301-332
[3] DV, 344-368
[4] *Autograph*
[5] *For other manuscripts, see WO, 3: 1, p. 315.*
[6] DV, 299v-308v

406. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicky (22 October 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *In his letter to Bishop Laiming of Passau of 28 October 1445 (letter 190), Piccolomini had given his (the Habsburg) version of the events leading to the Polish King Wladyslaw III becoming King of Hungary. The letter was included in the collection of Piccolomini's secular letters sent to Cardinal Olesniscky in May 1451 (see letter 250). In his reply of 10 September 1453 (letter 366), the cardinal extravagantly praised Piccolomini's style and letters and then proceeded to demolish his version of the above-mentioned events. The present letter is partly a reply to yhe cardinal's criticism.*

Subject: *Piccolomini develops his concept of the usefulness and legitimacy of poetry, pagan and Christian, and at the end of the letter, he reiterates his conception of the Polish "usurpation" of the Hungarian throne, focusing on the question of whether royal power in Hungary is transmitted by inheritance or by election.*

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{308r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Sbigneo, sacrosanctae[1] Romanae ecclesiae tituli sanctae Priscae presbytero cardinali ac pontifici Cracoviensi, domino suo colendissimo[2], Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit seque commendatum facit.

[1] Heraldus Alfonsi, regis Portugalliae, Nicolaus Chrzastowsky, tuas mihi litteras expectatissimas[3] [4] cumque his adversus hiemes[5] et aquilonis ferocem spiritum armaturam egregiam reddidit, vestem pelliceam mardurinam, in hac regione non solum utilem verum etiam necessariam. Confiteor magnum munus non tam recipiente quam mittente[6] dignum. Referrem tuae liberalitati[7] gratias, nisi scirem male reddi beneficium verbis, quod factis acceptum est. Sed cum sim[8] ego ex his episcopis, quos nostra Italia nutrit, quibus ecclesiae frondosae[9] magis quam fructiferae sunt, cogor tecum id agere, quod privati homines erga reges factitant, namque[10] cum nec equos nec[11] tabulas pictas neque[12] theuromatha remittere possint, animum illis offerunt. Sume igitur et tu animum meum, quamvis hunc tibi jam[13] diu dicaverim neque rem modo[14] novam[15] afferam. Sed quid[16] moror? Partem beneficii magnam reddidit, qui libenter accepit. Ego non modo libenter, sed cupide donum[17] tuum admisi[18], non tam {308v} quod pretiosum est, quam quod[19] a te missum, claro et praestantissimo patre, qui me numquam vidisti et tamen amare dignatus es. Sed hoc misso ad litteras transeo; earum quia plurimae partes sunt, pro captu meo ad singulas ex ordine respondebo.

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[1] sancte X1
[2] domino suo colendissimo *omit.* X1
[3] litteras expectatissimas : expectatissimas litteras M5, V11, W1, X1, KO, WO
[4] ~~reddidit~~ *seq.* W1
[5] hiemem V11; hyemis KO
[6] quam mittente *omit.* V7
[7] ~~tuc magnitudini seq~~. W1
[8] sic V7
[9] fraudosae KO
[10] ~~certare cum illis donorum magnitudine nequeant satis deputant esse sese libenter accepisse respondendum cumque~~ *seq.* W1
[11] neque X1; *corr. ex* neque W1
[12] nec V11, KO; nec *corr. ex* neque W1
[13] *omit.* X1
[14] *omit.* WO
[15] novo V7
[16] *supralin.* W1
[17] domum X1
[18] ~~amisi~~ *seq.* W1
[19] ~~quo~~ *seq.* W1

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship Zbigniew, Cardinal of the title [church] of Santa Prisca of the Holy Roman Church and Pontiff of Krakow, his Worshipful Lord, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings and commends himself.

1. Gratitude towards the cardinal

[1] The herald of King Afonso[1] of Portugal, Nikolaus Chrzastowsky,[2] has brought me your eagerly awaited letter[3] and a splendid protection against the winters and the ferocious winds from the North, a marten coat that, in this region, is not just useful but actually necessary. This splendid gift is, indeed, more worthy of the giver than the receiver. I would thank you for your generosity if I did not know that words are a poor payment for kind acts. But as one of the bishops fostered by an Italy whose churches abound in foliage but not in fruits, I have to do towards you what private people do towards kings, for since they cannot give them horses, paintings, or sculptures,[4] they pledge their soul. So receive my soul, though I already pledged it to you a long time ago and thus am offering nothing new. But why dwell on this? Receiving something with joy does much to return the favour. I have received your gift not only gladly but eagerly, and not because it is precious, but because it was sent by you, noble and distinguished Father, who has never seen me and yet deigns to love me. But leaving this subject, I pass on to your letter. Since it has many parts, I shall - to the best of my ability - reply to it item by item.

[1] Afonso V (Avis).
[2] Not identified.
[3] Letter 366.
[4] See Du Cange. (BA has rugs).

[2] In capite epistolae tuae, quoniam diu ad me non scripseris[1], veritum te ais, ne tarditatem scribendi tuam sinistrorsum acciperem, rationemque reddis, cur tam diu super[2] epistolis[3] meis ad te olim missis rescribere distuleris[4]. Ego, etsi mille annos tacuisses, nihil tamen de te sinistri concepissem neque te mihi mutatum credidissem; taciturnitatis aliam quamvis causam quam mutationem animi reputassem. Scio enim te virum constantem et in[5] amicitia solidum, qui neque more adulescentulorum modo amas modo odis neque contra Theofrasti praecepta, postquam amaveris, de amico judicas[6]. Expendis diu hominem[7] antequam recipias[8], receptum toto admittis pectore et quasi te alterum colis, neque si deceptus sies[9], statim abs te hominem repellis: diluere[10] inutilem[11] amicitiam quam rumpere soles. Quamvis ergo conscius mihi sim non esse in me virtutem, quae tuam sustinere amicitiam possit[12] [13], est in te tamen moderatio, quae illam facile ruere non sinit. Huc accedit[14], quoniam[15] litterarum causa inter nos benevolentia nata est, quae licet in me tenues sint, postquam tamen amare invicem[16] coepimus, nihil illis detractum est, auctae magis sunt, quando neque {309r} me senem discere pudet. Itaque persuadeo mihi me tibi esse, qui ab initio fuerim, sive scribas sive taceas[17]. Cum silere te video, tuas occupationes accuso. Cum scripta tua recipio, dilectionem tuam commendo. Cur[18] ego denique te tacentem arguerim[19], qui sum ipse nimium erga te tacitus? Accipio libens[20] tuam purgationem[21], ut excusationem meam tu quoque admittas.

[1] scripsisti X1
[2] semper M5
[3] apostolis V7
[4] ~~admitto satisfactionem tuam quamvis nulla culpa~~ *seq.* W1
[5] *omit.* V7
[6] ~~diu cogitas~~ *seq.* W1
[7] diu hominem : hominem diu M5, V11, W1, X1, KO WO
[8] ~~diu postquam~~ *seq.* W1
[9] sis V11, KO
[10] dissuere V11, KO
[11] *supralin.* W1
[12] posset X1
[13] ~~scio tamen in te m~~ *seq.* W1
[14] accidit WO
[15] quando V11
[16] *omit.* KO
[17] ~~scripta quae ad me mitti dilectioni ascribo~~ *seq.* W1
[18] cum X1
[19] arguerem X1
[20] libentius X1
[21] pugnationem F1

2. Excuses for not writing

[2] Since you had not written to me for a long time, you begin by stating your fear that I might be offended by your tardiness in writing, and you explain why it had taken you so long to write a response to the [collection of my] letters sent to you previously.[1] But even had you remained silent for a thousand years, I would not have thought badly about you or believed you had changed towards me, but I would have ascribed your silence to any other cause than a change of mind. For I know you to be a constant person and solid in friendship who does not - like youths - now love, now hate. And you do not – contrary to Theophrastus'[2] precepts[3] - judge a friend after you have begun to love him. You observe a man for a long time before you accept him as a friend, and when you accept him, you do it wholeheartedly and cherish him as your other self. And if he disappoints you, you do not immediately reject him but usually dissolve the useless friendship slowly rather than break it off suddenly.[4] I know that I do not possess the qualities that can sustain your friendship, but there is in you such moderation that you will not allow it to easily fail. Moreover, our friendship was born of [our common love of] letters, and though my [knowledge of letters] is insignificant, our friendship has not detracted from it but increased it since, though old,[5] I am not ashamed to learn. Therefore, I trust I am the same towards you as I have been since the beginning [of our friendship], whether you write or remain silent. When I see you silent, I blame your occupations. When I receive your letters, I am grateful for your affection. And, finally, why should I criticise you for being silent when I myself have been silent for so long? I gladly accept your apology so that you will accept my own.

[1] Piccolomini had sent Olescnicky a volume with his Secular Letters in May 1451 (see letter 250).

[2] Theophrastos (ca. 371 - ca. 287 BCE): Peripatetic philosopher.

[3] The reference was not identified.

[4] Cf. Cicero: *De Amicitia*, 21

[5] 48 years.

[3] Scio quam[1] multae sunt[2] dignationi tuae pontificales curae, quae sunt tibi cum tuo rege negotia. Novi te cardinalem esse et in Polonia post regem primum hominem. Nulla sine[3] te placita fieri, gravia quaeque[4] judicia[5] tuam sententiam expetere, neque belli neque pacis consilia sine te discuti[6]. Pono ante oculos[7], quantum inter nos fluminum ac terrarum est, quam periculosa itinera et obsessa latronibus, quam pauci ex te ad nos[8] veniant, quibus committi[9] tuto litterae[10] queant. Ago meam causam, dum tuam defendo. Da mihi et tu veniam tacenti, obsecro: non invenio facile homines, qui ad te recta proficiscantur via[11], nec audeo cuique[12] scripta credere, nec sum otiosus, ut scribere[13] quam frequentissime possim. Nunc[14] Caesaris consilium[15], nunc apostolicae sedis[16] mandata me detinent. Non sunt tamen tot mea neque tam ardua negotia quam tua. Necesse est[17] silentio tuo[18] me parcere[19], ne, si te scribendi tardum arguerim, me pigrum ostendam et desidem. Condonemus igitur et mutuo[20] negligentiam compensemus, si tamen aliquid est, quod tibi ad[21] inertiam valeat {309v} imputari. Sit tamen ex praeterito[22] tibi mihique[23] venia, neque in futurum licentiam perpetuae[24] taciturnitatis accipiamus. Fac, quod modo fecisti: furare[25] te regi, et regno et rei publicae subtrahe manus: Aeneae aliquando te praebe[26]. Itidem faxim ego. Neque Caesar neque Romanus praesul neque, si vixerit[27] genitor meus Silvius, in me tantum imperium possidebit, ut tibi non aliquando subserviam. Scribam[28] et, qua possum, arte litteratoria absentem me tibi praesentem[29] reddam.

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[1] quoniam V7
[2] sint KO
[3] sint M5
[4] quoque V11, X1, WO
[5] ~~tuum consilium expetere~~ *seq.* W1
[6] ~~cogito~~ *seq.* W1
[7] tuos KO
[8] ex te ad nos : ad nos ex te V11
[9] communi V7
[10] littereque V7
[11] *omit.* M5, V11, W1, X1, KO, WO
[12] cuicumque M5, V11, W1
[13] scriberem KO
[14] ~~me~~ *seq.* W1
[15] ~~detinet~~ *seq.* W1
[16] ~~occupationibus impedior~~ *seq.* W1
[17] ~~igitur~~ *seq.* W1
[18] tuto V7
[19] ~~nedum gravem inter~~ *seq.* W1
[20] tuam KO
[21] ~~socor~~ *seq.* W1
[22] precepto M5
[23] tibi mihique : mihi tibique X1
[24] per tue KO
[25] futare M5
[26] prebeas F1
[27] revixerit M5, V11, X1 KO; revixerit *corr. ex* vixerit W1
[28] ~~tibi~~ *seq.* W1
[29] ~~reddam~~ *seq.* W1

[3] I know that Your Grace is much occupied by the affairs of the diocese and the kingdom. I know that you are a cardinal and the first man in Poland after the king.[1] No decisions are made without your consent; important judgements require your approval, and plans of war and peace are not discussed without you. I see in my mind the many rivers and lands there are between us, the dangerous and robber-infested roads, and how few come here from you to whom letters can safely be entrusted. Pleading my own cause, I am defending yours as well. I beg you to forgive me, too, for being silent. Indeed, I cannot easily find men who travel directly to you, and I dare not entrust my letters to just anyone. Moreover, I am not at leisure to write very often: my time is taken now by the emperor's council, now by the requirements of the Apostolic See. But, of course, my affairs are not as many and as important as yours. You must spare me by being silent, lest - by rebuking you for tardiness in writing - I show myself to be lazy and sluggish. So, let us absolve each other of negligence - if there should be any reason to charge you with such - and let us both be forgiven for the past. This does not mean that we are free to remain permanently silent; instead, do as you have done now: take some time off from your king! Withdraw a little from the realm and the state! Do sometimes give time to Enea! I will do the same: neither the emperor nor the Bishop of Rome (nor even my father Silvio were he still alive) will have such power over me as to prevent me from being at your service now and then. I shall write and thus, though absent, make myself present to you through the art of letters.

[1] Kazimierz IV (Jagiellon).

[4] Plurima mihi de commoditate litterarum et scite et prudentissime[1] commemoras et docte scribis et vere. Unicum est hoc inter absentes amicos solatium[2]: conjungit epistola, quos terrae[3] mariaque disjungunt[4] [5]. Nusquam tam[6] procul amicus abiit, ut litterarum beneficio adiri non possit[7]. O maximum ac[8] divinum litterarum donum, quod non[9] modo longe recedentes amicos, sed quos[10] numquam vidimus homines seu viventes sive mortuos in nostrum reducit alloquium et, quos carne intueri non[11] possumus, mentibus offert[12] conspiciendos. O sanctos illos ac memorabiles[13] viros, sive Fenices sive alii fuerunt, hujus muneris inventores, quo priscae viros aetatis et intueri possumus et affari. Licet mihi, si velim, nunc Alexandrum, nunc Darium[14] cernere. Possum[15] Hannibalem, Scipionem, Caesarem, Augustum videre. Illos mihi Curtius aut Arrianus ostendet[16], hos Livius Suetoniusque monstrabit[17]. Datur cuivis docto[18] Platonem, Aristotelem, Ciceronem, Senecam, {310r} Tertullianum, Cyprianum, Lactantium, Hieronymum, Gregorium, Augustinum, Ambrosium[19] et infinitam[20], qui[21] posteritati scripserunt[22], turbam[23] audire loquentem. En quanta mortuorum turba[24] nondum mortua est.

[5] Non vidi ego[25] te umquam corporeis oculis. Ex[26] amicorum tamen litteris scio, qua statura[27], quibus oculis[28], quibus manibus, quo pede, quo capillo es. Ex tuis autem epistolis[29] ad interiora progredior, et quae neque pingi neque fingi possunt, inspicio. Tuae mentis impetus, omnes animi tui motus adnoto. Quid speres[30], intelligo. Quid metuas, video. Qua re gaudeas[31] quaque tristeris adverto. Totum[32] te mihi tuae litterae exprimunt, nec[33] minus apud te virium[34] meis[35] esse considero. Dum scripta mea revolvis, *me intus et in cute*[36] *noscis*[37] [38]. Democritus actionis umbram dixit orationem esse[39], nec aliud epistola est. Quamvis enim raro[40] vivant homines, ut scribunt, sentiunt tamen ita vivendum esse. Nec fieri potest, quin animum suum prodat[41] is, qui plurima scribit[42], etsi[43] saepe virtutis praeconia commemoret, qui vitia sectatur. Utamur igitur hac vicissitudine[44] scribendi et quantum negotia sinunt invicem suavibus epistolis colloquamur. Id ego[45] tibi[46] spondeo[47] et tenebo, si reddi vicem cognovero.

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[1] ~~ref~~ *seq.* W1
[2] ~~quos latissime~~ *seq.* W1
[3] terra M5, V11, X1, KO
[4] disjungit KO
[5] ~~o maximum beneficium litterarum quod non modo qui absunt longe positos verum etiam mortuos in~~ / ~~nusquam tam procul amicus abiit ut non litterarum beneficio audiri non possit~~ / ~~nec solum qui mecum fuit~~ / ~~o maximum divinum litterarum donum quod non modo longe positos sed etiam mortuos recedentes / sed etiam~~ *seq.* W1
[6] tamen V7
[7] ~~non solum longe recedentes amicos scripto colloquimur sed quos numquam vidimus scripto colloquimur et in amicitiam trahimus~~ *seq.* W1
[8] et F1, M5, V5, V6, V7, KO
[9] nunc X1
[10] aut KO
[11] nos M5
[12] offerre V7
[13] immortales V11
[14] ~~intueri~~ *seq.* W1
[15] possim M5
[16] ostendit V11
[17] monstrabat X1
[18] *corr. ex* loqui cum W1
[19] Platonem Aristotelem … Ambrosium *corr. ex* cum Platone, cum Aristotele … cum Ambrosio W1
[20] nisi vitam V7; infinitum X1
[21] eorum M5
[22] sumpserunt M5
[23] turbata X1
[24] caterva M5
[25] *supralin.* W1
[26] et F1
[27] *corr. ex* vultu es W1
[28] ~~quo pede~~ *seq.* W1
[29] litteris V5, V7
[30] ~~quid metuas~~ *seq.* W1
[31] congaudeas KO
[32] quaque V7
[33] ne X1
[34] virum V7
[35] virium meis : mearum virium KO
[36] in cute : mente X1
[37] nostis (?) M5
[38] ~~actionis umbram Democritus orationem dixit~~ *seq.* W1
[39] ~~liquet idem epi~~ *seq.* W1
[40] ~~rare~~ *seq.* W1
[41] probat X1
[42] *omit.* X1
[43] ~~aliquando virtutes prebet~~ *seq.* W1; et sic KO
[44] necessitudine F1, V5, V6, V7
[45] ergo KO
[46] de me *add.* KO
[47] de me *add.* M5, V11, W1, X1

3. Function of letters

[4] You say much, both knowledgeably and wisely, about the convenience of letters, and what you write is both learned and true. This is the one comfort for friends separated by distance: the letter unites those separated by land and sea. No friend ever went so far away that he could not be reached by letters. O great and divine gift of letters! Not only do they bring distant friends together and enable us to speak with friends far away, but they also allow us to speak with people whom we have never met, be they alive or dead, and make present to our minds those we cannot see in the flesh O venerable and remarkable men, whether they were Phoenicians or others, who invented this gift, making it possible for us to see and speak with men of former times. If I so wish, I can see Alexander and Darius. I can join Hannibal, Scipio,[1] Caesar, and Augustus. The first ones[2] are shown to us by Curtius[3] or Arrian[4], and the last ones[5] are presented to us by Livy[6] and Suetonius.[7] [8] Any learned man can hear Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Tertullian[9], Cyprian, Lactantius, Jerome, Gregory,[10] Augustine, Ambrose, and the infinite multitude who wrote for posterity.[11] Great is the crowd of dead men who are not yet dead.

[5] I have never seen you with my bodily eyes; yet from letters of friends, I know your stature, eyes, hands, feet, and hair. And your own letters let me go further and enter your inner being, and I see what can neither be painted nor shaped. I perceive the workings of your mind and your feelings. I recognise your hopes and fears. I understand what gladdens you and what saddens you. Your letters show me the whole of you, and I realise that your strengths at least equal mine, just as you, when you turn over my letters, *know me inside out.*[12] Democritus[13] said that speech is the shadow of action, and it is the same with letters. Though men rarely live as they write, they at least feel that they ought to live that way. A man who writes much must, of necessity, reveal his soul: he may praise virtue, but he also follows vice. So, let us use the opportunities to write and speak with each other as our affairs allow. This I promise, and I shall keep the promise if I see it is mutual.[14]

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[1] Scipio the Elder.
[2] The Greeks.
[3] Curtius, Quintus Curtius (probabl. 1st cent. CE): Roman historian.
[4] Arrianus, Lucius Flavius = Arrianos (c. 86 - 150 CE): Greek historian.
[5] The Romans.
[6] Livius, Titus (65/59 BCE - 12/17 CE): Roman historian.
[7] Suetonius Tranquillus, Gajus (ca. 69 - ca. 122): Roman historian. Author of *De Vita Caesarum.*
[8] Note that it is historians who make the dead come alive to posterity.
[9] Tertullianus, Quintus Septimius Florens (c. 155 – c. 220): Christian author.
[10] Gregorius I.
[11] Note that in this list, the men from Antiquity were all rulers, generals and philosophers, whereas those from the Christian age were all saints and doctors of the Church (with one pope).
[12] Persius, 3: 30.
[13] Demokritos (c. 460 - c. 370 BCE): Greek pre-socratic philosopher.
[14] Though Piccolomini wrote two later letters to Cardinal Olesnicky, no more letters from the cardinal appear to be extant. He died on 1 April 1455 and may not have had time to write to Piccolomini. But it is also possible that he took offence at Piccolomini's views on the Polish issues discussed in the letter

[6] Transeo nunc ad volumen epistolarum mearum[1], quod tua dignatio multis verbis et probat et magnifacit[2]. Minime ego mihi tantum arrogo, quantum[3] tribuis. Longe ego ab illis absum[4] [5], quibus me comparas paremque facis. Sentio[6], quam tenuis[7] est mihi vena dicendi, quam brevis et inornata[8] verborum supellex. Nulli de me magis quam mihi credo. Fateor tamen, quia[9] nudus sum aperte loquor, non utor phaleris. Vestem omnem[10] rejicio[11] nec laboro, cum scribo, quoniam non attingo res altiores et mihi non cognitas. Trado, quae didici. Facile se ceteris intelligendum praebet, qui seipsum tenet; praebere alteri lucem nequit, qui sibi tenebrosus est. Fugio nodositatem et longas[12] sententiarum periodos[13]. Si assunt elegantia verba, non negligo[14] illa contexere; si minus, non quaero remotius, praesentibus utor[15]. Ut intelligar[16], id solum mihi studium est. Percipio[17] tamen rudem et incomptum[18] sermonem meum esse neque dignum, qui doctas aures pulset. Eapropter, cum meas epistolas ad te[19] mitti petivisses[20], substiti diuque dubitavi, an tibi, probato et doctissimo viro, meas ineptias aperirem[21]. Videbatur leve pondus, quod tuas manus incideret. Pudebat me multorum errorum neque adhuc cuipiam[22] feceram copiam.

[7] Et quamvis aliquae epistole meae vulgo legerentur, non ego illas in lucem dederam[23], sed, qui mecum convivunt, familiares nunc has nunc illas furati ex manibus librariorum in volumen redegerant[24] ediderantque sodalibus, existimantes aliquid esse, quod nihil erat. Nam qui praeter[25] commentarios[26] in Alexandrum grammaticum[27] [28] et Brunelli {311} poetae fabulas et Brittani[29] [30] vulgarium[31] dialecticorum[32] sofismata et Trojanam quondam historiam nihil umquam legissent, lucem esse in tenebris putaverunt atque, ut caeci[33] ducatum monoculo praebent, sic rudes isti primas eloquentiae partes[34] mihi tradiderunt, qui nondum merui inter proficientes discipulos numerari. Tuli hunc honorem et[35] quamvis sciebam[36] [37] non posse durare inanem gloriam, nolui tamen ipsum me confundere. Impartiebar his, qui ad me veniebant, quantum poteram luminis, et si lactis aperire fontes non poteram[38], amicorum tamen sitim pura lympha sedabam. Si[39] non magna dabam, mala non ministrabam: non erant pretiosa, quae tradebam, at neque damnosa[40], cumque ingenia invenissem sublimia, quae haustus captare[41] nobilissimos[42] apta viderentur, his, unde biberent, scaturigines[43] vivas ostendi, Quintiliani, Ciceronis et aliorum, quos Italia sequitur, vestiganda flumina docens. Patiebar igitur apud novos eloquentiae auditores aequo animo scripta mea revolvi, quibus contemptui esse non poteram

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[1] tuarum V7
[2] magnificat M5, V11
[3] ~~scribis~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~quos mihi comparas~~ *seq.* W1
[5] absim V11; abusum KO
[6] *omit.* V7
[7] tenitis V7
[8] inordinata M5
[9] quod F1, V5, V6, V7
[10] ~~abicio~~ *seq.* W1
[11] abjicio F1, V5, V6, V7
[12] longos V5
[13] quoniam non … periodos *corr. ex* quicquid in hanc mentem venio calamo committo W1
[14] refugio V11, KO
[15] ~~intelligi solum stud~~ *seq.* W1
[16] intelligam V7
[17] precipio M5, V7
[18] incontum M5, V11, X1, W1
[19] epistolas ad te : ad te epistolas X1
[20] petivissemus V7
[21] ~~crederem~~ *seq.* W1
[22] cuiquam X1, F1
[23] ~~edideram~~ *seq.* W1
[24] redegerunt X1
[25] ~~Alexandrini grammatici~~ *seq.* W1
[26] nonnullos M5; *omit.* X1
[27] commentarios *add.* M5, X1
[28] in Alexandrum grammaticum *omit.* V11
[29] Britani M5, V11, W1, X1, F1, V6; Biridani KO; Britanni V5, V7
[30] ac *add.* M5
[31] vulgarum V11
[32] vulgarium dialecticorum *corr. ex* dialectica W1
[33] ceteri X1
[34] ~~tradiderunt~~ *seq.* W1
[35] *omit.* M5
[36] ~~non posse~~ *seq.* W1
[37] scribam V7
[38] ~~sitim tamen~~ *seq.* W1
[39] *omit.* V11, KO
[40] Si non … damnosa *add. in marg*. W1
[41] capere KO
[42] notissimos X1
[43] scaturigiones X1

4. Piccolomini's collection of secular letters

[6] I now pass on to the volume of my letters, which Your Grace commends and praises abundantly. I do not claim as much credit for myself as you give me, for I am far from those you compare me with and whose equal you make me. I am aware how weak my oratorical vein is and how limited and inelegant my store of words. [In this,] I trust myself more than others: I know that I am unadorned[1] and speak openly, without embellishments. I reject all [oratorical] ornaments, and when I write, I do not labour, for I do not deal with lofty subjects unknown to me. I [simply] pass on what I have learnt. It is easy to explain to another what you understand yourself, and you cannot bring light to others if you yourself are in the dark. I avoid complicated and lengthy sentences. If elegant terms available are at hand, I take care to weave them into the text; if not, I do not search further but use such terms that come immediately to mind. My only concern is to be understood. However, I am aware that my language is coarse and unpolished and not worthy of reaching learned ears. Therefore, when you asked for my letters, I hesitated for a long time, doubting whether to let you, an accomplished and most learned man, see my inept writings. What reached your hands would be lightweight. I was ashamed of the many errors and had not yet had a copy made.

[7] Though some of my letters were read widely, I had not put them into circulation myself. But the familiars living with me appropriated one letter after the other from the hands of the copyists and, having compiled them into one volume, circulated them to their fellows in the belief that they were something that they were not. Having never read anything but the commentaries on Alexander the Grammarian[2], the fables of the poet Brunellus[3], the sophisms[4] of the vulgar dialecticians of Brittany[5], and some old Trojan history,[6] they imagined that they saw light in the darkness and, like blind men letting the one-eyed lead them, they credited me with eminent eloquence, though I had not yet merited to be counted among the accomplished disciples. I accepted this honour, and though I knew this vain glory could not last, I did not let it disturb me. To those who came to me, I imparted such light as I could, and if I could not open fountains of milk for them, at least I could quell the thirst of my friends with pure water. What I gave them may not have been great and precious, but at least it was not bad or harmful. And when I met great intellects, apparently capable of drinking from noble founts, I showed them living sources to drink from and taught them to pursue the flows of Quintilian[7], Cicero, and others, who are followed by Italy. So, I accepted that my writings were used by such new students of eloquence, of whom I would not be ashamed.

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[1] "nudus"

[2] Alexander Grammaticus = Alexander of Villedieu (c. 1175-1240/ 1250): French author and poet who wrote versified textbooks on Latin grammar and arithmetic. His Latin grammar book, entitled the *Doctrinale Puerorum*, soon became a classic.

[3] Presumably, a reference to Nigel de Longchamp's (d. c. 1200) satirical poem, *Speculum Stultorum*, whose hero is Brunellus (or Burnellus), a foolish ass.

[4] On the use of sophisms in mediae-val education, see the article in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philo-sophy: https://stanford.edu/entries/sophismata

[5] ?

[6] Possibly a reference to the *Chronicles of Dictys of Crete*, or the *Daretis Phrygii Ilias De bello Troiano*, written around 1183 by the English poet Joseph of Exeter. Or to the commonly read *Historia Trojana* by Guido Colonna (13th cent.).

[7] Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius (c. 30 – ca. 95 CE): Roman rhetorician and teacher. Author of the *Insti-tutio oratoria*

[8] At cum tu ea petivisti, qui[1] omnium poetarum et oratorum opera rimatus es, qui omnem saecularem atque ecclesiasticam sapientiam calles, cui nota sunt quaecumque Latina lingua maxime admiratur, non videbam, quo pacto meas tibi nugas traderem[2]. Quae rara[3] esse confidunt negotiatores, ea in nundinas ferunt[4]. Horatium *vetuit*[5] *tali* cum voce *Quirinus:* {311v} *post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera: in silvam non ligna feras insanius.*[6] Intelligebam non sine mei nominis jactura lecturum te[7] opus, quod flagitabas. Verum cum illud[8] semel atque iterum peteres, elegi etiam[9] [10] cum damno famae meae tuae voluntati parere: misi[11] ad te librum, non ut judicares, qui[12] a meipso censebatur[13] insulsus[14], minus vero ut laudares, qui[15] meo judicio vituperandus erat, sed amico, sed patri, sed domino nolui quidquam negare. Existimavi[16] autem, cum primam libri legisses paginam, statim te satias[17] caperet[18], dixique libro, cum manumisi: *perge audacter,* sed scito te non sine[19] magno discrimine tuo doctas cardinalis aures aditurum. Aut ille igni te dabit aut ad farmacopolam[20] mitteris. Quid enim aliud meis scriptis augurer, quam ille de[21] suis[22] ait: *sunt tectura, piper, cinnama*[23]*, thura, crocum.*

[9] Sed accidit mihi, quod nuper in Vienna[24] cuipiam[25] Genuensi[26] monacho, ordinem divi Francisci professo: is Patavi studens[27], cum accepisset egregios in Austria magistros[28] esse, qui oratoriam docerent, cupidus ejus artis[29] ad summum ediscendae, cujus prima elementa teneret, insalutatis amicis festinus in Austriam migravit, non minus avidus[30] peregrinas hauriendi doctrinas, quam ille, qui[31] *Ethiopiam adiit, ut gymnosophistas et famosissimam solis mensam videret in sabulo.* At[32] cum Viennam ingressus[33] gymnasia philosophorum percurrisset, tanti eam scholam fecit[34], ut qui venerat auditurus, {312r} mox cathedram ascenderet audiendus[35], et quos quaeritabat magistros[36], hos discipulos informaret. Simile mihi evenit[37] [38]. Expectavi contemptum, existimationem[39] sum consecutus. Credebam vituperari et accipio laudem. Timui odium et amorem reporto[40].

[10] Quid dicam? Te[41] ne ingenii tardioris[42] imperitumque[43] judicem praedicem, qui lippis oculis album pro nigro recipias dicasque malum bonum et bonum malum[44]? Stat contra epistola tua[45] [46] summa eruditione plena, cujus[47] an sententias graves an[48] summam exornationem magis demirer, haesito. Universas, quas libro meo laudes accumulas[49], unica epistola tua complexa est. Tuae sunt,

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[1] ~~opera~~ *seq.* W1
[2] ~~nemo~~ *seq.* W1
[3] rata X1
[4] ~~nemo in silvam ligna portat~~ *seq.* W1
[5] uenit V7
[6] insanus F1, V5, V6, V11; insaniis V7
[7] ~~meas epistolas~~ *seq.* W1
[8] *supralin.* W1
[9] ~~uolui vel~~ *seq.* W1
[10] cum illud … etiam *omit.* M5
[11] nisi V7
[12] quia V5
[13] *supralin.* W1; putabatur V5, V7; putabar F1, V6
[14] insulsum V7
[15] quod W1, X1, KO
[16] existimabam X1
[17] satietas *corr. ex* satias V11; satietas F1, V6, V7, KO
[18] capere X1
[19] modo *add.* V7
[20] farinacopolam V7
[21] *omit.* M5, X1, V11, W1, KO
[22] qui *add.* M5, X1, V11, W1, KO
[23] cinnoma F1
[24] *corr. ex* Austria W1
[25] cuidam V11
[26] Cennensi KO
[27] *supralin.* W1
[28] *corr. ex* oratores W1
[29] ~~ediscende~~ *seq.* W1
[30] ~~hauriendi~~ *seq.* W1
[31] ~~qui Siros, Phenices, Arabes~~ *seq.* W1
[32] ut F1
[33] ~~sco~~ *seq.* W1
[34] ~~ut legere quam audire maluerit~~ *seq.* W1
[35] *supralin.* W1; audientibus V7
[36] ~~his se discipulis prebuerit audiendum. Haud secus mihi nunc tecum sentio~~ *seq.* W1
[37] ~~pro contemptu existimationem ex te recipio, pro vituperio laudem, amorem pro~~ *seq.* W1
[38] simile mihi evenit *omit.* F1, V5, V7, X1
[39] existimationemque X1
[40] reperio V7
[41] teque V6
[42] ~~existimem aut inepti~~ *seq.* W1
[43] -que *supralin.* W1; in portumque X1
[44] malum bonum … malum : bonum malum et malum bonum V5
[45] *omit.* KO
[46] epistola tua : tua epistola V5
[47] ~~prudentia~~ *seq.* W1
[48] ~~exornationem~~ *seq.* W1
[49] *corr. ex* attribuis W1

[8] But you are versed in the writings of all the poets and orators; you are familiar with the whole of secular and ecclesiastical wisdom, and you know those works in the Latin language that are most admired. So, when you asked for my letters, I did not see how I could possibly send my trifles to you. Merchants only bring to market such wares for which there is demand. And *after midnight, when dreams are true, Quirinus appeared and admonished* Horace *in these words: "Tis foolish to carry timber to a wood."*[1] So, I realised that if you read the work you requested, my reputation would suffer. But since you kept insisting, I [finally] decided to obey your wish, though it would cost me my reputation. When I sent you the book, it was not so that you might judge it, for I myself thought it foolish, and even less so that you might praise it, for in my own judgement, it deserved abuse. No, I sent it because I could not say no to a friend, a father, and a lord. I thought that you would have enough after the first page, and when I released the book, I told it, *"Go boldly,*[2] but know that you will reach the cardinal's learned ears at your great peril. He will either throw you into the fire or send you off to the druggist." I judge my writings like he[3] who said about his own, that *they will end up wrapping pepper, cinnamon, incense, and saffron.*[4]

[9] But the same thing has happened to me that recently happened to a certain Genoese monk of the Order of Saint Francis.[5] While a student in Padua, he heard that Austria had excellent teachers of oratory. He had only an elementary knowledge of this discipline but wanted to master it completely. So, without saying goodbye even to his friends, he hastened to Austria, as eager for foreign teachings as the man[6] who *went to Ethiopia so that he might see the gymnosophists and the very famous Table of the Sun*[7] *amid the sand.*[8] But when he arrived in Vienna and attended the schools of philosophy, he succeeded so well that he, who had come to hear [lectures], soon[9] ascended the teaching chair, and the teachers he had been seeking he began to instruct as his pupils. A similar thing happened to me[10]: I expected scorn, but instead I gained respect. I thought I would be vilified, but instead I received praise. I feared hate, but instead I get love.[11]

[10] What can I say? Should I declare you a slow-minded and unqualified judge who, bleary-eyed[12], confuses black with white and says that bad is good and good is bad? On the other hand, there is your letter full of high learning, in which I do not know what to admire most: its grave content or its consummate elegance. Your one letter alone merits all the praise you heap on my whole book. The qualities you attribute to me are, in fact, your own.

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[1] Horatius: *Satirae,* 1: 10, 32-34.
[2] Proverb.
[3] Giovanni Noto Marrasio (c. 1400-1452): Sicilian humanist and poet. Studied in Siena in the 1420s. Friend of Piccolomini. In a poem (to Charles VII, Piccolomini wrote about him: *Marrasiusque simul, cui non vetuere paternae / sicelides muse praetendere ad ubera* guttur (Piccolomini: *Carmina* (Heck, 48: 39-40)).
[4] From a poem of Giovanni Marrasio to Piccolomini in *Carmina varia*, 12 (Marrasio (Chatfield), pp. 78-79). Cf. Martial, 3: 2.
[5] Francesco Traversagni (1425-1503): Italian humanist. Franciscan.
[6] Apollonios of Tyana (c. 15 – c. 100 CE): Greek philosopher and religious leader.
[7] Sundial.
[8] Hieronymus: *Epistolae*, 53: 1 (MPL, 22, col. 451).
[9] 1452.
[10] In relation to the cardinal.
[11] On this passage, see Helmrath: *Vestigia*, p. 110, 136.
[12] Genesis, 29: 17.

[11] Quid ergo est, quod te[1] meam erexit in[2] laudem? Noluisti me contristari[3]. Invenisti[4] epistolas, quibus me poetam vocito[5], quamplures. Dixisti intra teipsum: "Grande hic homo de se judicium facit, qui grande sibi nomen usurpat[6]". Meministi eorum, quae Flaccus de poetis ait: *Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os magna sonaturum[7], des nominis hujus honorem.* Sciebas Ciceronis verba, quae[8] in oratione pro[9] Licinio Archia ponuntur, dum ait: *Atqui sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus ceterarum rerum studia et[10] doctrina et praeceptis[11] et arte constare poetam natura ipsa valere et[12] mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino quodam spiritu afflari[13], quare suo jure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellabat poetas[14], quasi deorum aliquo dono ac munere commendati nobis esse videantur.* Cogitasti ergo, si mea scripta pro merito[15] reprehenderes, grandem me molestiam habiturum, qui cum[16] sanctis ascribi poetis cuperem et inter vetustissimum e doctis genus me ipsum collocarim[17], tua sententia nedum poetae titulis, sed neque mediocris scriptoris nomine dignum me reperirem[18]. Nisi opinioni meae faveres, putasti me animo cadere, spem[19] ponere, stilum[20] deinceps scripturamque omnem negligere. Noluisti me[21] vulnere tali confodere[22]. Providisti, quae amico utilia credidisti. Voluisti me scribere, ingenium exercere, conari in dies magis, ut[23], si non essem modo, qui[24] vellem, fierem aliquando[25], qui[26] possem. Noluisti deinde meis epistolis, quae jam currere per Germaniam coeperant, opinionem demere. Ago gratias humanitati tuae, quae de suo judicio quam de mea fama maluit haesitari, nomini meo vel cum tuo detrimento consulere voluisti[27].

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[1] ~~in~~ *seq.* W1
[2] *supralin.* W1
[3] *corr. ex* contristare W1
[4] meas *add.* V11
[5] vocitent KO
[6] ~~inge / menisti~~ (sic!) ~~que Flactus *(sic!)* seq.~~ W1
[7] senatorum V7
[8] ~~pro~~ *seq.* W1
[9] *omit.* M5
[10] ex M5
[11] precepta X1
[12] in X1
[13] spiritu afflari : inflari spiritu (Cicero)
[14] quod *add*. WO
[15] pro merito *supralin.* W1
[16] ~~poeta videri vellem~~ *seq.* W1
[17] collocarem M5, X1; *corr. ex* collocarem W1
[18] ~~opinatus es~~ *seq.* W1
[19] ~~omnem~~ *seq.* W1
[20] *corr. ex* nullam. W1
[21] ~~tanto~~ *seq.* W1
[22] ~~Habeo tibi gratias qui poteras et uituperationem omittere et laudem / habeo tibi gratias qui uoluisti~~ *seq.* W1
[23] ~~fierem aliquando quod~~ (?) ~~qui vellem credi~~ *seq.* W1
[24] *corr. ex* quod W1; quod X1, KO
[25] ~~quod~~ *seq.* W1
[26] quod X1
[27] noluisti V7

[11] So, what is it that moved you to praise me? The reason is, [I presume], that you did not want to sadden me. You saw many letters where I titled myself "poet" and said to yourself, "This man must have a high opinion of himself to claim such a grand title." You remembered what Flaccus[1] said about poets: *"If one has gifts inborn, if one has a soul divine and tongue of noble utterance, to such give the honour of that name"*.[2] And you know what Cicero said in his oration for Licinius Archia[3]: *We have it on the highest and most learned authority that while other arts are matters of science and formula and technique, poetry depends solely upon an inborn faculty, is invoked by a purely mental activity and is infused with a strange supernal inspiration. Rightly, then, did our great Ennius[4] call poets "holy", for they seem recommended to us by the benign bestowal of God.*[5] So, you thought that if you were to criticise my writings as they deserve, you would cause me great pain since I wanted to be considered one of the holy poets and claimed a place among this old race of learned men, whereas, in your opinion, I merited neither the title of poet nor even the name of an ordinary author. You thought that if you did support my belief in myself, I would lose heart, give up hope, abandon my pen, and forsake all writing. Not wanting to wound me this way, you wrote what you believed would benefit a friend. You wanted me to write, to exercise my intellect, and to someday grow into the person I could be, if not the person I wanted to be. Therefore, you did not want to discredit my letters, which had already begun to circulate throughout Germany. I am grateful that, in your kindness, you did not hesitate to put my reputation above your own judgement and gave me your support despite your own opinion.[6]

[1] Horatius.
[2] Horatius: *Satirae*, 1: 4, 43-44.
[3] Archias, Aulus Licinius (c. 120 - 61 BCE): Greco-Syrian poet whom moved to Rome in 120 BCE.
[4] Ennius, Quintus (c. 239 – c. 169 BCE): Roman poet.
[5] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 18
[6] In these paragraphs, Piccolomini modestly claims that his letters do not merit the cardinal's praise, which can, therefore, not be sincere but aim at supporting him as a friend and helping him to develop his skills as an author.

[12] Videor videre commendatione tua ingentem[1] meis epistolis favorem accedere[2]. Quis enim posthac[3] illas[4] carpere audeat, quas noverit tuo testimonio comprobatas. Ego quidem[5], quod a te modo scriptum est, in capite voluminis collocabo, ne quis mea prius legat scripta, quam tua noverit auctoritate legenda. Etsi enim Apollinis illud responsum memoriae teneo, quo[6] *se quemque*[7] *noscere jubet*, gaudeo tamen nomen meum quocumque pacto illustrari[8]. Cur non laudari falso malim[9], quam vero vituperari. Potis est tua commendatio {313r} facere, ut me ceteri quoque commendent. Non omnia nomen ad verum[10] habent, multa erecta sunt[11] et habentur in pretio, quae[12] rectius vilipensa[13] jacerent. Multum in omni re fortuna dominatur. Haec pro libidine sua nunc obscurat mortalia, nunc celebrat, neque in poetis[14] ac[15] ceteris scriptoribus vim perdidit. Plurimi ejus beneficio magis quam propria virtute claruerunt. Nonnulli[16], cum essent digni memoria nominis sempiterna[17], fortunae malignitate depressi, nequaquam emergere potuerunt.

[13] Quid si meis scriptis tuo beneficio, non[18] fortuna, quae nihil est nisi divina vel providentia vel permissio[19], sed[20] Deus ipse[21] subriserit[22]? Numquid laetabor, numquid gloriabor, et tuo nomini fateri[23] me omnia debebo[24], qui me reddideris immortalem[25]? Idomeneus, quoniam in epistolas incidit Epicuri, Atticus Ciceronis, Lucillus Senecae aeternam memoriam consecuti sunt[26]. Tu, quia medius[27] inter scripta mea venisti, mihi mortalitatem[28] eripis, et quod illi ex alienis acceperunt, hoc tu meis epistolis[29] praestas. Quidni[30] igitur te[31] amem, te observem, tibi omni officio servire studeam? Sed dixi me tuum ab initio, non muto sententiam.

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[1] *supralin.* W1
[2] favorem accedere *corr. ex* opinionem augeri W1
[3] *corr. ex* post W1
[4] ~~audeat~~ *seq.* W1
[5] equidem V11, W1, KO
[6] ~~jubet~~ *seq.* W1
[7] quemquam F1
[8] ~~nemo est enim qui non appetat famam et optimus quisque / nulli pectori fama horrori est. optimus quisque cupiditatis / glorie cupiditate tangitur. philosophi qui philosophorum secta quae nihil honoris causa faciendum censuit etiam / inventi sunt aliquando philosophi qui fugiendam / spernendam fugiendamque famam suaderent. non tamen illis ipsis libris quos de tali contemptu scr / propterea scripserunt sua nomina detraxerunt. Sentio ego tuas laudes / malo de me bene homines etiam falso sentiant / cur non laudari falso velim malimque ex professo vituper / cur non laudari falso malim quam vero vitupera…~~ *seq.* W1
[9] malum V7; malui X1
[10] ad verum : adversum WO
[11] ~~que iacent~~ *seq.* W1
[12] ~~que iac~~ *seq.* W1; quo KO
[13] *supralin.* W1
[14] ~~vim perdidit~~ *seq.* W1
[15] neque X1
[16] ~~fortune malignitate~~ *seq.* W1
[17] ~~obscurati~~ *seq.* W1
[18] *supralin.* W1
[19] promissio F1, KO
[20] si F1, V5, V6
[21] que nihil … ipse *add. in marg.* W1
[22] ~~nonne~~ *seq.* W1
[23] fatebor V11, KO
[24] debere V11, KO
[25] ~~Epicurus Ydomeneo / Tullius Attico / SenecaLucillo suo eternam memoriam polli / suis epistolis eternam memoriam prebuerunt / Ydomonenus quoniam eternam memoriam consecutus est~~ *seq.* W1
[26] ~~tu quia mea intra scripta~~ *seq.* W1
[27] medias WO
[28] mortalem M5
[29] ~~prebe~~ *seq.* W1
[30] quid M5
[31] et KO

[12] I see that your commendation greatly favours my letters, for who will hereafter dare to criticise them, knowing they carry your stamp of approval? Indeed, I shall place your letter at the beginning of the collection[1] so that all who read it will know that you have lent your authority to what they are reading. Though I keep in mind the response of Apollo[2] that *you should know yourself*, it makes me happy to see my name honoured - in whatever way. Why should I not prefer to be praised falsely to be vilified rightly? Your commendation carries such weight that it makes others commend me, too. Many things [in this world] have not merited their grand reputation; though they are held in high regard and are treasured, they ought to be scorned and neglected. Fortune dominates everything. She sometimes – at her whim - lets mortals fall into oblivion and sometimes makes them famous, and she has never lost her power over poets and other writers. Many have become acclaimed thanks to her favour rather than because of their own qualities. And some who deserved eternal fame were forgotten because of Fortune's malice and could never rise.

[13] But what if it was God himself (and not Fortune, which is simply divine providence or permission[3]) who – because of you - nodded approvingly[4] at them? Should I not be happy and proud and acknowledge that I owe everything to your name since it was you who made me immortal? Idomeneus[5] gained immortal memory because he was mentioned in Epicure's[6] letters, and so did Atticus,[7] mentioned in Cicero's, and Lucillus,[8] mentioned in Seneca's.[9] And since your name occurs in the midst of my letters, you release me from mortality, and you have given my letters the everlasting fame those men gained from others. So why should I not love you, honour you, and serve you in every possible way? I have said from the beginning[10] that I was yours, and my feelings have not changed.

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[1] The cardinal's letter was placed first in the official collection of Piccolomini's episcopal letters published after he became pope (as extant in four mss. from the Vatican Library, the Vat. lat. 1787, the Ott. lat. 347, Urb. lat. 401, and a ms. from the Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana in Florence, the Plut 54.19).

[2] Apollo [Phoibos]: (Greek and Roman myth.), god of archery, music and dance, truth and prophecy, healing and diseases, the sun and light, poetry, and more.

[3] Note that this whole reference to Fortune being an agency of God is absent in the original version, which only has the text: *Quid si meis scriptis tuo beneficio fortuna subriserit?*

[4] "subriserit" : smiled.

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

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

[7] Atticus, Titus Pomponius (c. 110 - 32 BCE): Roman businessman and *eques*. Friend and correspondent of Cicero.

[8] Lucilius Junior (fl. 1st century): procurator of Sicily during the reign of Nero. Friend and correspondent of Seneca (the Younger) and only known from Seneca's letters to him.

[9] This passage is similar to a passage in Piccolomini's letter to Johann von Eich of 1 July 1445 (EPI, 9: 912, 2).

[10] I.e., from the beginning of Piccolomini's correspondence with the cardinal.

[14] Illud me discutere amplius convenit, quod supra de poetis est tactum. Neque enim idcirco[1] poetam, priusquam sacris ordinibus initiatus essem, me appellavi[2], quoniam vel[3] Mantuano vel Peligno vellem videri similis aut par alteri cuipiam veterum, quos vates et claros et sanctos vocant, mentis divinae participes, sed ita hoc nomen mihi ascripsi, quemadmodum in una epistolarum Seneca suscipit, qui omnibus versus facientibus hoc nomen commune dicit quamvis absolute[4] (individually) pronuntiatum, apud Graecos Homerum, apud Latinos Virgilium denotet. Edidimus et nos aliquando versus, scripsimus elegias[5], eglogas, satiram quoque[6] dictavimus, non tamen poetae nomen propria temeritate suscepimus nec prius hoc titulo sumus usi, quam nos[7] Federicus Caesar apud Frankfordiam visis quibusdam opusculis[8] nostris laurea nos donavit. Quemadmodum autem, qui juri[9] aut canonico aut civili operam dederunt, postquam magisterium acceperunt, cum litteras ad amicos missitant, aut decretorum aut legum doctores se inscribunt, ita et[10] nobis poetae nomen assumere licitum arbitrati sumus, ne vel concessum honorem vel concedentem contemnere videremur, et *nos* enim *manum ferulae subduximus* et *lucum novimus Martis,* et *quas torqueat*[11] *umbras*[12] *Aeacus*, et *quantas jaculetur Monychus*[13] *ornos.* Videbamur nostro uti jure, si ejus artis titulos assumeremus, in qua non parvam aetatis[14] partem consumpsissemus[15].

[15] Sed fuit alia non minor ratio, quae me hoc nomine frequentius uti coegit. Etenim, cum venissem in[16] Austriam, in secretarium Caesaris assumptus, offendi omnes, qui periti apud Viennenses habebantur, poeticam velut rem pernitiosam et abominabilem {314r} detestari. Coepi ergo[17] eos arguere, disputare saepe cum eis, ostendere poeticam[18], qui recte uterentur, his frugiferam esse nomenque talis doctrinae habendum[19] et honorabile et sanctum[20]. Tumque, ne quis me nomen horrere crederet, quod laudarem[21], poetam me scribere coepi neque dimisi titulum, donec ad ecclesiam veniens[22] sacros ordines imbui[23] et ad sacerdotium promotus, quae saeculi pompam saperent, postergavi. Habes, cur me poetam dixerim, et quid de me ipso sub tali titulo senserim.

[16] Nunc quoniam de poetica[24] admodum perite nonnihil[25] disputasti, non erit ab re, quid mihi de poetica tenendum videatur in medium proferre, in cujus defensionem saepe scripsi, saepius adversus contentiosos sermones serui[26] [27], quos in hac[28] epistola succincte repetam.

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[1] ~~me~~ *seq.* W1
[2] appellari X1
[3] ~~Maroni vel~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~dictum~~ *seq.* W1
[5] elogias X1
[6] satiram quoque : satiramque M5
[7] quam nos : quamuis X1
[8] epistolis KO
[9] ~~iuris~~ *seq.* W1
[10] nos appellare poetas permissum W12
[11] torquat F1
[12] umbra X1
[13] monitus X1
[14] uanitatis M5
[15] consumpserimus X1
[16] ad M5
[17] contendere W1
[18] ~~plus~~ *seq.* W1
[19] *supralin.* W1
[20] ~~esse~~ *seq.* W1
[21] ~~cepi~~ *seq.* W1
[22] ~~sacros ordines~~ *seq.* W1
[23] tribui X1; subiui KO
[24] poetis M5
[25] ~~dixis~~ *seq.* W1
[26] habui V11
[27] ~~omnes qui poetice sunt infesti si modo quip quippi quippiam quid piam~~ *seq.* W1
[28] *omit.* F1

5. Piccolomini as a poet

[14] I should now go deeper into what was said above about poets. Before I entered Holy Orders, I did not call myself a poet because I wanted to appear similar to the Mantuan,[1] or the Pelignian,[2] or any other of the ancients, whom they call poets,[3] noble and holy, sharing the divine mind. No, I gave myself that title in the way Seneca, in one of his letters, gave it as a common term for all who write verses, though the term, when used alone, means Homer[4] to the Greeks and Virgil to the Latins. However, though we sometimes wrote verses, elegies, eclogues, and once a satire, we did not presume to take the title of poet. Indeed, we did not use it before Emperor Friedrich, having seen some of our writings, granted us the laurel crown in Frankfurt. Then we considered that we were allowed to take the title of poet just as those who study canon or civil law, when they have become magisters, sign their letters to friends as doctors of the decrees or the laws. We did so lest we appear to disdain the honour itself or the one who granted it. Thus, we *have snatched our hand from under the cane*,[5] we *know the grove of Mars*,[6] [7] *which ghosts Aeacus*[8] *is torturing*,[9] and *the size of the ash trees hurled by Monychus.*[10] [11] So, we considered it legitimate to use the title of an art on which we had spent a great part of our life.

[15] But another just as important reason compelled me to use this title often. When I was appointed a secretary to the emperor and came to Austria, all I met who were considered learned in Vienna loathed poetry as a pernicious and abominable pursuit. So I began to often argue and discuss with them and show them that poetry is rewarding to those who use it correctly and that the title should be considered honourable and sacred.[12] Then, lest people believe me to dislike the title I myself praised, I began to sign [my letters] as "poet" and did not give up that title before I entered the Church, took Holy Orders, was ordained a priest, and then put behind me all that smelled of worldly ostentation. So, now you know why I called myself a poet and what I meant by giving myself this title.

6. Poetry

[16] Since, [in your letter], you discoursed so learnedly about poetry, it will be relevant for me to explain what I believe is the right concept of poetry. Often have I written in its defence, and even more often have I spoken against contentious statements that I shall briefly summarise in this letter.

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[1] Virgil, who was born in Mantua.
[2] Ovid, who was born in the Pelignian city of Sulmo.
[3] "vates": prophets, poets
[4] E.g., poeta = The Poet = Homer.
[5] Juvenalis: *Satirae,* 1: 15.
[6] Mars: (Myth.) Roman god of war.
[7] Juvenalis: *Satirae,* 1: 7.
[8] Aeakos: (Myth.) King of the Island of Aegina.
[9] Juvenalis: *Satirae,* 1: 9-10.
[10] Monychus: (Myth.) One of the centaurs who buried Caeneus among a huge pile of pine trees since they could not harm him otherwise.
[11] Juvenalis: *Satirae,* 1: 11.
[12] Piccolomini participated in one such disputation at the University of Vienna, on 25 November 1445, where he gave the lecture *"Aderat nuper"* with poetry as one of the three subjects for discussion (COR, 3, 9, pp. 266 ff.)

[17] Omnes qui poeticae sunt infesti[1], si modo aliqua sunt imbuti doctrina, his argumentationibus in eam utuntur: Plato, qui fuit omnium philosophorum proculdubio excellentissimus, *ex ea civitate quam finxit, cum mores optimos et optimum rei publicae statum exquireret,* poetas eduxit[2], quod minime fecisset, si utiles fuissent. Non sunt igitur admittendi poetae. Cicero[3] in *Tusculanis,* cum de dolore disputat, "*videsne,"* inquit, *"poete[4] quid mali afferant[5]? Lamentantes[6] inducunt fortissimos viros, molliunt animos nostros, ita sunt deinde dulces, ut non legantur modo, sed etiam ediscantur. {314v} Sic ad malam domesticam disciplinam vitamque umbratilem et delicatam cum accesserunt etiam poetae, nervos omnis virtutis elidunt[7].* Totum hic comprehenditur, quod dici contra poetas potest.

[18] Pergunt tamen, qui verbosiores sunt atque amplius hanc mansuetiorem musam insectantur. Boethius, inquiunt[8], vir sane peritissimus et vitae sanctioris, philosophiam inducit[9] sibi loquentem, quae *scenicas meretriculas* et poeticam et oratoriam videtur appellare, quae *dolores* egrotae mentis *non modo* ullis *remediis* non *fovent,* sed *dulcibus insuper alunt venenis hominumque mentes assuefaciunt morbo[10], non liberant*[11].

Cato, qui fuit Romanorum severissimus, Marco nobiliori velut *probrum[12] objecit,* quoniam *poetas in provinciam duxisset. Duxerat enim ille in Aetoliam Ennium*.

Hieronymus, clarum jubar ecclesiae, verberibus sese caesum ab angelo scribit, quoniam *Ciceronianus*[13] magis quam *Christianus* esse videretur. (Quid si Virgilianum aut Terentianum illum angelus invenisset!)[14]. Carpiuntur[15] ab eo nonnulli episcopi[16], qui[17] codices evangelicos postponentes, lectione[18] poetica se oblectant[19].

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[1] ~~et aliquid doctr / qui~~ *seq.* W1
[2] ~~minime ta ille~~ *seq.* W1
[3] ~~quoque~~ *seq.* W1
[4] poeta X1
[5] afferunt X1
[6] lamentantis M5, V11, X1, KO
[7] eludunt X1
[8] *corr. ex* inquit F1; inquit M5, V5, V6, V7, V11, X1, W1, KO
[9] ~~que~~ *seq.* W1
[10] verbo X1
[11] quae dolores … liberant *add. in marg.* W1
[12] probum X1
[13] Ciceronarius X1
[14] ~~episcopos ille magnopere~~ *seq.* W1
[15] carpuntur F1, V11, KO; *corr. ex* carpiuntur V5
[16] ~~quando~~ *seq.* V6; quando *add.* X1
[17] ~~cum~~ *seq.* W1
[18] ~~Virgiliana~~ *seq.* W1
[19] oblectavit X1

6.1. Authorities against poetry

6.1.1. Critics' arguments

[17] All enemies of poetry possessing just a modicum of learning use these arguments against it:

When Plato, undoubtedly the most outstanding of all philosophers, *was trying to find the highest morality*[1] *and the best conditions for his community* of the republic, he turned the poets out of his *imaginary state*.[2] [Obviously,] he would not have done that if they were useful. Therefore, poets should not be allowed.

And when Cicero, in his *Tusculanae*, discussed pain, he said, "*Don't you see the harm poets do? They represent brave men wailing, they enervate our souls, and besides, they do it with such charm that they are not merely read but learnt by heart. Thus, when the influence of the poets is combined with bad family discipline and a life passed in the shade of effeminate seclusion, the strength of manliness is completely sapped."*[3]

These passages contain, in short, the whole argument that can be made against poets.

[18] But men of more words who would really harass this gentle muse take it further.

They say that Boethius,[4] that most learned and virtuous man, introduced philosophy as telling him that poetry and oratory are *theatrical tarts who not only have no cures* for the ailing mind, *but with their sweet poison they make it worse*. *They accustom a man to his ills and do not rid him of them.*[5]

And Cato,[6] the most severe of the Romans, *censured Marcus Nobilior*[7] *for having taken poets in his suite to his province. As a matter of fact, he had, when consul, taken Ennius with him to Aetolia.*[8]

Jerome, that shining ornament of the Church, writes that[9] he was scourged by an angel because he seemed to be a *Ciceronian* more than a *Christian*.[10] (Imagine that the angel had found him a Virgilian or a Terentian instead![11]). And he rebukes some bishops for neglecting the gospels and instead delighting in reading poetry.

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[1] "mores"

[2] Plato: *Republic*, 10: 605b, 607b.

[3] Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 2: 11, 27.

[4] Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus (ca. 480 - ca. 525): Roman noble, consul, and philosopher.

[5] Boethius: *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, 1: 25-35.

[6] Cato, Marcus Porcius [the Elder] [Censor] (234-149 BCE): Roman censor, senator, and historian known for his conservatism and opposition to Hellenization.

[7] Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (consul 189 BCE): Roman general. He brought the poet Ennius with him on a campaign to Aetolia, which earned him a rebuke from Cato the Elder for compromising his dignity as a Roman general.

[8] Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 1: 2, 1.

[9] In a dream.

[10] Jeronimus: Epistolae, 22 (*Epistola ad Eustochium)*, 30. MPL, XXII, col. 416. Piccolomini used this quotation several times in his works, and the first time in his oration *"Si quis me roget"* at the Council of Basel on 4 April 1438 (ORA, 2: 2).

[11] Then Jerome might not have gotten off with just a flogging!

[19] Quo pacto insuper[1] poetas amplectemur, quorum scripta non solum[2] hominum sed deorum quoque et[3] stupra et adulteria commemorant, potare, amare, scortari adolescentes instruunt? Quis[4] major ad imitandum quam deus inveniri potest, aut quis eum coarguat, qui se dei secutum exempla[5] demonstrat[6] [7]? {105r} Jovis exemplo teneram[8] corrupisse virginem Terentianus se Chereas[9] jactitat[10]. (Multum est, cum deus auctor[11] habetur!) *Pictura,* inquit[12] *ille, haec inerat, Jovem, quo pacto Danae[13] misisse ajunt quondam in gremium imbrem aureum[14]. Egomet quoque id spectare coepi, et quia consimilem luserat jam olim[15] ille ludum, impendio magis animus gaudebat mihi deum sese in hominem convertisse atque in alienas tegulas venisse clanculum, per impluvium fucum[16] factum mulieri. At quem Deum, qui templa summa sonitu concutit! Ego hoc homuncio non facerem? Ego illud vero feci ac lubens[17].* Facessant ergo poetae, qui talia de diis[18] referunt, quae[19] sibi turpes indigna lenones ducerent[20]. Quid agat, cum ea legerit[21], *imberbis[22] juvenis cereus, in vitium flecti[23]: sic natura jubet. Velocius et citius nos corrumpunt exempla[24], magnis cum subeant animos auctoribus*. Non erit igitur bene[25] instituta civitas, quae poetis non occluserit januas.

[20] Sic mecum saepe contendisse aliquos memini[26], quibus ego in hunc modum respondere consuevi: quid vos mihi civitatem Platonis objicitis, quae nulla umquam in provincia sedem reperit[27] [28]? Quid curet ex ea se civitate poetarum chorus exulare, quae neque in caelo neque in terra visa est umquam[29]? At cum poetarum fictiones bicipitis plerumque Parnasi somnia referant, non possum non admirari, cur somniatores ex civitate somniata[30] Plato[31] deduxerit[32]. Cur ego non exulare ex ea civitate voluerim, {315v} quam conditor ejus inhabitare non possit[33]? Aut equidem suam civitatem necesse fuisset Platonem relinquere aut secum introducere poetas, cum fuerit ipse poeta, cujus apud Macrobium versus nonnulli referuntur magis petulci, quam tanti viri gravitati conveniant.

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[1] ~~amplecti poetas licebit~~ *seq.* W1
[2] ~~homines~~ *seq.* W1
[3] *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V7
[4] qui F1, V5, V6, V7
[5] ~~confirmat~~ *seq.* W1
[6] Quis major … demonstrat *add. in marg*. W1
[7] ~~Multum est cum Deus in exemplum ducitur. Documento est Terentianus. / Numquid Terentianus ille Chereas~~ *seq.* W1
[8] *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V7; *supralin.* W1
[9] Chocas X1
[10] *omit.* X1
[11] ~~in exemplo ducitur~~ *seq.* W1
[12] multum est … inquit *omit.* M5
[13] *em.;* Damne F1, V5, V6, M5, W1, X1; Daphne V7
[14] auram X1
[15] jam olim: et Argolim X1
[16] sucum M5
[17] jubens KO
[18] his V7
[19] ~~turpissimis indigna lenonibus videri possent~~ *seq.* W1
[20] ~~quid faciant adolescentes cum ea / quid agant ea legentes adolescentes~~ *seq.* W1
[21] ~~adolescens~~ *seq.* W1
[22] in uerbis 7
[23] quid agat … flecti *add. in marg.* W1
[24] exempla domestica *(Juvenal)*
[25] *omit.* V7
[26] nemini M5
[27] reperi V7
[28] ~~non est cur moleste feram / moleste cur~~ *seq.* W1
[29] ~~at cum somniaverit Plato suam civitatem non possum non vehementer admira~~ *seq.* W1
[30] *omit.* V7
[31] somnia *add.* V7
[32] ~~addite quod vestrum Platonem inter poetas veteres numeravit, cujus versus apud Macrobium referuntur magis petulci quam tanti viri gravitati conveniant / exulasse ex sua civitate~~ *seq.* W1
[33] posset X1

[19] Moreover, how can we embrace the poets when their writings describe the debaucheries and adulteries not only of men but even of gods and teach the young to drink, make love, and consorting with harlots? Who is better to imitate than a god, and who can reproach someone who shows that he has followed a god's example? In Terence, Chereas boasts of seducing a tender virgin following Jupiter's example (indeed, it is great to have a god as your model!) and says, *"there was a painting depicting the story of how Jupiter sent a shower of gold into Danae's*[1] *female parts."*[2] [19] *I began to look at it myself, and the fact that he had played a similar game long ago made me all the more excited: a god had turned himself into human shape, made his way by stealth on to another man's roof, and come through the skylight to play a trick on a woman. And what a god! The one who shakes the lofty walls of heaven with his thunder! Was I, a mere mortal, not to do the same? I did just that - and gladly.*[3] So, let us get rid of the poets who tell such things about the gods that vile pimps would be ashamed of. And what would *the beardless youth* do, *soft as wax for moulding to evil,* when he reads this?[4] *So nature ordains; no evil example corrupts us so soon and so rapidly as one that comes into the mind on high authority*[5]. Thus, a city can only be well-ordered if it closes its gates to poets.

6.1.2. Piccolomini's refutation

[20] I have frequently heard such arguments, and this is how I usually answer them: Why do you use Plato's city against me when it has never existed anywhere? Why worry about the school of poets being exiled from a city that has never been seen on Earth or in Heaven? Poets' tales often relate dreams coming from the twin-peaked Parnassus[6], so I can only wonder why Plato would expel dreamers from his own dream city! Why should I not want to be exiled from a city whose own founder could not live in it? For Plato, being a poet, too, would have had to either leave his own city or bring poets into it with him. Indeed, several of his verses are given by Macrobius,[7] [8] and they are so indecent that they do not befit the dignity of such a great man.[9]

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[1] Danae: (Greek myth.) Argive princess. Mother of the hero Perseus by Zeus (Jupiter)

[2] The Loeb edition chastely has "bosom".

[3] Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 585-591.

[4] Horatius: *Ars poetica*, 161, 163

[5] Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 14: 31-33.

[6] Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2: 221. Parnassus, a two-peaked mountain at Delphi, was the home of the seven muses.

[7] Macrobius, 2: 2, 17.

[8] Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (fl. C. 400): Roman author.

[9] In his lecture "Aderat nuper" (COR, 3: 9) at the University in Vienna in 1438 Piccolomini had quoted from one of these verses: *Dum semiulco savio meum puellum savior* (*When I kiss my boy with half-parted lips).* The context is clearly homosexual. It is not surprising that Piccolomini would not quote the verse in his letter to the cardinal, and it would not befit his own ecclesiastical status.

[21] Nec Cicero illam ingredi civitatem permitteretur, quae poetas repelleret[1], cum et ipse tres libros *de temporibus suis* carmine conscripserit[2]. Sed licet laudet ipse Platonem de sua civitate poetas excludentem, non tamen ipse de Roma, cui se omnia debere[3] fatetur, poetas excludit. Archiam, poetam egregium, cum Gracchus[4] negaret in civitate retinendum[5], quis illum defendit nisi Cicero? Extat ejus oratio, de qua supra memini, in qua haec verba ponuntur: *"Sit igitur sanctum apud vos[6] humanissimos homines hoc poetae nomen, quod nulla umquam barbaries[7] violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondent, bestiae saepe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt; nos instituti rebus optimis non poetarum voce moveamur?[8]"* Ecce, cum ad serium, cum ad verum ventum est, non abigit ex sua civitate poetas[9] Cicero, sed retinendos, sed admittendos, sed honoribus cumulandos suadet[10] .

[22] Quid de Boethio dicam? Quis risum teneat, cum damnari a poeta poeticam audiat[11]? An non est ipse[12] Boethius tum maxime poeta, cum poeticas[13] carpit musas, qui philosophiam secum versibus agentem et utentem fictionibus introducit[14]? Quot[15] apud eum fabulae sunt? Quot metrorum genera[16]? Dum poeticam {116r} damnat Boethius, similis illi videtur, qui jurabat non esse jurandum. Sed altior[17] Boethio mens[18] fuit[19], quam vel poetarum hostes apprehendant[20] vel hac[21] epistolari disputatione[22] possit exponi. Quippe aut legendi sunt poetarum libri aut ipse toto fugiendus orbe cum sua *consolatione* Boethius, apud quem philosophia, cum de providentia disserit[23] magni Dei, *familiarem* suum appellare Lucanum non veretur et illius inserere metri[24] sententiam: *victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni*.[25]

[23] Nec me Catonis auctoritas frangit, cui nec Nobilior auscultavit neque senatus cessit, apud quem maximo semper honore poetae sunt habiti. Habeo[26] clarissimorum[27] copiam virorum[28], quos Catoni valeam objectare, de quibus[29] posterius dicam.

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[1] repellet X1
[2] ~~sed minime is est / laudat hic Plato~~ *seq.* W1
[3] deberi F1
[4] Gradius KO
[5] retundendum V7
[6] nos F1, V6, KO
[7] barbaria (Cicero)
[8] ~~non tunc res ficta sed nova agebatur / Hoc licuit animam retineri / in sua civitate / in caput orbis terrae / in magistram animi conventum / si quis preterea Ciceronem in Tusculanis / ecce cum ad verum~~ *seq.* W1
[9] ex sua civitate poetas : poetas ex sua civitate F1, V5, V6, V7
[10] sed honoribus … suadet *add. in marg.* W1
[11] audeat M5
[12] est ipse : ipse est KO
[13] ~~poetas~~ *seq.* W1
[14] introducet M5
[15] quod M5
[16] ~~similis illi videtur esse Boetius dum poeticam damnat~~ *seq.* W1
[17] ~~illi me~~ *seq.* W1
[18] Boethio mens : mens Boethio V6
[19] ~~quam~~ *seq.* W1
[20] ~~vel hac epystola posset~~ *seq.* W1
[21] hoc M5
[22] epistolari disputatione *corr. ex* epistole brevitate W1
[23] dixerit F1, V5, V6, V7
[24] mortui KO
[25] Quipppe aut .. Cato *add. in marg.* W1
[26] ~~clarorum~~ *seq.* W1
[27] ~~virorum copiam qu~~ *seq.* W1
[28] copiam virorum : virorum copiam KO
[29] ~~posterius~~ *seq.* W1

[21] Nor would Cicero be allowed into a city that repels poets, for he had written three books in verse *On His Own Times.*[1] But though Cicero praises Plato for excluding poets from his city, he did not exclude them from Rome, to which he declares that he ows everything. When Gracchus[2] forbade the excellent poet Archias to remain in the city, who defended him[3] but Cicero? His oration, which I mentioned above, contains these words: *Holy then in your enlightened eyes let the name of poets be, inviolate hitherto by the most benighted of races! The very rocks of the wilderness give back a sympathetic echo to the voice; savage beasts have sometimes been charmed into stillness by song; and shall we, who are nurtured upon all that is highest, be deaf to the appeal of poetry?*[4] There you have it: in actual fact, Cicero did not drive the poets from his city but urged that they be kept, admitted, and even covered with honours.

[22] What shall I say about Boethius? Who can help laughing when he hears him, a poet, condemn poetry? Is Boethius not being at his most poetical when he reviles the poetical muses and makes philosophy speak to him in verses and employ literary fictions? How many tales does he not tell? How many kinds of metre? When Boethius condemns poetry, he resembles the man who swore he would not swear. But Boethius' mind was subtler than the enemies of poets can grasp or than can be explained in this letter-treatise. At any rate, one must either read the books of the poets or reject Boethius with his *Consolation,*[5] for in that book, philosophy, while speaking of the great God's providence, does not hesitate to call Lucan[6] her *familiar* and to quote his verse, *If the victor had the gods on his side, the vanquished had Cato.*[7] [8]

[23] And I am unmoved by the authority of Cato[9]: Nobilior[10] did not heed him, and the Senate did not follow him since it always held poets in the highest honour. I can mention many illustrious men in opposition to Cato, whom I shall speak of later.

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[1] The poem is lost. See Harrison.
[2] A man named Gracchus (not one of the famous brothers) prosecuted Archias as a false pretender to the rights of a Roman citizen, according to the provisions of the Lex Papiria.
[3] Archias.
[4] Cicero: *Pro Archia,* 8, 19.
[5] The work *De Consolatione Philosophiae.*
[6] Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus (39-65): Roman poet.
[7] Lucanus: *De bello Civili (Pharsalia),* 1: 128.
[8] Boethius: *De Consolatione Philosophiae,* 4: 129-130: *et uictricem quidem causam dis, uictam vero Catoni placuisse familiaris noster Lucanus admonuit.*
[9] See section 18 above.
[10] Marcus Fulvius Nobilior.

[24] Ad Hieronymum transeo, cujus optarem, qui vivunt, omnes fieri persimiles[1]: sic enim et sanctimonia vitae et eloquentiae copia omnes valeremus. Scatet hic undique poetarum dictis neque velut[2] tractatum ejus referes[3] vel epistolam, ubi non Tulliana redoleat eloquentia. Sic de ceteris ecclesiae doctoribus licet invenire, quorum facundiam, quae muta fuisset alioquin, illustravere poetae[4]. Sane Hieronymus cum saecularibus plenus litteris esset[5] gentilesque disciplinas quasvis ebibisset, tum se verberibus affectum[6] dixit[7]. Permitto, id omnes agant, cum poetas omnes[8] viderint, legerint, didicerint, tum saecularium studia litterarum[9] abjurent. Nil obsto[10], nil adversor, neque ego is sum, qui {116v} pontifices maximos relictis[11] evangeliorum codicibus aut "*Tityre, tu patulae"* aut "*Arma virumque canentes"* laudaverim. Sint[12] non solum aetati, verum etiam dignitati[13] sua cuique studia. Sicut enim grammaticam atque dialecticam episcopum didicisse, non discere voluerim, sic poetas illi[14] notos[15] optaverim[16], noscendos jam minime suaserim. Sed Hieronymi, quod[17] sit[18] judicium, inferius exponemus[19].

[25] Ultimum, quod isti gravius putant, illud afferunt, quia poetas plurima tradere demonstrant, quibus non solidae mentes[20] captae dilabuntur[21], sive cum deorum mentionem efficiunt sive cum voluptates commendant. De diis autem non est, cur poetis sit irascendum: temporis illud, non personarum est vitium. Aetas eorum Dei unius haud plenam notitiam habuit. Gentiles fuerunt, qui Jovem, Junonem, Saturnum, Martem pro diis habuere[22], neque id erroris poetas[23] magis quam philosophos invasit. Socrates, Plato, Aristoteles, Zeno[24], Cleanthes[25], Diogenes, Aristippus diis litavere. Quid mirum, si poetae hos[26] deos collaudant, quos sua credidit aetas caelum incolere[27]? Publicus error excusationi est. Si non licet poetas legere, quia deorum faciunt mentionem, neque philosophos intueri licebit[28], quorum scripta[29] deorum nominibus[30] sunt referta. Sed quis hodie tam hebetis est[31] ingenii, qui propterea Jovi sacrificet[32] aut thurificet Herculi, quoniam deos illos poetarum carmina vocitant[33]? Omnes *pueri* etiam[34] *qui nondum aere lavantur* homines illos fuisse impuros atque nefarios didicere, de quibus sane rectius {317r} poetae quam philosophi[35] scribunt. Referentes enim turpia illorum[36] facta[37] manifeste nobis ostendunt divinitatem ab illis[38] longe fuisse[39] delirasseque[40] omnes veteres, qui eis aras dicaver

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[1] *corr. ex* similes W1
[2] vel V7; ut X1
[3] ~~neque e~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~consulo ergo / consulerem omnibus~~ *seq.* W1
[5] ~~omnemque gentilium disciplinarum peritiam calle~~ *seq.* W1
[6] se verberibus affectum : tum verberibus affectum se F1, V6, V7; verberibus afflictum se V5
[7] ~~tumque secularia~~ *seq.* W1
[8] ~~perlegerint~~ *seq.* W1
[9] studia litterarum : litterarum studia V5
[10] ~~nil contra~~ *seq.* W1
[11] delictis V7
[12] ~~sua cuique etati studia~~ *seq.* W1
[13] ~~studia~~ *seq.* W1
[14] ~~notos esse non dixerim / nothos / haud noscendo~~ *seq.* W1
[15] *supralin.* W1
[16] optaverim F
[17] quid KO
[18] est F1, V5
[19] sed Hieronymi .. . exponemus *add. in marg.* W1
[20] ~~capiuntur~~ *seq.* W1
[21] delabuntur KO
[22] ~~sed~~ *seq.* W1
[23] petas V7
[24] et *add.* X1
[25] Eleander KO
[26] ~~collaudant~~ *seq.* W1
[27] caelum incolere *supralin.* W1
[28] ~~libe~~ *seq.* W1; licet X1
[29] ~~diis~~ *seq.* W1
[30] ~~referta sunt / at re~~ *seq.* W1
[31] tam hebetis est : est tam hebetis X1
[32] ~~aut Herculi thura porrigat~~ / ~~quoniam poetarum carminibus illos appellari deos / thurificet quia poetarum carminibus illos tenere caelum~~ *seq.* W1
[33] ~~etiam pueri nisi qu~~ *seq.* W1
[34] *omit.* V5, V6, V7; *supralin.* W1
[35] ~~tradunt~~ *seq.* W1
[36] *supralin.* W1
[37] ~~quid aliud agunt quam~~ *seq.* W1
[38] his X1, KO
[39] ab illis longe fuisse : fuisse longe ab illis V5, V6, V7
[40] ~~veteres~~ *seq.* W1

[24] I now turn to Jerome. I wish all the living would become like him, for thus we would benefit from his holy life and abundant eloquence. He scatters quotes from the poets everywhere, and you cannot find a treatise or letter of his where Tullian[1] eloquence does not shine through. You will find the same in the other doctors of the Church, whose eloquence would have been mute if it were not illuminated by poets. Indeed, Jerome declares that he was scourged[2] because he was steeped in secular letters and had been imbued with the gentile disciplines.[3] I fully accept that all who have seen, read, and studied the poets, later abandon the secular letters. I do not oppose it, I do not resist it, and I would certainly not praise popes for throwing the gospels aside and singing, *You, Tityrus, lie under the spreading*[4] or *Arms and the man I sing*.[5] [6] Each age and each office have their proper studies. I should like for bishops to learn grammar and logic before they become bishops and not afterwards, and in the same way, they should get to know the poets before and not after. But below, we shall explain Jerome's judgement on this matter.

[25] Their last major objection is this: poets relate many things that may lead weak-minded people astray, whether they mention the gods or commend sensual pleasure.

Concerning the gods, there is no reason to be angry with the poets, for the fault is the time's, not the poets'. Men of that age did not have full knowledge of the one true God. They were pagans, who worshipped Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, and Mars, but this error actually affected the philosophers more than the poets: Socrates[7], Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Cleanthes, Diogenes[8], and Aristippus all sacrificed to the gods. Is it strange, then, that the poets praised the gods whom their age thought inhabited Heaven? This general error is their excuse. If it is forbidden to read the poets because they mention the gods, then it is also forbidden to read the philosophers, for their writings are filled with the names of the gods. But who today is so foolish as to sacrifice to Jupiter or burn incense to Hercules just because they are called gods in the songs of the poets? All boys, even those who are *not yet old enough to pay admission at the baths*,[9] have learned that those gods were, in reality, indecent and wicked men who were better written about by poets than philosophers, for when the poets related their shameful acts, they proved that they were far from divine and that all the ancients who dedicated altars to them were foolish.

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[1] Ciceronian.
[2] See section 18 above.
[3] See section 18 above.
[4] Vergilius: *Eclogae,* 1: 1.
[5] Vergilius: *Aeneis,* 1: 1.
[6] The opening words of Virgil's two most famous works, meaning that it would be regrettable if popes preferred classical poetry to the gospels.
[7] Sokrates (ca. 470-399 BCE): Greek philosopher. Teacher of Plato.
[8] Diogenes (412/404-323 BCE): Greek philosopher of the Cynic school.
[9] Juvenalis, 2: 152

[26] Quod autem voluptates approbant doloremque summum esse malum sentire[1] videntur, amores referunt[2], compotationes commendant[3], et *lautae* fercula *mensae* magnis extollunt vocibus, non est, quod movere nos debeat. Inducunt poetae diversas personas tenentesque legem artis cavent, ne forte seniles mandentur juveni partes pueroque viriles. Alius Sardanapalli sermo, alius Arbacis erit[4]. *Intererit Davus*[5]*ne loquatur an*[6] *audax Pythias*, Catoni severitas[7], Gajo Caesari clementia tribuetur. Alius bonis[8] favebit, iratos reget, amica consilia praebebit, peccare timentes amabit, brevioris mensae laudabit dapes, salubrem justitiam commendabit. Alius, virtutis[9] inimicus, caedis avidus, nulli fidus, ventri atque veneri deditus[10], consentanea[11] suis moribus verba profundet. Oportet enim poetam eorum exemplar intueri, quorum personas in medium profert atque illinc vivas deducere voces[12].

[27] Cum vero ex persona sua poeta loquitur[13], tum, quid patriae debeamus, quid amicis, edocet. Quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes, quod[14] sit officium[15] senatoris[16], quod judicis, quod ducis in bella vadentis[17] monstrat[18]. Quae laus[19] et quanta bonis sit vivere parvo, quo virtus, quo ferat error indicat[20] [21]. Omnes ad summum bonum viam parare contendunt[22]. Si quis autem[23] callem non {317v} rectum aperit et aut in voluptate aut in honoribus aut[24] in potentia felicitatem asserit vestigandam[25], non est, quod[26] miremur[27], quando et philosophorum in hac ipsa re multas haereses esse constat[28]. Eapropter cum vehementi quodam impetu commotus in *Tusculanis* Cicero poetas acrius momordisset, qui fortes viros muliebriter ferre dolorem traderent, mox tamen sese correxit et quasi durius esset invectus penitens ait: *Sed quid*[29] *poetis*[30] *irascimur, virtutis magistri philosophi inventi sunt, qui summum malum dolorem dicerent*.

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[1] ~~videntur~~ *seq.* W1
[2] ~~convivia commendant~~ *seq.* W1
[3] condunt X1
[4] erat KO
[5] Daomus X1
[6] Et (Horace)
[7] ~~Julio Gaio~~ *seq.* W1
[8] bonis F1
[9] *omit.* X1
[10] ~~suis moribus~~ *seq.* W1
[11] ~~verba prebebit~~ *seq.* W1
[12] ~~ac cuique persone convenientia reddere verba~~ *seq.* W1
[13] ~~rarus est qui non frugalitatem suadeat pietatem commendet / quo virtus / quo ferat errer non doceat / quod si quis est Paulo laxior / quo ferat virtus~~ *seq.* W1
[14] quid V7
[15] *corr. ex* sit conscripti viri W1
[16] ~~officium~~ *seq.* W1
[17] in bella vadentis *corr. ex* officium W1
[18] monstrant M5, V5, W1
[19] *corr. ex* virtus W1
[20] inducat X1
[21] ~~quod si quis in voluptate summum bonum collocat non est cur poetis irascemur et philosophi reperta~~ *seq.* W1
[22] ~~quod si quis~~ *seq.* W1
[23] ~~est~~ *seq.* W1
[24] *omit.* V7
[25] festigandam M5; inuestigandam V7
[26] quid V11
[27] ~~ex philosophis eratas ista prorepit~~ *seq.* W1
[28] ~~eam ob causam cum accusat / accu / momordisset vehementer ex~~ *seq.* W1
[29] *supralin.* W1
[30] sed quid irascimur *omit.* V7

[26] Moreover, we should not be concerned that the poets appear to approve of sensual pleasure, think that pain is the highest evil, relate love affairs, commend drinking parties, and loudly praise the dishes from *a sumptuous table*.[1] In fact, the poets introduce various characters, and, observing the rules of the art, they do not give old men's roles to young men or men's roles to boys. Sardanapalus[2] will speak in one way and Arbaces[3] in another. *It matters whether Davus be speaking or shameless Pythias.*[4] [5] Severity will be attributed to Cato[6] and clemency to Gajus Caesar.[7] One character will favour the good, calm the angry, give friendly advice, cherish those who fear to sin, praise frugal meals, and commend wholesome justice. Another will be an enemy of virtue, murderous, loyal to no one, and a slave of food and sex. Each will speak as befits his character. Indeed, the poet must consider the characters he brings into play and let them speak accordingly.

[27] But when the poet speaks for himself, he teaches what we owe to the fatherland and to friends. He shows how a parent, a brother, and a guest should be loved, and he explains the obligations of a senator, a judge, and a general going to war. He tells how praiseworthy it is for good men to live modestly, and where virtue as well as vice leads. All poets endeavour to prepare the way to the highest good. But we should not be surprised if one of them does not show the right way and claims that happiness must be sought either in sensual pleasure, honours, or power, for in fact, many philosophers, too, entertain false notions on this matter. Therefore, when, in his *Tusculanae*, an indignant Cicero had bitterly criticised the poets for relating how strong men suffer pain effeminately, he soon corrected himself and, as if regretting his previous violent attack, said, *But why are we angry with the poets? Philosophers, the teachers of virtue, have been found ready to say that pain was the highest evil.*[8]

[1] Lucanus: *De Bello Civili*, 4: 376
[2] Sardanapalus: According to Ctesias, the last ruler of the Assyrian Empire. Renowned for his decadent living and sensual pleasures.
[3] Arbaces: According to Ctesias, founder of the Median Empire.
[4] Horatius: *Ars Poetica*, 237-238
[5] Davus and Pythias: typical characters in comedy.
[6] Cato the Elder.
[7] Julius Caesar.
[8] Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 2: 12, 28.

[28] At[1] si vitare poetas idcirco[2] volumus[3], quia[4] aut[5] ejulantem Herculem aut querentem suas poenas Prometheum sive Priamum filiorum necem aut Andromachen viri obitum deplorantem[6] referunt[7], vereor, ne[8] sacrae derogemus historiae, quae David, sanctum virum et acceptum Deo, mortem filii impatienter[9] tulisse commemorat: *"Fili mi, Absalon,"* inquit ille, *"Absalon, fili mi, quis mihi tribuat, ut ego moriar pro te, Absalon, fili mi, fili mi, Absalon*[10]*."* Nihil est, quod apud poetas negas[11] esse legendum, cujus non simile sacra volumina contineant[12]: mundi principium parricidio[13] contaminatur, praevaricantes filii Dei diluvio causas praebent, Sodomam[14] et Gomorram turpissima libido subvertit, ebrietatem et incestam[15] venerem Loth somnolentus ostendit[16], Isaac[17] ab uxore decipitur, a fratre supplantatur Esau, Rachelis nuptias[18] bis septem annis venatur Jacob - videbanturque illi {318r} pauci dies prae magnitudine[19] amoris[20]. Venditur a fratribus Joseph, Judas ex nuru filios accipit[21], Samson in sinu meretricis obdormit, filiam Jepte sacrificat, innoxium[22] effundit sanguinem Athalia[23].

[29] Transi judicum facta, inspice[24] reges[25]: inventus juxta cor Dei David[26]: tradimentum, adulterium[27] homicidiumque committit[28]. Sororem violat[29] Amnon[30]. Fratrem interficit Absalom, regno patrem dejicit, ad concubinas ejus ingreditur. Inter concubinas atque uxores corrumpitur[31] Salomon. Lapidibus obruitur[32] Naboth[33] iniquis, dum regem regit Zorobabel[34] [35]. Non est[36], quod epistolae committi possit, quantum sceleris sacra nobis historia manifestat. Legimus tamen hanc fructumque de his sugimus[37], cum malam vitam male finitam[38] et bonos bonorum reperimus exitus[39].

[30] Nec secus in aliis gentium historiis aut[40] [41] in narrationibus accidit[42] poetarum. Ob quam rem credo abunde probatum esse, non idcirco vitari poetas oportet[43], quoniam turpia saepe commemorent,

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[1] ac X1
[2] sed circo V7
[3] vitare poetas … volumus *corr. ex* volumus imputare poetas W1
[4] ~~dolentem Her~~ *seq.* W1
[5] *supralin.* W1
[6] sive Priamum … deplorantem *add. in marg.* W1
[7] ~~Imputabimus / cur non magis historiam sacram se~~ *seq.* W1
[8] me M5
[9] ~~ferventer~~ *seq.* W1
[10] ~~quid preterea vel sceler / nullus mihi nefas quicquid apud poetas negas esse legendum / in factis tibi nolu / nihil est quod in poetis videntur non esse~~ *seq.* W1
[11] N'negas WO
[12] ~~mundi principium parricidio contaminatur. Diluvium ex prevaricatione colligitur. Soddo mam et Gomorram pessima peccata subvertunt / Parricidium tibi mundi principium ostendit / preva ricas Dei filius filios diluv~~ *seq.* W1
[13] patricidio X1
[14] Sogdomam F1, M5, V5, V6, V7, W1
[15] incestum X1, KO
[16] ~~Joseph a fratribus venditur. Ysach~~ *seq.* W1
[17] *omit.* F1
[18] *corr. ex* amorem W1
[19] multitudine M5
[20] ~~Judas cum nuru jacet. Venditur a fratribus Joseph. Sororem vitiat Absalon. Ad concubitus patris ingreditur. Patrem regno depellit. Ad concubinas ejus ingreditur / Judas suc nurum implet ventrem~~ *seq.* W1
[21] accepit X1
[22] in uxorem M5
[23] Samson in … Athalia *add. in* marg. W1
[24] *corr. ex* respice W1
[25] regum KO
[26] ~~adulterium homicidium~~ *seq.* W1
[27] adultum M5
[28] ~~Absalon sorore~~ *seq.* W1
[29] uitiat M5, V11, W1, KO, WO; uiua X1
[30] *em.*; Ammon codd., codd., KO, WO
[31] inter concubinas … corrumpitur *omit.* V7
[32] ruitur KO
[33] *em.;* Nabuth, codd., KO, WO
[34] Zorobabel F1, M5, V6, V7, V11, W1, X1
[35] inter concubinas … Zorobabel *add. in marg.* W1
[36] par *add.* X1
[37] fugimus V7; *corr. ex* colligimus W1
[38] ~~Reperimus et bonorum bonos exitus / posterum~~ *seq.* W1
[39] ~~similis quoque fructus poetarum narrationes afferunt / idem apud omnes historias~~ *seq.* W1
[40] *supralin.* W1
[41] ~~accidit neque~~ *seq.* W1
[42] *supralin.* W1
[43] *corr. ex* debere W1

[28] We may want to avoid the poets because they tell about Hercules moaning, or Prometheus complaining about his punishment, or Priam lamenting the killing of his sons, or Andromache the death of her husband. But in that case, I fear we shall also have to discard Sacred History, which relates that David, a holy man, acceptable to God, reacted violently to the death of his son, saying, *"My son Absalom, Absalom my son: would to God that I might die for thee, Absalom, my son, my son Absalom."*[1] All that you refuse to read in the poets may be found in the same way in the Holy Books: the beginning of the world was tainted with parricide;[2] the sons of God sinned and caused the flood;[3] shameful lust destroyed Sodom and Gomorra;[4] a sleepful Lot got drunk and committed incest;[5] Isaac was deceived by his wife;[6] Esau was supplanted by his brother;[7] Jacob bought the marriage of Rachel for two times seven years[8] but loved her so much that the years seemed like days.[9] Joseph was sold by his brothers;[10] Judah had sons from his daughter-in-law;[11] Samson fell asleep in the lap of a harlot;[12] Jephtha sacrificed his own daughter,[13] and Athalia shed innocent blood.[14]

[29] Leave the *Judges* and consider the *Kings*. David was a man after God's heart, but still he committed treason, adultery, and murder. Amnon[15] raped his sister;[16] Absalom killed his brother,[17] [18] made his father flee the kingdom,[19] and went to his concubines.[20] Solomon[21] was corrupted by his concubines and wives.[22] Naboth[23] was stoned unjustly[24] when Jezabel[25] ruled the king.[26] Sacred history relates more crimes than can be put into a letter. Still, we read it and even profit from it,[27] seeing that a bad life ends badly, whereas good men have good ends.

[30] It is the same in other peoples' histories and in the poets' tales. I conclude that it has been abundantly shown that poets should not be avoided for often relating shameful things since they also, and even more often, inculcate honourableness.

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[1] 2. Kings, 18: 33.
[2] Abel's murder by Cain, Genesis, 4.
[3] Genesis, 6,
[4] Genesis, 17-18.
[5] Genesis, 19: 31-37.
[6] Genesis, 27: 13-18
[7] Genesis, 25, 27
[8] Genesis, 29
[9] A romantic embellishment by Piccolomini of the biblical story.
[10] Genesis, 37
[11] Genesis, 38: 13-23
[12] Judges, 16: 19.
[13] Judges, 11: 29-40.
[14] 4. Kings, 11: 1. This story is from the Book of Kings, not Judges.
[15] Amnon: Oldest son of King David.
[16] Tamar: daughter of King David.
[17] Amnon.
[18] 2. Kings, 13
[19] 2. Kings, 15
[20] 2. Kings, 16: 22.
[21] Solomon: King of Israel. Son of King David.
[22] 3. Kings, 11
[23] Naboth: a citizen of Jezreel.
[24] 3. Kings, 21.
[25] Jezebel: Daughter of the King of Tyre. Ahab's queen.
[26] Ahab: 7th King of Israel.
[27] "fructum sugimus" : imbibe it fruit

[31] Superat nunc[1] ad exempla descendere[2] virorum illustrium, qui poetas[3] ardenter amarunt ac eorum operibus sunt delectat[4] [5]. Quippe non singularium[6] modo virorum, sed publico civitatum consensu commendatos poetas accepimus[7]. Orpheum[8], qui fuit[9] ex vetustissimis, Jagri filium, Thracem poetam, adeo vetustas coluit, ut imaginem ejus in templo Pieridum collocaverit, quae, sicut Arrianus auctor est, usque {118v} in Alexandri tempus[10] perseverans[11], cum vicisset[12] ille Triballos[13], subegisset Illyrios, Thebas diruisset, Athenis pacem dedisset, continue sudasse visa est, significans, ut Aristander divinator ait, ingentem instare[14] laborem poetis, qui Alexandri[15] essent et Alexandri res[16] gestas versibus[17] commissuri. *Homerum*, ut Cicero tradit, *Colophonii[18] civem suum esse dicunt, Chii suum vendicant, Smyrnii[19] vero suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam[20] delubrum ejus in oppido dedicarunt[21]*.

[1] tunc F1
[2] ~~illustrium~~ *seq.* W1
[3] ~~ama~~ *seq.* W1
[4] sunt delectati *corr. ex* delectati W1
[5] ~~at non singulares modo uiri~~ *seq.* W1
[6] singulorum V1
[7] ~~Orpheum quem ex vetustissimis habentur / Orpheus Museus et Linus~~ *seq.* W1
[8] orphani X
[9] sint X1
[10] ~~mansit tumque sudasse trade~~ *seq.* W1
[11] ~~cum diruisset ille~~ *seq.* W1
[12] illos *add.* KO
[13] *em.*; Trivallos codd., KO, WO
[14] ~~poetis~~ *seq.* W1
[15] *em.;* Alexandrum codd.; Alexandrini KO
[16] *omit.* X1
[17] ~~manda~~ *seq.* W1
[18] Colophoni F1, M5, V5, V6, V7, X1
[19] Smirnei V11
[20] et iam V11
[21] ~~quid Athe~~ *seq.* W1

6.2. Authorities in favour of poetry

[31] It remains to mention the examples of illustrious men who ardently loved poets and enjoyed their works. Indeed, we hear that poets were esteemed not just by single men but by the public consensus of cities. *Orpheus,*[1] *son of Oeagrus,*[2] was a *Thracian* poet whom Antiquity honoured so much that *a statue of him* was placed in the temple of the Pierides[3] and - as related by Arrian - survived there until Alexander's time[4] (when he had defeated the Triballi, subdued the Illyrians, destroyed Thebes, and given peace to the Athenians), *continuously sweating*, which, according to the seer *Aristander,*[5] signified that *a great labour awaited* those poets of Alexander who were charged with writing up *his exploits* in verse. And according to Cicero, *Colophon maintains that Homer is her citizen, Chios claims him for her own, while Smyrna is so confident he belongs to them that she has even dedicated a shrine to him in her town.*[6]

[1] Orpheus: (Greek myth) Thracian bard, musician and prophet.
[2] Oeagrys: (Greek myth) King.
[3] Pierides: (Greek myth) The nine sisters who defied the Mu-ses in a contest of song and, having been defeated, were turned into birds.
[4] Arrianus: *Anabasis Alexandrou,* 1: 11, 2
[5] Aristandros (c. 380- BCE): Favourite seer of Alexander the Great.
[6] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 19

[32] Athenienses sanctissimis[1] Solonis legibus instituti, adeo poetas in honore habuerunt, ut non senatum[2] solum verum etiam[3] belli curam eis crederent[4]. Bello enim[5], quo cum Spartanis[6] acriter[7] dimicatum est[8], duos duces delegerunt, Periclen, spectatae virtutis virum, et Sophoclen, scriptorem tragoediarum, qui diviso inter se exercitu et Spartanorum agros[9] vastarunt et multas Asiae civitates Atheniensium imperio adjecerunt. Quid de Spartanis eisdem[10] dicam, qui quamvis essent[11] duris Lycurgi formati[12] legibus et moribus asperi, bello[13] tamen contra Messenios occupati, cum juberentur ducem[14] militiae[15] ab Atheniensibus petere[16] hique Tyrteum poetam, claudum pede, misissent, parere poetae non recusaverunt[17], sub quo, victi duobus proeliis[18], victoriam hostibus proculdubio reliquissent[19] nisi[20] composita Tyrteus[21] carmina exercitui pro contione recitasset, in quibus hortamenta virtutis, damnorum solatia, belli consilia scripserat. {319r} Itaque tantum ardorem militibus injecit, ut non de salute sed de sepultura solliciti, tesseras insculptas[22] suis et patrum nominibus dextro brachio illigarent[23], ut si omnes adversum proelium consumpsisset et temporum spatio confusa corporum lineamenta essent, ex indicio[24] titulorum tradi sepulturae possent, atque sic animatis militibus commissa pugna[25] victores tandem Lacaedemones evaserunt[26] [27]. Vides, ut Graeciae civitates apud se natos gaudent esse poetas, nec Latinae minus laetantur suis vatibus. Notum est illud carmen: *Mantua Virgilio gaudet, Verona Catullo,* Corduba Lucano et Seneca gloriatur, Horatio[28] Venusium, Pacuvio Brundusium[29], Statio Burdegalum[30]. Peligni Nasonem[31] memorant, Aquinates Juvenalem, Biblis Martialem. Florentini[32] quamvis materna voce locutum, tamen apud se natum Dantem[33] inter maxima civitatis praeconia ducunt.

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[1] sacratissimis KO
[2] ~~is his~~ *seq.* W1
[3] verum etiam *corr. ex* crederent W1
[4] *corr. ex* committerent W1
[5] cum V7
[6] Asparianis V7
[7] *omit.* V7; acriter WO
[8] dimicatum est *corr. ex* contendebant W1
[9] *omit.* V7
[10] ~~ref~~ *seq.* W1
[11] ~~moribus asperiores duras Ligurgi~~ *seq.* W1
[12] formatique X1
[13] *corr. ex* bello W1
[14] ducere KO
[15] ducem militiae *corr. ex* ~~belli pugne~~ ducem W1
[16] *omit.* V7
[17] recusaverunt WO
[18] ~~cum jam fortune cedere decrevissent / decreverunt reliquissentque~~ *seq.* W1
[19] proculdubio reliquissent *supralin.* W1
[20] ~~Thyrteus intervenisset qui~~ *seq.* W1
[21] *supralin.* W1
[22] *corr. ex* in scutis W1
[23] alligarent V11, X1
[24] iudicio V7, X1, KO
[25] ~~raro cruentius prelium fuit / eo cruen~~ *seq.* W1
[26] euaserint KO
[27] ~~uides ut Greciae civitates poetas amplexae sunt eosque pene se natos / natos apud se poetas letantur~~ *seq.* W1
[28] ~~Venusina ple~~ *seq.* W1
[29] Pacuvio Brundusium *add. in marg.* W1
[30] Burdegalis KO
[31] ~~iactitant~~ *seq.* W1
[32] ~~uulgarem tamen apud se natum~~ *seq.* W1
[33] ~~laudi~~ *seq.* W1

[32] Formed by Solon's[1] most holy laws, the Athenians held the poets in such high honour that they not only entrusted them with senatorial office but also the conduct of wars. In a bitterly fought war with the Spartans, they elected two generals, Pericles,[2] admired for his strength and courage, and Sophocles,[3] the tragedian. Dividing the army between them, they wasted the Spartan lands and added many Asian[4] cities to the Athenian dominion. What can we say about the Spartans? Engaged in a war with the Messenians, they were ordered to ask for a general from the Athenians, who sent them the poet Tyrtaeus,[5] lame in the feet. But though men of stern character, formed by the harsh laws of Lycurgus,[6] they did not refuse to obey the poet. Under him, they were defeated in two battles, and victory would no doubt have gone to the enemies if Tyrtaeus had not composed poems in which he encouraged them to be brave, comforted them for their losses, and advised them how to fight. These poems he recited to the assembled soldiers, and thus he inspired them to such ardour that they were concerned not about survival but about burial: they bound small tablets to their right arm with their name and that of their fathers so that if they were all killed in an unfortunate battle and time obliterated their features, the names would ensure they were given a proper burial. Thus encouraged, the Lacedaemoneans[7] began the fight, from which, in the end, they emerged victorious. You see how the Greek cities cherish the poets born to them, and the Latins enjoy their bards no less. A well-known poem says, *Mantua joys in Virgil, Verona in Catullus*,[8] and Cordoba boasts of Lucan and Seneca, Venosa of Horace, Brindisi of Pacuvius, and Burdegalum[9] of Statius. The Pelignians[10] honour Naso,[11] the people of Aquino Juvenal, and Bilbilis[12] Martial. The Florentines consider Dante[13] one of their greatest ornaments[14] though he used the maternal language.[15]

[1] Solon (ca. 630 - ca. 560 BCE): Athenian statesman and law-maker.

[2] Perikles (c. 495-429 BCE): Athenian politician and general.

[3] Sophocles (c. 497 - c. 406 BCE): Athenian writer of tragedies

[4] Asia Minor.

[5] Tyrtaeus (7th c. BC): Greek poet from Sparta. Known especially for the poems in which he exhorted the Spartans to fight the Messenians. Some classical sources mention that he at some point commanded the Spartan army, that he came from Athens, and that he was lame.

[6] Lykourgos (fl. ca. 820 BCE): semi-legendary lawgiver of Sparta.

[7] The Spartans.

[8] Ovidius: *Amores,* 3: 15, 7

[9] ?. Baca translates as Bordeaux, but Statius was a Greek-Roman poet from the region of Naples.

[10] Paelignia = present-day Sulmo

[11] Ovid. Cf. Ovidius: *Amores,* 3: 15, 8: *Paelignae dicar gloriae gentis ego.*

[12] Present-day Catalayud in Aragon, Spain.

[13] Dante Alighieri (c. 1265-1321): A Florentine poet, writer and philosopher.

[14] "praeconia".

[15] Dante wrote a large part of his poetry, including the Divina Comedia, in Italian (Tuscan).

[33] Quippe veteres etiam diis suis, quos[1] caelum colere putabant, curae fuisse poetas[2] affirmant, percussores namque Archilochi poetae Apollinem prodidisse confirmat[3]. Cum Lysander Lacedaemonius obsideret Athenas, a Libero[4] patre per quietem monitus perhibetur, ut delicias suas sepelliri sineret: jacebat tunc inhumatum corpus Sophoclis tragici, de quo supra mentionem fecimus, quo comperto Lysander[5] indutias dedit, ut claro poetae congrue fierent exequiae. Simonides apud hospitem suum in Thessalia cenans Castoris ac Pollucis {319v} monitu triclinii ruinam evasit[6].

[1] ~~imp~~ *seq.* W1
[2] ~~tra~~ *seq.* W1
[3] percussores namque … confor-mant *omit.* V11, KO
[4] libro V7
[5] comperto Lysander : Lysander comperto X1
[6] Simonides apud … evasit *add. in marg*. W1

[33] The ancients even said that the gods, whom they believed inhabited the heavens, cared for poets, for they claimed that Apollo revealed the killers of the poet Archilochus.[1] When the Lacedaemonian Lysander[2] was besieging Athens, he was told by Liber Pater[3] in a dream to give the Athenians a truce so they could bury a favourite of his, for the body of the above-mentioned tragedian Sophocles was lying unburied [on the battlefield]. When he heard it, Lysander declared a truce allowing them to hold appropriate exequies for the famous poet. And when [the poet] Simonides[4] was dining with his host in Thessalia, he escaped the collapse of the dining room thanks to the warning from Castor and Pollux.[5] [6]

[1] Arkhilokhos (c. 660 - c. 645 BCE): Greek lyric poet of the Archaic Peiod. Killed at Paros by a warrior from Naxos named Kalondas. When Kalondas went to the temple of Apollo at Delphi to consult the oracle, he was rebuked with the words, *"You killed the servant of the Muses; depart from the temple."* (Galen; see Greek Iambic Poetry, edit. & transl. D.E. Gerber (Loeb Classical Library; 259), pp. 38-41.

[2] Lysander (d. 395 BC): Spartan admiral. Defeated Athens.

[3] Liber Pater: (Myth.) A Roman god, close equivalent to the Greek god Bacchus.

[4] Simonides of Keios (c. 556 – 468 BCE): Greek lyric poet.

[5] Castor and Pollux: (Myth.) Twin gods, the Dioscurides.

[6] Cicero: *De Oratore*, 2: 351-358.

[34] Sed pergite[1], regum et[2] ducum exempla referamus[3], qui vel fuerunt ipsi poetae vel poetarum amantes[4]. Solon, qui leges, ut tactum est, Atheniensibus dedit, ut Salaminam insulam, quam Megarenses suae civitati subripuerant, vendicaret[5], progressus in publicum etiam[6] contra naturam suam poetam se simulans, insolitis sibi versibus contra Megarenses, ut arma sumerent, suis civibus persuasit[7]. *Themistoclem, illum summum*[8] *Athenis virum, cum ex eo quaereretur, cujus vocem libentissime audiret*, respondisse *ajunt, ejus a quo* summa *virtus optime praedicaretur*[9], excellentem profecto poetam significans, in cujus verbis inclyta virtus sicut in auro gemma[10] perlucet. Alexander, Amintae filius, dives habitus, qui ante omnes Jovi Delphico statuas aureas misit, Pindarum lyricum poetam apprime dilexit. *Archelaus, qui ab eo regnum Macedoniae accepit, Euripidi tragico consiliorum summam credidit, cujus suprema*[11] *non contentus prosequi sumptu funeris, crines*[12] *tonsus est et maerorem, quem animo conceperat, vultu publicavit.* Cum transiret in Asiam *magnus Alexander, quam*vis *multos rerum suarum scriptores secum haberet*, tamen cum in *Sigeo tumulum* conspexisset[13] *Achillis, "O fortunate," inquit, "adolescens, qui tuae virtutis praeconem*[14] *Homerum*[15] *inveneris," et vere*, ut ait Cicero, *nam nisi illi* ars[16] *illa extitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset.* {320r} Idem quoque Alexander, cum Thebas dirueret, Pindari, de quo supra meminimus, et domum et stirpem teste Arrio[17] ob reverentiam poetici nominis conservavit[18]. Lysimachus ex successoribus Alexandri Philippide poeta comico familiariter usus est. Cernitis, ut Graeci proceres poeticam venerantur.

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[1] perge F1, V5, V7; *corr. ex* pergite V6
[2] ac V11
[3] referemus X1
[4] qui vel … amantes *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V11, W1, X1 *[!!! NB: an editorial correction not in W1]*
[5] mendicaret M5
[6] et jam WO
[7] Solon qui … persuasit *add. in marg.* W1
[8] suum V7
[9] ~~nimirum~~ *seq.* W1
[10] ~~ligatur / resplendet~~ *seq.* W1
[11] somnia X1
[12] cives V7
[13] inspexisset V11
[14] ~~in~~ *seq.* W1
[15] humerum X1
[16] arx F1
[17] Arrio F1, M5, V5, V6, V7, W1, X1, KO, WO; ~~conseruauit~~ *seq.* W1
[18] consecrauit F1, V5, V6, V7. *supralin*. W1

[34] Let us move on! We will now give examples of kings and leaders who were poets themselves or loved poets. To reclaim the island of Salamis, which the people of Megara had taken from that city, Solon (who, as mentioned, gave laws to Athenians) did as poets do and successfully addressed his fellow citizens in a poem - which was quite unusual for him - to incite them to take arms against the Megarans.[1]

And *when Themistocles,[2] the most important man in Athens, was asked what voice he most liked to hear, he reportedly* answered, *"That which bears most eloquent testimony to supreme virtue"*.[3] By this, he meant the outstanding poet from whose words noble virtue shines forth like a jewel set in gold.

Alexander,[4] the son of Amyntas,[5] reputed to be rich and the first one to send golden statues to Delphic Jupiter, greatly loved the lyric poet Pindar.[6]

His successor as King of Macedonia, Archelaus,[7] followed the counsels of Euripides,[8] the writer of tragedies, even in the most important affairs, and at his death, he not only covered the costs of the burial but even shaved off his hair, thus publicly demonstrating his inner sorrow.[9]

When *Alexander the Great* passed over to Asia, *he carried in his train many men charged with writing about his deeds. Still, when he saw Achilles'[10] tomb in Sigeum, he said, "O fortunate youth to have found in Homer a herald of thy valour!" Well might he so exclaim*, says Cicero, *for had that art not existed, the same mound which covered Achilles' bones would also have overwhelmed his memory.*[11] When the same Alexander destroyed Thebes, he *saved the abovementioned Pindar's house and descendants out of reverence*[12] for the name of poet.

Lysimachus,[13] one of Alexander's successors, was on friendly terms with Philippides,[14] a comic poet. So you see how the leading men of Greece honoured poets.

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[1] Diogenes Laertius, 2, with the text of the poem.

[2] Themistokles (ca. 534-459): Athenian statesman and general.

[3] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 9: 20: *Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse ajunt cum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut cujus vocem libentissime audiret, ejus a quo virtus **sua** optime praedicaretur*. Note that Piccolomini substitutes **summa** (the highest) for **sua** (his own) to fit his own purpose – or he only knew the faulty version. He would re-use the same (faulty) quotation in his oration *"Constantinopolitana clades*" of 15 October 1454 (COR, 5: 22, 15).

[4] Alexander I (d. 454 BC): King of Macedonia from 498 to his death.

[5] Amyntas I (- c. 498): King of Macedon from c. 512 to his death.

[6] Pindar (ca. 522 - ca. 443 BC): Greek poet from Thebes. Verbatim quote from Piccolomini's own letter to Wilhelm Stein of 1 June 1444 (letter 145).

[7] Archelaus I: King of Macedon from 413 to 399 BCE.

[8] Euripides (c. 480 - c. 406 BCE): Athenian writer of tragedies. Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 9: 14, p. 65

[9] Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 65: 16.

[10] Akilleus: (Myth.) Greek hero.

[11] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10: 24: … nam nisi **Ilias** illa extistisset. Note that Piccolomini substitutes the word **ars** (art) for **Ilias** (the Iliad) to fit his purpose –– or he only knew the faulty version.

[12] Arrianus: *Anabasis Alexandrou*, 1: 9, 10

[13] Lysimachos (c. 360-281 BCE): King of Thrace, Asia and Macedon from 306.

[14] Philippides (fl. 336-333 BCE): Athenian poet of the Greek New Comedy.

[35] Accipite modo Latinos. Africanus prior Quinti Ennii statuam imponi suo sepulchro jussit. Alter Scipio Terentium comicum ex Carthaginensi[1] captivitate redemptum in triumpho suo, quem Romae egit, pileatum duxit, tamquam libertate donatum.[2] [3] Lucullus Archiam poetam[4] ingentibus honoribus cumulavit[5]. Dictator Sylla *Gallos atque Hispanos poetas* donis quampluribus prosecutus est[6] nec[7] sedulitatem mali poetae indignam praemio[8] duxit. *Metellus Pius*[9] *etiam*[10] *Cordubae natis poetis ac pingue et peregrinum sonantibus aures accomodavit. Pompejus magnus Theophanem Mytileneum, suarum rerum scriptorem, in contione militum civitate donavit. Nemo est,* ut Cicero testatur, *tam musis adversus, qui non mandari versibus aeternum suorum laborum praeconium facile patiatur*. *Itaque ille Gajus Marius,* quamvis maximus imperator, natura tamen ferox et inurbanis moribus, *eximie Lucium Plotium dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ea, quae gesserat, posse celebrari*. Julius autem Caesar non modo {320v} poetas dilexit, sed in collegio quoque poetarum ascribi voluit nec[11] Accio poetae succensuit, quamvis sibi collegium intranti non assurgeret, cumque[12] a latronibus captus, donec pecunias cogeret[13], observaretur, orationes ac poemata, quae scribebat[14], teste Plutarcho, eis legebat et qui minus vehementer ea laudassent, fatuos ac barbaros appellabat[15].

[1] Carthaginensium V7
[2] Alter Scipio … donatum *add. in marg*. W1
[3] nisi Donato aliter sentienti aliquis auscultare maluerit *add.* F1, V5, V6, V7
[4] ~~Romana civitate donavit universis honorib~~ *seq.* W1
[5] ~~Sylla~~ *seq.* W1
[6] ~~neque malum quendam poetam indonatum a se dimisit qui etiam~~ *seq.* W1
[7] *supralin.* W1
[8] indignam praemio *corr. ex* indignam praemio W1
[9] prius F1, V5, V6, V7
[10] esset M5; tuam X1
[11] neque F1, V5, V6, X1
[12] cum V11
[13] cogitet X1
[14] scribe et X1
[15] cumque a … appellabat *add. in marg*. W1

[35] Now, hear about the Latins. The first Africanus[1] ordered a statue of Quintus Ennius to be placed in his tomb. The second Scipio[2] redeemed Terence, the writer of comedies, from Carthaginian slavery and paraded him in his Roman triumph wearing the felt-cap of a freedman. Lucullus[3] showered the poet Archias with immense favours.[4] The dictator Sulla[5] gave gifts to many *Gaul and Spanish* poets,[6] and even considered the sedulousness of a bad poet worthy of a reward.[7] *Metellus Pius[8] lent a hearing even to poets from Corduba, overladen and exotic though their style might be*.[9] Pompey *the Great presented Theophanes of Mytilene,[10] the historian of his campaigns, with the citizenship before a mass meeting of his troops.[11]* According to Cicero, *there is no man to whom the Muses are so distasteful that he will not be glad to entrust to poetry the eternal emblazonment of his achievements.*[12] Therefore, *Gajus Marius,[13]* a rude character with uncultured manners, though a great general, *was deeply attached to Lucius Plotius[14] whose genius he thought well qualified to perpetuate his exploits.[15]* Julius Caesar not only loved poets but wanted to be enrolled in the College of Poets, and he was not angered that the poet Accius[16] did not rise when he entered the college.[17] And Plutarch[18] relates that Caesar, when taken prisoner by pirates and kept in custody until he had gathered the ransom, spent the time writing orations and poems, and when he read them to the pirates, he called those who did not praise them with sufficient enthusiasm dim-witted barbarians.[19]

[1] Scipio Africanus the Elder.
[2] Scipio Africanus the Younger (c. 185-129 BCE): Roman states-man and general.
[3] Lucullus, Lucius Licinius (118 - c. 56 BCE): Roman statesman and ge-neral.
[4] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 5: 11.
[5] Sulla Felix, Lucius Cornelius (138-78 BC): Roman statesman and general.
[6] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10: 25
[7] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10: 25. Piccolomini fails to mention Sulla's condition that the man should never write again.
[8] Metellus Pius, Quintus Caecilius (ca. 129-63 BCE): Roman statesman and general, consul and pontifex maximus. Reputed for luxurious living. Macrobius, 3: 13, 6-9.
[9] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10: 26.
[10] Theophanes of Mytilene (1st cent.): Intellectual and historian. Author of an account of Pompey's expedition to Asia.
[11] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10: 24.
[12] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 9: 20.
[13] Gajus Marius (157-86 BC): Roman politician and general.
[14] Plotius Gallus, Lucius: Early Latin rhetorician.
[15] Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 9: 21.
[16] Accius, Lucius (170 - c. 86 BCE): Roman scholar and tragic poet.
[17] Valerius Maximus 3: 7, 11. It is not clear which poet Accius Valerius speaks of since the famous Lucius Accius died c. 86 BC when Julius Caesar was only 14 years old.
[18] Ploutarkos (c. 46 - 119): Greek historian, biographer, and philosopher.
[19] Ploutarkos: *Life of Caesar,* 1-2.

[36] Augustus[1] Octavianus, quam benignus, quamque[2] liberalis in Varrum, Virgilium Flaccumque fuerit, nemo, qui vel primas didicerit litteras, nescit[3] fuitque ipse, ut Tranquillus perhibet, poematum non imperitus delectaturque comoedia veteri et saepe eam exhibuit publicis spectaculis. Ingenia namque saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit. Recitantes et benigne et patienter audivit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed etiam orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis offendebatur. Vespasianus, qui dirum[4] in salvatore nostro piaculum commissum[5] expiavit[6], ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit. Primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua[7] centena constituit. Praestantes poetas, necnon et artifices coemit. Titus, quem generis humani delicias vocaverunt, Latinae et[8] Grecae linguae peritissimus, vel in orando[9] vel in fingendis poematibus promptus et facilis fuit. Severus[10] Caesar Oppianum[11] poetam, qui genera ac[12] naturas et captionem piscium versu descripserat, per singula metra aureo nummo[13] donavit, unde aurea post {321r} Oppiani[14] carmina[15] sunt appellata[16]. Gratianus, litteris haud mediocriter institutus, carmen facere, ornate loqui, explicare controversias rhetorum solitus erat. Theodosius et omne doctrinae genus et potissime poeticam fertur amasse.

[37] Quid vobis[17] tot tantique viri et Graeci et Latini[18] idoneine videntur, quos Catoni Platonique opponamus? Sed dicitis fortasse ethnicos istos esse nec vocem habere, quae apud ecclesiam audiatur. Transeo ad nostros, quos refellere[19] nemo possit. David, quem tota canit ecclesia, numquid poetae officio fungitur metro apud Hebraeos canens? Salomon quoque et aliqui prophetarum versuum mensuris utentes poetarum locum et nomen obtinent. Quid autem *Christiani[20] ductor[21] exercitus et orator invictus, apostolus Paulus[22]*, numquid *ad Titum[23] scribens Epimenidis versiculum[24]* reddit*: Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae, ventris[25] pigri."* [26] *In alia quoque epistola Menandri senarium[27] ponit: corrumpunt mores bonos[28] confabulationes malae[29], et apud Athenienses in Martis curia disputans Aratum,* ut Hieronymus scribit[30], *testem vocat[31] [32]*.

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[1] ~~ac Mece~~ *seq.* W1
[2] quam V11, W1, KO; et quam X1
[3] noscit X1
[4] durum X1
[5] piaculum commissum : commissum piaculum F1, M5, V11, X1, KO
[6] qui dirum … expiavit *add. in marg.* W1
[7] anima V7
[8] ac V11, W1, X1
[9] in orando : morando KO
[10] ~~Augus~~ *seq.* W1
[11] V5; Appianum F1, M5, V6, V7, V11, W1, X1, W1, KO
[12] et F1
[13] numero F1, V5, V6
[14] V5; Appiano F1, V6, M5, V11, W1, X1, KO
[15] Appiani carmina : Appiam KO
[16] sunt appellata : nuncupata sunt KO
[17] nobis V5
[18] ~~videntur / satisne isti videntur~~ *seq.* W1
[19] fefellere V7; reuellere KO
[20] autem Christiani : Christiani autem KO
[21] doctor KO
[22] ~~nonne~~ *seq.* W1
[23] Grecum KO
[24] ~~reser~~ *seq.* W1
[25] uentri V5; *(original:* ventres)
[26] ~~et in a~~ *seq.* W1
[27] senarum V11
[28] mores bonos : bonos mores V7
[29] *Original:* colloquia mala
[30] ut Hieronymus scribit *add. in marg.* W1
[31] uocitat F1, V5, V6, V7
[32] ~~ipsius enim et genus ut Hieronymus scribit~~ *seq.* W1

[36] Even those who only have the rudiments of learning know how kind and generous Augustus Octavian was towards Varro,[1] Virgil, and Flaccus.[2] As Tranquillus[3] reports, he himself had knowledge of poems and delighted in the old comedy, which he often ordered performed at public shows. He favoured the talents of his age in every way. He benignly and patiently heard recitals, not only of poems and histories but also of orations and dialogues. But he only allowed people to write about him in the case of serious work by distinguished authors.[4] Vespasian[5], who expiated the dire sin against our Saviour, greatly favoured intellects and arts. He was the first to pay yearly sums of 100 gold pieces from the treasury to Latin and Greek rhetors. He engaged eminent poets and artisans. Titus,[6] whom they called *the delight and darling of the human race,*[7] was highly proficient in both Latin and Greek, and he effortlessly made speeches and poems in them. Emperor Severus[8] paid the poet Oppian[9] a piece of gold per line in the poem he wrote about the kinds, nature, and capture of fish, and therefore Oppian's poem was later called the golden poem. Gratian[10] had an excellent education in letters and often wrote poems, spoke elegantly, and disentangled rhetorical controversies of rhetors. Theodosius is said to have loved every kind of learning, especially poetry.

[37] Are you convinced by the many and great Greeks and Latins we have quoted in opposition to Cato and Plato? Or do you perhaps say they were pagans and as such should not be heard by the Church. [In that case,] I pass on to our own people whom nobody can refute. Did David[11], praised by the whole Church, not act as a poet when he used metre in his Hebrew psalms? Solomon[12] and some of the prophets used verse metres and thus obtained the status and title of poet. *And what about that leader of the Christian army and unvanquished orator, the Apostle Paul? Did he not, in his letter to Titus, quote the verse of Epimenides,*[13] *"The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies."*[14] *In another epistle, he uses Menander's hexameter: "Evil communications corrupt good manners."*[15] *And in the Court of Mars in Athens, he,* according to Jerome, *quoted Aratus.*[16] [17]

[1] Varro, Marcus Terentius (116-27 BCE): Roman polymath and author.
[2] Horatius Flaccus, Quintus
[3] Suetonius Tranquillus, Gajus
[4] Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum*, 1 / Augustus, 85
[5] Vespasianus, Titus Flavius (9-79): Roman emperor from 69 to his death.
[6] Titus Flavius Vespasianus (39-81): Roman emperor from 79 to his death.
[7] Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum* / Titus, 1: 1.
[8] Severus, Lucius Septimius? The *Halieutica* was dedicated to Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who also paid for the work.
[9] Oppianus (2nd cent.): Greco-Roman poet who wrote the *Halieutica*, a five-book didactic epic on fishing.
[10] Emperor Gratian.
[11] King David.
[12] King Solomon. Piccolomini is referring to the Canticle of Canticles, attributed to Solomon.
[13] Epimenides (7th cent. BCE): Greek seer and philosopher-poet.
[14] Titus, 1: 12 (ventres)
[15] 1 Corinthians, 15: 33
[16] Acts, 17: 28: *For we are also his offspring.*
[17] Aratos (c. 315-240 BCE): Greek didactic poet. (See Faber).

[38] Quid Tertullianus, quid Cyprianus, Lactantius Firmianus[1], Ambrosius, Augustinus, Gregorius et ipse, de quo saepe locuti sumus, Jeronimus[2]? Nulla istorum opuscula leges, in quibus nihil[3] poeticum redoleat, quamvis *Cyprianum,* Firmiano narrante, nonnulli momorderint[4], quod adversus {321v} *Demetrianum* scribens, *testimoniis usus sit* prophetarum et apostolorum, quae illi *ficta*[5] *et commentitia* esse dicebant, et non potius philosophorum et poetarum, quorum auctoritati ut ethnicus contraire non poterat. Nempe Augustinus de Virgilio gravissimum testimonium praebet, dum in primo *De Civitate Dei*[6] libro *"propterea,"* inquit, *"eum parvuli legunt, ut videlicet poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus atque optimus a*[7] *teneris ebibitus annis non facile oblivione possit aboleri,"* secundum id Horatii: *"Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu.*" Negat[8] clarissimus ecclesiae doctor[9] oblivioni dandum esse Virgilium, numquid ergo et legendum suadet. Nec[10] Jeronimus ab hoc sensu est alienus, qui necessitatis esse[11] in pueris[12] asserit Virgilium tenere in manibus, quamvis id[13] *crimen in* episcopis[14] dixerit *voluptatis*.

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[1] ~~Hiero~~ *seq.* W1
[2] ~~nihil est quicquid poete tradunt ab his / nulla~~ *seq.* W1
[3] ~~redoleat~~ *seq.* W1
[4] nonnulli momorderint *corr. ex* morsum tulerit W1
[5] scripta V7
[6] *omit.* KO
[7] M5; *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V7, V11, X1, KO
[8] *corr. ex* vult ergo W1
[9] ~~non dari~~ *seq.* W1
[10] ne V7
[11] *omit.* M5, V7
[12] esse in pueris : in pueris esse KO
[13] illud M5
[14] epistolis WO

[38] What of Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius Firmianus, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory[1] and Jerome, whom we have often mentioned? Poetry shines through in all their works - although, according to Firmianus, some reproached *Cyprian* for writing against *Demetrian*[2] [3] using *fictitious and imaginary* (as they said) *testimonies* from the prophets and apostles instead of [arguments] from the [pagan] philosophers and poets,[4] whose authority Demetrian could not deny since he was a pagan himself.[5] Indeed, Augustine, in the first book of his *De Civitate Dei,* gives this most weighty testimony about Virgil, saying that *people read him as children precisely in order that when their tender minds have been soaked in the great poet, surpassing all in fame, it may not be easy for him to vanish from their memory. To quote Horace, 'The jar will long keep the fragrance of what it was once steeped in when new.'*[6] [7] When that illustrious Doctor of the Church refuses to condemn Virgil to oblivion, does he not recommend that he should be read? Jerome agrees when he says that boys must study Virgil, although he also says it would be a *criminal pleasure*[8] for bishops.

[1] Pope Gregory I.
[2] Former pupil of Lactantius.
[3] Cyprianus: *Ad Demetrianum.*
[4] Who were pagans.
[5] Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones,* 5: 4: *I have not shrunk from this labour, that I might complete the subject, which Cyprian did not fully carry out in that discourse in which he endeavours to refute Demetrianus (as he himself says) railing at and clamouring against the truth, Which subject he did not handle as he ought to have done; for he ought to have been refuted not by the testimonies of Scripture, which he plainly considered vain, fictitious, and false, but by arguments and reason. For, since he was contending against a man who was ignorant of the truth, he ought for a while to have laid aside divine readings, and to have formed from the beginning this man as one who was altogether ignorant and to have shown to him by degrees the beginnings of light, that he might not be dazzled, the whole of its brightness being presented to him.*
[6] Horatius: *Epistolae,* 1: 2, 69-70.
[7] Augustinus: *De Civitate Dei,* 1: 3.
[8] Crimen voluptatis: Jeronimus: *Epistolae,* 21 (to Damasus): 13 (MPL, 22, col. 386).

[39] Quis praeterea centenas[1] damnare praesumpserit, quarum altera ex Homeri versibus apud Graecos[2], altera ex Virgili carminibus apud Latinos incarnationem salvatoris, signa[3], praedicationem, mortem, resurrectionem et in caelum ascensionem poetico more conscripsit? An non dignus laude legendusque[4] cunctorum ore dicetur Juvencus presbyter, qui sub Constantino Caesare historiam domini salvatoris versibus explicavit nec timuit evangelii majestatem sub metri mittere leges. Quid de Apollinari Syro dicam, qui heroicis versibus {322r} Hebraicam scripsit[5] antiquitatem, ut Sozomeni placet[6], et imitatus Menandri comoedias Euripidisque tragoedias et lyram Pindari, evangelicas lectiones poetico schemate conclusit. Quidni legatur[7], si sit in manibus? Adversatus Christianae religioni Julianus apostata, cum pervasisset[8] imperium, tunc se plurimum nocere putavit, cum lectionem Homeri ceteraque Graecorum studia Christiano populo prohibuisset, cui et nostri hostes concordare videntur[9]?

[1] centonas F1, V5, V6, V7, V11
[2] *corr. ex* Latinos W1
[3] *corr. ex* vitam W1
[4] legendus KO
[5] *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V7
[6] Sozomini placet : Sozomo implicet M5
[7] Quidni legatur : quid ni ligatur X1
[8] persuasisset X1
[9] Quid de Apollinari … videntur *add. in marg.* W1

[39] And who would presume to condemn the two centos[1]? The one in Greek consisted of verses from Homer,[2] and the other, in Latin, consisted of verses from Virgil,[3] both describing, in the form of poems, the Saviour's incarnation, miracles, preaching, death, resurrection, and ascension? And is the priest Juvencus[4] not commendable and deserving to be read by all? During the reign of Emperor Constantine,[5] he composed a history of the Lord Saviour in verse and did not fear to subject the Gospel's majesty to metrical laws. And what shall I say about Apollinaris the Syrian,[6] who - according to Sozomen[7] [8] - wrote an account in heroic verses of the old Hebrew history and, imitating the comedies of Menander, the tragedies of Euripides, and the lyre of Pindar, put the readings from the Gospel into poetical form?[9] Why not read it if it is available? And Julian the Apostate,[10] when he became emperor, opposed the Christian religion and thought he harmed it the most when he forbade Christians from reading Homer and the other Greek literature. Our own enemies[11] [today] appear to agree with him.

[1] centena / centona: A literary work patched together (kento (Gk.)) from existing verses.

[2] The Homeric Centos attributed to Eudocia, empress and poet (d. c. 460). With lines drawn verbatim from Homer, the poem begins with the creation and ends with Jesus' resurrection and ascension. (See Lefteratou).

[3] The *Cento Vergilianus de Laudibus Christi*, compiled by Faltonia Betitia Proba (c. 352-384). (See Green).

[4] Juvencus, Gajus Vettius Aquilinus (fl. C. 330): Christian poet from Spain who wrote in Latin.

[5] Constantinus I the Great (c. 272 - 337): Roman emperor from 306 to his death.

[6] Apollinarius of Laodicea [the Younger] (d. 382): Bishop of Laodicea. Bishop Piccolomini may not have been aware of, or he may have forgotten or chosen not to mention that Apollinaris' teachings on the nature of Christ (Apollinarism) were condemned by the First Council of Constantinople in 381.

[7] Sozomenos, Salamanes Hermias (b. c. 400): Roman lawyer and church historian.

[8] Sozomen (quoted after Gilbert): Apollinarius *employed his great learning and ingenuity in the production of a heroic epic on the antiquities of the Hebrews to the reign of Saul, as a substitute for the poem of Homer." (This sounds much like the father's translation of the Books of Moses and the historical books of the Bible.) "He divided this work into twenty-four parts, to each of which he appended the name of one of the letters of the Greek alphabet, according to their number and order. He also wrote comedies in imitation of Menander, tragedies resembling those of Euripides, and odes in the mode of Pindar. In short, taking themes of the entire circle of knowledge from the Scriptures, he produced within a very brief space of time, a set of works which in manner, expression, character, and arrangement are well approved as similar to the Greek literature and which were equal in number and in force. Were it not for the extreme partiality with which the productions of antiquity are regarded, I doubt not but that the writings of Apollinarius would be held in as much estimation as those of the ancients* (Sozomenos: *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5: 18).

[9] Peter Gilbert: *One substantial body of Greek Christian verse from the fourth century that we know of but no longer possess is the biblical paraphrase of the Christian grammarian Apollinarius and of his more famous son of the same name, the later bishop of Laodicea in Syria (not to be confused with Laodicea in Asia Minor, from which came the aforementioned canon). At the time of Julian's edict against Christians teaching the classics, these two are said to have made a heroic effort to translate the Bible into classical Greek literary forms, to provide Christians with a teaching tool.* (Gilbert).

[10] Julianus, Flavius Claudius, Apostata (331-363): Roman emperor from 361 to his death.

[11] The Turks, who had conquered Constantinople and destroyed it as a centre of classical learning.

[40] En quam rudis, inepta, ne[1] dicam feralis[2] vox illorum est, qui poetas omnes asserunt eliminandos. Exeant ipsi potius et, qui[3] litteras humanitatis abhorrent, fugiant homines[4] sibique similibus brutis associentur. “En[5], quid ais,” dicet quispiam, “divo Jeronimo maledicis[6], sanctissimum objurgare audes virum, speculum[7] Christianae religionis obnubilare contendis? Jeronimus est[8], si nescis[9], quo nemo durius in poetas invehitur. *‘Daemonum cibus est’, inquit[10], ‘carmina poetarum, saecularis sapientia[11], rhetoricorum pompa verborum. Haec sua omnes[12] suavitate delectant, et dum aures versibus dulci[13] modulatione currentibus capiunt, animam quoque penetrant et pectoris interna devincunt. Verum, ubi cum summo studio fuerint[14] ac labore perlecta, nihil aliud nisi inanem sonum[15] et sermonum strepitum suis lectoribus tribuunt. Nulla ibi securitas veritatis, nulla justitiae refectio reperitur. Studiosi earum infame veri {322v} et virtutum penuria perseverant*.’”

[41] Non me latet ad Damasum de filio prodigo talia scribere Hieronymum, sed lego totam epistolam[16], non subsideo in proemio, nihil judico, nisi tota lege perspecta. Prosequor[17] magni verba doctoris: invenio illum his verbis non poeticam solum, sed rhetoricam, philosophiam et omnem saecularem sapientiam detestari, quia plus floris[18] quam fructus habeat neque[19] viam vitae in veritate doceat[20] fallatque saepe legentem. Nec ego inficias eo, si[21] de gentilibus[22] tantum poetis ac philosophis verba fiant, quos ignorasse Christum et crucis praemium palam est. Sunt tamen in illis complurima vitae documenta, que nobis turpia dissuadent et honesta demonstrant, utque aliquid[23] in medium proferamus, quid illis Juvenalis versibus ad virtutem suadendam dici potuerit[24] efficacius: *“Orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano; fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem[25]. Nesciat irasci. Cupiat nihil et potiores[26] Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores et Venere et cenis et pluma[27] Sardanapalli.”* Et alibi: *“Esto bonus miles[28], tutor bonus, arbiter idem integer; ambiguae si quando citabere testis incertaeque rei, Phalaris*[29] *licet imperet, ut sis falsus et admoto dictet perjuria tauro*[30] [31]*, summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori, et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.”* Et paulo post[32]: *"Pone irae frena modumque pone et avaritiae, miserere*[33] *inopum sociorum.”*[34]

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[1] inepta ne : ineptaue M5
[2] veralis M5
[3] poetas omnes … qui *omit.* V7
[4] omnes M5
[5] vah M5; sed V11
[6] ~~is est~~ *seq.* W1
[7] nostre *add.* M5
[8] *omit.* KO
[9] est si nescis : si nescis est V11
[10] *supralin.* W1
[11] sapientie M5
[12] omni M5
[13] duci M5
[14] fuerunt V7
[15] somnii V7
[16] ~~con nihil~~ *seq.* W1
[17] prosequar V11
[18] foris M5
[19] nec M5, V11, KO
[20] docet KO
[21] ~~de veteribus et poetis et philosophis sermo fiat~~ *seq.* W1
[22] F1, V5, V6, V11, W1, KO; gentibus M5, X1; legendis V7
[23] ~~refer~~ *seq.* W1
[24] poterint M5
[25] ~~nesciat ira~~ *seq.* W1
[26] potieris KO
[27] plumis F1, V5, V6, V7; pluuia KO
[28] bonus miles : miles bonus KO
[29] falleris KO
[30] tauro M5
[31] nesciat iraci … tauro *in marg.* W1
[32] ~~expectata~~ *seq.* W1
[33] misereque V7
[34] ~~quid illud Oratius autem cum ait integer vite scelerisque purus~~ *seq.* W1

[40] O, how coarse, inept, and primitive it is to claim that all poets should be dispensed with. Indeed, it is those who abhor the humanist letters who should leave. They should flee human company and live with brute animals like themselves. "But," someone may say, "do you not now speak ill of Jerome, revile that most holy man, the mirror of Christian religion, and strive to darken the hope of Christian religion? You may not know it, but nobody criticises the poets more vehemently than Jerome. He says, *The food of the demons is the songs of poets, secular wisdom, and the display of rhetorical language. These delight all with their sweetness; but while they captivate the ears with fluent verses of charming rhythm, they penetrate the soul as well and bind the inmost affections. But when they have been read with the greatest enthusiasm and effort, they afford their readers nothing more than empty sound and the hubbub of words. No satisfaction of truth, no refreshment of justice is found. They who are zealous for these things continue to hunger for truth and to lack virtue.*[1]

[41] I know that Jerome wrote thus about the prodigal son in a letter to Damasus,[2] but I read the whole letter and not just the introduction. I make no judgement before I have seen the whole text. I study the words of the great doctor, and I see that, in these passages, he detests not only poetry but also rhetorics, philosophy, and all secular knowledge[3] because they bear more flower than fruit, do not teach the true way of life, and often deceive the reader. I cannot deny this in so far as he speaks about pagan poets and philosophers who obviously did not know Christ and the reward of the cross. Yet, their works contain many examples that dissuade us from acting shamefully and advise us to act honourably. In proof, I quote the following passages from Juvenal (and what could more effectively persuade us to be virtuous?): *You should pray for a sound mind in a sound body; ask for a stout heart that has no fear of death; that knows neither wrath nor desire, and thinks that the woes and hard labours of Hercules are better than the loves and the banquets and the downy cushions of Sardanapalus.*[4] And elsewhere: *Be a stout soldier, a faithful guardian, and an incorruptible judge; if summoned to bear witness in some dubious and uncertain cause, though Phalaris*[5] *himself should command you to tell lies and bring up his bull and dictate to you a perjury, count it the greatest of all sins to prefer life to honour, and to lose, for the sake of living, all that makes life worth having.*[6] And a little later: *Set a curb and a limit to your anger, as also to your greed; have compassion with your poor associates.*[7]

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[1] Hieronymus: *Epistolae*, 21 (to Damasus): 13 (MPL, 22, col. 385).
[2] Damasus I (ca. 305-384): Pope from 366 to his death.
[3] Hieronymus: *Epistolae*, 21 (to Damasus): 13 (MPL, 22, col. 385): *Nonne tibi videtur* [Saint Paul] *sub aliis verbis dicere, ne legas philosophos, oratores, poetas*
[4] Juvenalis, 10: 356-362
[5] Phalaris: tyrant of Agrigentum who roasted his victims in a brazen bull.
[6] Juvenalis, 8: 79-84
[7] Juvenalis, 8: 88-89

[42] *"Integer vitae scelerisque purus,"* inquit Horatius, *non eget* {323r} *Mauri*[1] *jaculis nec* arcu *nec venenatis gravida sagittis, Fusce, pharetra."* Quocumque[2] ferant, tutum[3] esse bonis viris iter[4] [5] ostendit[6]. Quis justum illo melius circumscribit[7]: *"Justum*, ait, *et tenacem propositi virum non civium ardor prava jubentium, non vultus instantis tyranni mente quatit solida."* Quid Vergilius sibi vult[8], dum inferna loca describit et Elisios campos, nisi virtutis amorem et odium suadere vitiorum[9]? *"Hic,"* inquit, *"apud inferos*[10]*, quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat, pulsatusve parens*[11] *et fraus*[12] *innexa*[13] *clienti, aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis nec partem posuere suis, quae maxima turba est, quique*[14] *ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti impia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras."*[15] A[16] beatorum sedes audi, quibus assignet: *"Hic manus,"* ait, *"ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi, quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat, quique pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti, inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes, quique sui memores alios fecere merendo."*

[43] Quid Theseus ille apud[17] tragoedum Senecam[18]? Nonne[19] sororia his[20] de inferno refert: *"Quod quisque*[21]*,"* inquit ille, *"fecit, patitur; auctorem scelus repetit suoque premitur exemplo nocens."* Statius quoque malefactis instare[22] supplicium asserit. *"Sed videt haec,"* ait, *"videt ille deum regnator, et ausis, sera quidem, manet ira tamen*[23]*,"* deque inferis inquit: *"Stridor ibi et gemitus poenarum atroque tumultu fervet ager*[24]*,"* tamquam legisset evangelium vocemque salvatoris audisset: {323v} "*Mittite illum*[25] *in tenebras exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium."* Quid postremo sibi Lucanus quaerit, dum Catonem Hammonis[26] responsa contemnentem inducit[27] versusque[28] illos in eum fudit: *"Ipse manu sua pila gerens praecedit*[29] *haneli*[30] *militis ora pedes monstrat. Tolerare laborem, non jubet et*[31] *nulla vehitur cervice supinus, carpentoque*[32] *sedens somni parcissimus ipse*[33] *et*[34] *ultimus haustor aquae cum tandem fonte reperto indiga*[35] *cogatur laticis potare juventus, stat, dum lixa bibat."* Et paulo post: *"Hunc ego per Syrtes Libyaeque*[36] *extrema triumphum ducere maluerim, quam ter capitolia curru scandere Pompeji, quam frangere colla Jugurthae*[37]*.* Nonne aperta[38] ac[39] magna voce: *"O homines,"* inquit, *"sit vobis*[40] *cura virtutis*[41]*, alacres subite laborem, vincite sitim, famem, somnum: sic itur ad astra."* Quid, dicimus[42], noscere ista[43] malum an bonum putabimus[44], haecne[45] magnus ille Hieronymus fugienda suadet?

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[1] in aures M5
[2] quo secumque F1, V5, V6, V7, V11, X1; quoscumque M5, KO
[3] totum X1
[4] tibi X1
[5] bonis viris iter : iter bonis F1, V5, V6, V7
[6] ~~quid ille~~ *seq.* W1
[7] conscribit KO
[8] ~~inferos scribi~~ *seq.* W1
[9] nisi virtutis … vitiorum *add. in marg.* W1
[10] apud inferos *supralin.* W1
[11] parans M5
[12] uis V5, V6, V7
[13] *omit.* V7 *(blank space)*
[14] quippe X1
[15] ~~damnatos apud inferos esse hoc asserit ac penas expendere dicit. Alios autem / inter beatos autem / de beatis / loca beatorum~~ *seq.* W1
[16] ac KO
[17] ~~Senecam~~ *seq.* W1
[18] ~~num~~ *seq.* W1
[19] omne V7
[20] ~~refert~~ *seq.* W1
[21] ~~inquit / fecit / inquis / is~~ *seq.* W1
[22] ~~poenas~~ *seq.* W1
[23] ira tamen : iratum KO
[24] eger F1; aeger V6; V7; ~~qua~~ *seq.* W1
[25] ~~inter~~ *seq.* W1
[26] Hammonia F1, V5, V6, V7
[27] ~~per deserta Libie manu sua pila gerentem / deserta Libie pedibus tere~~ *seq.* W1
[28] ~~de magn viro / in eum scribit~~ *seq.* W1
[29] procedit V5; ~~anheli~~ *seq.* W1
[30] hanelli V5; aneli V11; hardi X1
[31] *em.* WO; *add. supralin.* V5; *omit.* codd., KO
[32] carpento V11; carpente KO
[33] ille F1
[34] *em.* WO; *omit.* codd., KO
[35] indigna V7
[36] Lybiesque V7
[37] ~~nonne aperte~~ *seq.* W1
[38] aperte V11
[39] et F1, V5, V6, V7, V11
[40] nobis M5 ?
[41] ~~conterr / spernite / sumite / subite~~ *seq.* W1
[42] ~~fugere hec an~~ *seq.* W1
[43] an *add.* F1
[44] putamus KO
[45] hec me M5

[42] And Horace said, *He who is upright in his way of life and unstained by guilt, needs not Moorshdarts nor bow nor quiver loaded with poisonous arrows, Fuscus.*[1] He goes on to show that for good men, the road is safe wherever they go. And who describes the just man better than he? *The man tenacious of his purpose in a righteous cause is not shaken from his firm resolve by the frenzy of his fellow citizens bidding what is wrong, nor by the face of a threatening tyrant*[2] And when Virgil describes the nether region and the Elysian fields,[3] what does he want but to persuade us to love virtue and hate vice? *Here* in Hell," he says, *are they who in their lifetime hated their brethren, or smote a sire, and entangled a client in wrong; or who brooded in solitude over wealth they had won, nor set aside a portion for their kin - the largest number this; who were slain for adultery; or who followed the standard of treason, and feared not to break allegiance with their lords*[4]. But hear what place he assigns to the blessed: *Here is the band of those who suffered wounds, fighting for their country; those who in their lifetime were priests and pure, good bards, whose songs were meet for Phoebus;*[5] *or they who ennobled life by arts discovered, and they who by service have won remembrance among men*[6]

[43] What about Theseus[7] in Seneca's[8] tragedy?[9] Does he not state the same about Hell when he says, *What each man did, he suffers: the crime recoils on its perpetrator, and the criminal is plagued by the precedent he set*[10] Statius, too, declares that punishment awaits evildoers, saying, *But he sees it, he, the ruler of gods, and his anger at your deeds, though late, abides*[11]. And about Hell, he says, *There is screaming here and groaning of punishments; the land is astir with dark tumult,*[12] as if he had read the Gospel and heard the Saviour's words, *Cast him into the exterior darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*[13] And, finally, what did Lucan mean when he related how Cato[14] scorned Ammon's[15] response and wrote these verses about him*: Carrying his javelin in his own hand, he marched on foot in front of his gasping soldiers; issuing no order, he taught them by his example to endure hardship; he was never borne at ease on the shoulders of men or seated in a carriage; of sleep he was more sparing than any. When at last a spring was discovered, and the thirsty men must be forced to look on at it, he was the last to drink and stood still till the camp-followers drank.*[16] And a little later, *I would choose to lead this triumphant march through the Syrtes and the remotest parts of Libya rather than ascend the Capitol thrice over in Pompey's car or break Jugurtha's neck.*[17] Does he not clearly and loudly say, *O men, pay attention to virtue,*[18] *labour with alacrity and suffer thirst, hunger and sleepiness. Thus does man scale the stars?*[19] What shall we say? Shall we find it good or bad to know these things? Is this what the great Jerome urges us to flee?

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[1] Horatius: *Carmina,* 1: 22, 1-4
[2] Horatius: *Carmina,* 3: 3, 1-4
[3] Elysium: the final resting place of the souls of the heroic and virtuous in Greek mythology and religion.
[4] Vergilius: *Aeneis,* 6: 608-613.
[5] Phobus Apollo.
[6] Vergilius: *Aeneis,* 6: 660-664.
[7] Theseus: (Myth.) Hero and founder-king of Athens.
[8] Seneca the Younger.
[9] Hercules.
[10] Seneca: *Hercules,* 735-736.
[11] Statius: *Thebais,* 5: 688-689.
[12] Statius: *Thebais,* 2: 51-52.
[13] Matthew, 22: 13.
[14] Cato the younger.
[15] Ammon.
[16] Lucanus: *De Bello Civili,* 9: 587-583.
[17] Lucanus: *De Bello Civili,* 9: 598-600.
[18] Basil the Great: *Ad Adolescentes,* 5: 9, 43.
[19] Vergilius: *Aeneis,* 9: 641.

[44] Praetereo[1] [2] philosophorum libros doctrina salutari plenos, quos[3] avide legimus, quamvis nonnulla veneni semina in se habeant[4]. Nec Hieronymus omni lectione saecularis sapientiae[5] abstinendum praecipit, sed docet ille[6], ut ante dictum est, Damasum, quo pacto sint[7] saeculares philosophi ac poetae legendi. *"Typus,"* inquit," saecularis *sapientiae in Deuteronomio sub mulieris captivae figura[8] describitur, de qua divina vox praecipit, ut Israelites, si eam habere voluerit uxorem, calvitium[9] ei {324r} faciat, ungues praesecet, pilos auferat, et cum munda fuerit effecta, tunc transeat in victoris amplexus. Haec si secundum litteras intelligimus, nonne ridicula sunt? Itaque[10] et nos hoc[11] facere solemus, quando et philosophos legimus, quando in manus nostras libri veniunt sapientiae saecularis[12]. Si quid in eis utile[13] reperimus, ad nostrum dogma convertimus. Si quid vero superfluum de idolis, de amore, de cura saecularium rerum haec radimus, his calvitium inducimus."* Ponit et hanc similitudinem alio loco Hieronymus, ad Magnum oratorem urbis[14] Rome scribens, et adjicit: *"Quid ergo mirum, si et ego sapientiam saecularem[15] propter eloquii venustatem et membrorum pulchritudinem de ancilla atque captiva Israelitem facere cupio, et quidquid in ea mortuum est idolatriae, voluptatis, erroris, libidinum vel praecido vel rado, et mixtus purissimi cordis corpori vernaculos[16] ex ea genero domino Sabaoth et labor meus in familia Christi proficit."*[17] Haec est libera vox et ex proposito[18] divi Hieronymi sententia.

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[1] preterea M5

[2] ~~quanta philos~~ *seq.* W1

[3] ~~etsi non~~ *seq.* W1

[4] Perpulcre ad propositum Dionisius, Alexandrinus pontifex scribit, quem Rufinus in historia ecclesiastica vocat eulogum: ego, inquit ille, et tractatus hereticorum lego et traditiones eorum; et si videor ad horam verbis eorum pollui, sed multum mihi confert hoc ipsum, quod ex ipsorum verbis arguere eos possim, denique cum aliquis ex fratribus compresbiteris prohiberet me, ne heretica lectione tanquam ceni alicujus fetore polluerer, visio mihi quedam adeo ostenditur, que me confirmaret sed sermo ad me factus est, hec mihi evidenter proloquens: lege omnia, quecunque in manus tuas veniunt, quia probare singula et discernere potes; amplexus sum visionem, quia et apostolice sententie concordat dicenti: omnia legete, que bona sunt tenete. sic Dionisius *add*. M5 *and The Krakow ms. collated by WO*

[5] *omit.* V7

[6] ~~ad Damasum~~ *seq.* W1

[7] ~~oratores phi~~ *seq.* W1

[8] figulam W1, X1; figulana WO

[9] calvuiciem F1, V5, V7

[10] *omit*. V7

[11] hec V11

[12] sapientiae saecularis : secularis sapientie KO

[13] inutile V11, KO

[14] verbis KO

[15] sapientiam saecularem : secularem sapientiam KO

[16] vernaculas X1

[17] ~~Hec est. Hi. divi Hieronimi libera vox. Ex proposito divi Hieronimi lata sententia. hoc ille pac to poetas. sic ille poetas evitandos. sic legendos docet. non prohibet ille philosophos oratores ac poetas legere sed ita legere, ut in eorum. interrogatus an liceat philosophos oratores ac poetas Christianum legere ne ita legas inquit. legere Christianum. sub tiro de captiva respondet eamque prohibet lectionem per quam. illorum lectionem in qua requiescere videamus consonamus igitur clarissimo doctoris sibique assentimur. Doctori clarissimo. judicium ejus sinamus [!] damno sententie sue manus. De secularibus quidem poetis cum eo sentimus~~ *seq.* W1

[18] ex proposito : expositio M5

[44] I pass over the philosophers' books, full of salutary teachings, which we read avidly, though they may contain poisonous seeds. Indeed, Jerome does not instruct us to avoid all reading of secular wisdom but - as mentioned above - explains to Damasus how to read secular philosophers and poets. *A type of secular wisdom,* he says, *is described in Deuteronomy under the figure of a captive woman. The divine voice commands that if an Israelite desires to have her as a wife, he shall make her bald, pare her nails, and shave her hair. When she has been made clean, she shall pass into the victor's embrace. (If we understand that literally, isn't it ridiculous?) We ourselves are accustomed to doing this when we read the philosophers and when the books of secular wisdom come into our hands. If we find anything useful in them, we convert it to our own doctrine; but if we find anything – with regard to idols, love, the care of secular things – that is inapplicable, these we shave off, for these we decree baldness.*[1] In a letter to Magnus, an orator in Rome, Jerome uses this similitude again, adding, *Is it then to be wondered if I, on account of the delightful eloquence, desire to make the wisdom of the world a captive and a handmaid of Israel? And if whatever in her is dead, such as idolatry, pleasure, error, or lust, has been cut away or shaved off, and having mingled with this handmaid of purest body, I beget by her a generation for the Lord of Sabaoth?*[2] This is Saint Jerome's authentic and highly relevant position on this matter.

[1] Jeronimus: *Epistolae,* 21 (To Damasus), 13 (MPL, 22, passage is taken from Kritzinger).

[2] Jeronimus: *Epistolae,* 70 (To Magnus), 2 (MPL, 22, col. 666).

[45] Interrogatus ille, philosophosne[1] Christiani poetasve[2] queant[3] salva conscientia legere, non omnibus negat, sed illis negat[4], quibus animus est *in eorum lectione requiescere*[5]. Sequimur et nos hoc judicium damusque sancto doctori manus, namque[6] *cum varii mutiformesque sint poetae, non omnibus, quae ab ipsis dicuntur, adhibendam mentem* sentimus[7]*, sed cum {324v} excellentium virorum facta aut dicta*[8] [9] *commemorant, tota mente moveri atque inflammari debemus, ut tales ipsi simus, quales illi fuere.*[10] *Cum vero improborum hominum mentionem incidunt, fugienda*[11] *est illorum imitatio*[12] *auresque*[13] *claudendae, non secus atque ipsi ferunt Ulixem ad Sirenarum cantus* clausisse. Accommodatissimus est ad hoc propositum[14], quem Graeci mirantur, magnus Basilius. Sic ille, ut Aretinus transfert, de poetis judicium[15] tulit: *"Nos igitur,"* inquit[16], *"laudamus poetas, non cum scurras aut amantes aut ebrios aut dicaces imitantur neque cum divite mensa cantuque dissoluto felicitatem diffiniunt, minime vero cum de diis aliquid dicunt*[17]*."* Mentionem deinde apium introducens, *"ut enim ex floribus ceteri quidem*[18]*,"* inquit, *"nihil sumunt praeter odorem atque colorem, apes etiam mella inde*[19] *sciunt excerpere*[20]*. Ita qui non solam festivitatem sequuntur verborum, fructum aliquem ex poetis percipere possunt."* Et subjungit: *"Illae enim nec pariter omnes flores adeunt, nec si quos adeunt*[21] *eos totos assumunt*[22]*; sed*[23] *ablato eo, quod operi suo aptum sit, reliquum omne valere sinunt*[24]*; et nos quoque, si sapimus, cum id exceperimus, quod veritati amicum consentaneumque sit, cetera omnia transgrediemur."* Neque his contentus prosequens adjicit: *"Et quoniam ad hanc nostram vitam per virtutem ascenditur, virtus autem ipsa multum a poetis, multum ab historicis, multo*[25] *etiam a philosophis laudatur, eorum verbis*[26] *{25r} maxime est inhaerendum."* Ait[27] quoque Basilius, *ex quodam* se *viro, qui*[28] *ad vestigandas poetarum mentes acutissimus habebatur, audivisse, cum diceret: totam Homeri poesim laudem esse virtutis omniaque illius poetae huc tendere, nisi si quod interdum*[29] *incidens sit*[30]*.* Sic[31] de poetis saecularibus[32] magni et sancti viri diffiniunt.

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[1] philosophus ne V7
[2] poetas ne V7; poetas ut X1
[3] poetasve queant : poetas ne-queant M5
[4] sed illis negat *omit.* F1, V7
[5] quiescere KO
[6] nam KO
[7] sentiamus X1
[8] audita V7
[9] facta aut dicta : dicta aut facta KO
[10] qui ab his laudantur *add.* V11
[11] figenda X1
[12] inuitatio V7
[13] uiresque M5
[14] ~~magnus~~ *seq.* W1
[15] ~~prebet~~ *seq.* W1
[16] igitur inquit : inquit igitur M5
[17] ~~deinde mentionem de apibus introducens / ille inquit ne / deinde comparationem de a~~ *seq.* W1
[18] quidam KO
[19] inde mella : mella inde F1
[20] sciunt excerpere : sugunt ex corpore X1
[21] ademit KO
[22] assumit KO
[23] ~~alb~~ *seq.* W1
[24] sed ablato … sinunt *omit.* KO
[25] multum F1, KO; magis V7
[26] virtus X1
[27] at KO
[28] se viro qui : viro sequi KO
[29] *omit.* M5
[30] ~~non ergo abjiciendi poete sunt~~ *seq.* W1
[31] ad hunc modum M5
[32] *supralin.* W1

[45] When he was asked if Christians could read the philosophers and poets with a safe conscience, he did not forbid them to all Christians but only to those who would *read them for pleasure*.[1] We follow his judgement and clasp the hand of the holy doctor, for *since there are many poets and of all kinds, we should not turn our minds to everything they say. When they relate the deeds and words of outstanding men, we should be fervently inspired to become like them. But when they talk about wicked men, we should not imitate them but close our ears, as they said Odysseus[2] closed the ears to the songs of the Sirens.*[3] [4] In this context, the words of Basil the Great,[5] admired by the Greeks, are quite to the point. This is his judgement about poets, as translated by Aretino[6]: *We do not praise poets when they imitate clowns, lovers, drunks, or mockers, nor when they claim that happiness is about laden tables or dirty singing, and especially not when they talk about the gods*[7] He then mentions bees. *Some people,* he says, *only take smell and colour from flowers, but the bees also know how to extract honey from them. Thus, those who are not just fascinated with delightful style are able to gain some substance from the poets*.[8] And he adds, *The bees do not approach all flowers equally, nor do they use the whole flower, but only draw from them what they need and leave the rest. And we too, if we are wise, should only take away [from the poets' writings] whatever is suitable for us and truthful, and pass by whatever is left.*[9] And not content with this, he continues, *And since we enter into our lives by means of virtue, and virtue is much praised by poets, historians, and philosophers, we must pay special attention to those words of theirs.*[10] Basil also said he *had heard a certain man, skilled to understand a poet's mind, say all the poetry of Homer is praise of virtue and everything of his bears to this end, whatever is not incidental.* [11] [12] This is what great and holy men have declared concerning the secular poets.

[1] Hieronymus: Epistolae, 21 (To Damasus), 13 (MPL, 22, col. 385).

[2] Ulysses = Odysseus: (perhaps fictional) king of Ithaca and the hero of the Odyssey. Odysseus also plays a key role in the Iliad and other works in the Epic Cycle.

[3] Basil the Great: *Ad Adolescentes* (Bruni), 4: 1.

[4] Homer: *Odyssey*, 12: 166-200. The point of the story was that the sailors' ears were filled with wax, whereas Odysseus was bound to the mast without having his ears filled so that he could hear the sirens without being able to give in to their irresistible calls. The faulty version of Odysseus' actions goes back to Basil: *Ad adolescentes*, 4, 1: *Cum vero in improborum hominum mentionem incidunt, fugienda est illorum imitatio, auresque claudendae, non secus atque ipsi ferunt Ulyxem ad Sirenum cantus* (Bruni's translation)

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

[6] Leonardo Bruni [Aretino] (ca. 1370-1444): Italian humanist, historian, and politician.

[7] Basil the Great: *Ad Adolescentes* (Bruni), 4: 4-5.

[8] Basil the Great: *Ad Adolescentes* (Bruni), 4: 7.

[9] Basil: *Ad Adolescentes* (Bruni), 4: 9.

[10] Basil: *Ad Adolescentes* (Bruni), 5: 1.

[11] Basil: *Ad Adolescentes* (Bruni), 5: 7.

[12] The translations from Basil are partly based on Gane.

[46] Ecclesiasticos autem, quos plures esse manifestum est, sine quavis haesitatione legendos approbant venerandumque nomen eorum et dogma[1] suscipiunt, qualis fuit Hilarius, Hieronymi coaetaneus, et qui dulces hymnos in ecclesia conscripserunt[2]. Nonnulli autem nostri temporis[3], qui, ut docti videantur, quaecumque non didicerunt, damnant, digni sunt, quibus cum Hieronymo dicamus[4]: *"Ne vescentium dentibus invideant[5] edentuli et oculos caprearum[6] talpae condemnent[7] [8]."* Traxit me *dives ad disputandum materia* et, dum epistolam credo scribere[9], tractatum edo. Sed[10] claudo sermonem de poetis. Cetera contra garrulos sapientiae tuae non deerunt, si quis contentus his esse noluerit[11].

[47] Nunc ad ultimam transeo partem, in qua pro rege Wladislao facis apologeticum. Multa in laudem tanti principis scribis[12], quae dicta sunt adversus eum[13] non minus ornate quam caute refellens. Cogitavi et ego futurum hoc, cum librum epistolarum ad te direxi, neque inutile reputavi adversus scripta mea te dicere[14], quae ipse non tamquam visa, sed tamquam[15] audita retulissem. Sic enim veritas facilius invenitur. {325v} Tu ergo modo, quamvis et prudentissime et fundatissime regis causam tuearis, das tamen mihi causam[16], nonnulla ut[17] rememorem tecumque paulisper contendam, non quia te velim impugnare, sed quia magis instrui cupiam. Nam etsi magni viri fuerunt, quibus aures praebui, et quorum dictis historiam struxi meam, plus tamen tuo nomini tribuo, tum quia rebus, de quibus locutus sum, interfuisti, tum quia et naturae et dignitati et aetati[18] tuae mentiri alienum est. Sed audi[19] pauca, quae me obsistere tuis dictis impellunt.

[48] Dixi prioribus epistolis meis[20] [21] nobilissimum adolescentem Wladislaum, Poloniae regem, suorum consilio victum regnum Hungariae occupasse. Hoc durum et a vero remotum tua dignatio esse contendit affertque rationes, quae justum illum Hungariae regem possint ostendere, quarum maxima illa est, quia[22], defuncto Alberto, regina et universi regni accolae Wladislaum regem accersiverint, cujus[23] ope et auspicio et[24] Catholica fides et regni populus ab infestatione Turcorum defendi posset, qui[25] tunc Hungariae vicini clades quamplurimas inferebant[26]. Addis et oratoribus, qui ob eam causam missi fuerant, aperte dictum[27] extitisse[28], quia regina ex Alberto praegnans[29] remansisset, non licere[30] regem externum in id[31] regnum transire illosque confutasse, quidquid petitionibus eorum[32] objiceretur. Mittis[33] insuper et decreti formulam[34], quo regni praelati et proceres, quaecumque {326r} adversus coronationem Wladislai dici possent, inania esse diffiniunt. Fateor omnia ita gesta esse, ut scribis, nec de tuis dictis adimo quidquam.

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[1] dogmata V7
[2] et de quo supra retulimus Juvencus *add.* M5
[3] ~~qui docti videri volunt~~ *seq.* W1
[4] dicimus X1.
[5] quaecumque non … invideant *omit.* V7
[6] et *add.* V7
[7] condamnent V11; contemnent KO
[8] *Hieronymus:* talpa contemnat
[9] credo scribere : scribere credo X1
[10] ~~finio~~ *seq.* W1
[11] voluerit X1
[12] ~~et que / si que~~ *seq.* W1
[13] ~~refellis~~ *seq.* W1
[14] ~~tum~~ *seq.* W1
[15] visa sed tamquam *omit.* V7
[16] occasionem M5
[17] ut nulla non V7
[18] et aetati *omit.* V7
[19] audis KO
[20] epistolis mei : meis epistolis KO
[21] ~~Wladislaum regem~~ *seq.* W1
[22] qui V7
[23] ~~auxilio~~ *seq.* W1
[24] *omit.* KO
[25] ~~tum re~~ *seq.* W1
[26] ~~dicis cum oratoribus disputatum diuque fuisse con~~ *seq.* W1
[27] aperte dictum : apertum dictum aperte KO
[28] ~~quoniam~~ *seq.* W1
[29] ex Alberto praegnans : Alberto KO
[30] ~~novum reg~~ *seq.* W1
[31] exterminum in id : exterminium KO
[32] rerum KO
[33] uictis KO
[34] copiam M5, V11, X1, KO, WO

[46] Regarding the ecclesiastical poets, of whom - as is known - there are many, the great and holy men do not hesitate to approve them for reading, to honour their names, and to accept their teachings. One such case is Hilarius,[1] a contemporary of Jerome, and others who wrote beautiful hymns for church use. Many men from our own time, condemning everything they have not learnt themselves lest they seem unlearned, deserve that we apply to them these words of Jerome: *The toothless should not envy the teeth of those who can eat, nor should moles condemn the eyes of sharp-eyed deer. The abundant material for discussion* [2] has carried me away, and the letter I thought I was writing has turned into a tract! But I now end my exposition on poets. If some people are not content with this, Your Wisdom will not lack arguments against the blathering fools.

7. King Wladyslaw's accession to the Hungarian throne, 1440

[47] Now I move on to the last part [of your letter] with your defence of King Wladyslaw. You write much in praise of this great prince, and you eloquently and circumspectly refute his critics. I anticipated this when I sent you the volume with my letters, but I thought it would be useful to see your arguments against my account since I had related not what I had seen for myself but heard [from others]. In that way, truth is more easily found. But though you defend the king's cause prudently and advisedly, you nonetheless give me reason to advance several facts and to argue a little with you, not because I wish to oppose you but because I wish to become better informed. For although they were great men who told me about this matter and on whose testimonies I based my account, your testimony means even more to me, both because you were an active participant in the events I speak about and because lying is foreign to your nature, your dignity, and your age. But hear now some of the reasons compelling me to oppose your statements.

[48] In my prior letters, I said that the most noble youth, King Wladyslaw of Poland, had been persuaded by his own councillors to take over the Kingdom of Hungary. Your Grace declares that this is harsh and untrue and advances arguments showing that he became King of Hungary rightfully. The most important of these is that when Albrecht[3] died, the queen[4] and all the subjects of the kingdom invited King Wladyslaw to become king, believing that with his help and leadership, the Catholic Faith and the people of the kingdom could be defended from the invasion of the Turkish neighbours, who were then inflicting many defeats upon Hungary. You add that the [Hungarian] ambassadors sent for this purpose were clearly told that since the queen was left pregnant by Albrecht, a foreign king should not enter the kingdom, but that they refuted all [the Polish] arguments against their petition. Moreover, you send the text of the decree of the [Hungarian] kingdom's prelates and nobles declaring void any arguments against the coronation of King Wladyslaw. I acknowledge that all happened as you write, and I do not doubt what you say.

[1] Hilarius (ca. 310 - ca. 367). Bishop of Poitiers. According to Jerome, Hilarius produced a *liber hymnorum.*

[2] Hieronymus: *Epistolae*, 70 (To Magnus), 2 (MPL, 22, col. 666).

[3] Emperor Albrecht VI (Habsburg).

[4] Empress Elizabeth, queen of Hungary.

[49] Sed audi, quid me moveat. Dicis Albertum Hungariae regem fuisse mortemque relicta uxore praegnante[1] obiisse natumque Ladislaum ejus filium[2]. Addo[3] ego[4] et coronatum regem[5], priusquam Wladislaus[6] Hungariam ingrederetur. Quid hic dicemus: numquid regum filii solium paternum tenere debent[7]? Quis, excluso regis filio, regnum possidens non dicitur occupator[8]? Aut successioni locus[9] est apud Hungaros aut electioni. Cum mortuo rege[10] filius impromptu est, si patri succedit filius, non video, quid juris in Wladislaum popularis electio transfuderit. Si regem electio facit[11], attribuo tuae parti victoriam. Mihi tamen, qui regni se mores[12] scire affirmant, succedere patribus apud Hungaros in regno filios injussu populi dicunt, idemque Romanum pontificem diffinivisse[13] apostolicis demonstratur apicibus. Neque[14] menti meae satisfacit, quod de Turcis in medium proponitur[15], tamquam necesse fuerit pro regni salute, pro Christi nomine tuendo[16] regem habere, qui regeret, namque si hoc[17] permittimus, rarus patri succedet[18] in dominatu filius[19].

[50] Poterat Wladislaus, si zelo[20] fidei succensus erat, si vicinorum saluti consulere volebat, si tanta eum caritas movebat, et Hungaris succurrere et pupillo infanti regnum conservare ac veluti tutor vicini regis regnum administrare[21]. {326r} Sed uteris tu mecum ea purgatione, qua Trogus Philippum Macedonem defendit, cum[22] regnum nepotis usurpavisset[23]. *"Itaque,"* inquit ille, *"Philippus diu non se regem, sed tutorem pupilli egit, at ubi graviora bella imminebant serumque*[24] *auxilium in expectatione infantis erat, compulsus a populo regnum suscepit."* Melius tamen *Lycurgus,* qui, cum *fratri suo Polybiti*[25]*, Spartanorum regi, successisset regnumque sibi vendicare*[26] *potuisset, Carillo, filio ejus, qui natus posthumus fuerat, cum ad aetatem adultam venisset, regnum summa fide restituit.* Sed pauci sunt, quos dominandi[27] non frangit cupiditas. Placet cunctis proverbium Caesaris: *"Si violandum jus est, regnandi causa violandum est."* Mihi non videtur aut mater[28] aut populus aut instans belli metus jus infanti auferre atque alteri concedere potuisse, nisi tua sapientia novis me rationibus instruxerit.

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[1] *omit.* KO
[2] ~~priusquam Wladislaus Hungariam ingrederetur~~ *seq.* W1
[3] ~~hic~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~unum~~ *seq.* W1
[5] *corr. ex* in regno Ladislaum W1
[6] ~~regnum ingrederetur~~ *seq.* W1
[7] ~~aut hereditario aut electivo jure Hungarie teneri regnum consuevit. Si primo modo~~ *seq.* W1
[8] occupato V7; ~~ante~~ *seq.* W1
[9] locutus M5
[10] mortuo rege : rege mortuo KO
[11] ~~potest causa tua non colorari solum sed etiam defendi~~ *seq.* W1
[12] se mores : seniores V7
[13] ~~apicibus~~ *seq.* W1
[14] nec F1, V5
[15] proponit KO
[16] ~~virum habere~~ *seq.* W1
[17] hec KO
[18] ~~fili~~ *seq.* W1
[19] ~~nisi~~ *seq.* W1
[20] celo KO
[21] ~~Sed uincit omnis dominandi cuiditas / tritum est illud Cesarianum si violandum ius est regnandi causa violandum est~~ *seq.* W1
[22] eum V7
[23] cum regnum … usurpauisset *add. in marg.* W1
[24] secumque V7
[25] ~~successisset~~ *seq.* W1
[26] mendicare M5, KO
[27] ~~cupiditas~~ *seq.* W1
[28] aut mater *omit.* V5

[49] But hear my reasoning. You say that Albrecht was king of Hungary who left a pregnant wife , when he died. His son, Ladislaus, was born posthumously (and crowned king, I add) before Wladyslaw entered Hungary. What shall we say to this? Should sons not succeed to their father's throne? If the son is discarded and someone else takes possession of a kingdom, will he not be called a usurper? In Hungary, [royal power is transmitted] either by succession or by election. The king died, and there was a son. If a father is succeeded by his son, I do not see how a popular election could transfer the rights [of succession] to Wladyslaw. But if the kings [of Hungary] are created by election, I concede the victory to your party. But those who claim to know the customs of the kingdom say that in Hungary, sons succeed their fathers as kings without an election by the people, and the same is shown to have been decreed by an apostolic[1] letter. And I am not convinced by what is said about the Turks and that it was necessary for the safety of the kingdom and the protection of the Christian name to have a king who could rule, for if we admit that, then a son will rarely succeed his father as ruler.

[50] If Wladyslaw were inspired by zeal for the Faith, if he wished to ensure the safety of his neighbours, and if he were moved by charity, he could have aided Hungary, kept the kingdom for the infant king, and administered the kingdom as the guardian of neighbour king. But you will use the justification which Trogus[2] advanced in defence of Philip[3] of Macedon when he usurped the kingdom of his new nephew, *Philip,* he said, *for a long time, acted, not as king, but as guardian to this infant; but when dangerous wars threatened, and it was too long to wait for the cooperation of a prince who was yet a child, he was forced by the people to take the government upon himself.*[4] Lycurgus[5] did better: *when he had succeeded Polydectes,[6] his brother, King of Sparta, and might have secured the kingdom for himself, he restored it, with the noblest integrity, to Charilaus,[7] the posthumous son of Polydectes, as soon as he became of age.*[8] But most people are overcome by the greed for power. All, in fact, agree with Caesar's dictum, that *if wrong may ever be right, for a throne's sake were wrong most right.*[9] I do not see how the mother, or the people, or the fear of imminent war could deprive the infant of his rights and transfer them to another unless Your Wisdom lets me know of new arguments.

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[1] Papal.

[2] Trogus, Gnaeus Pompejus (1st cent.): Gallo-Roman historian. Author of *Historiae Philippicae et Totius Mundi Origines et Terrae Situs*, now lost.

[3] Philippos II.

[4] This is a direct quotation from Justinus' abbreviation of Trogus, *Epistoma historiarum Philippicarum*, 7: 5. Translation from Watson.

[5] Lycurgus: Legendary lawgiver of Sparta. If he was a historical person, he may have lived in the 8th century BC

[6] Polydectes (8th c. BC): King of Sparta from ca. 830 to ca. 800 BC

[7] Charilaus [Charillus] (8th c.): King of Sparta. He is generally shown as the successor of his grandfather Polydectes, though Pausanias implies that Charilaus' father Eunomus preceded Charilaus. Supposedly pupil of Lycurgus

[8] Justinus: *Epistoma historiarum Philippicarum*, 3: 2. Translation from Watson. See also Plutarch: *Parallel Lives* / Lycurgus, 2-3

[9] Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum* / *Julius Caesar*, 30. Cicero: *De Officiis*, 3: 21, 83. Quoting Euripides: *Phoenissa*, 524-525.

[51] Scio illud, quod dicis, regnum Poloniae longe lateque florentissimum esse neque viros[1] illi neque opes deesse[2]. Constat inter omnes, qui terram circuierunt[3], generosos[4] Polonos et fortes homines esse[5], quibus[6] qui dominetur[7], inter Christianos clarissimum nomen habet[8], abundat divitiis[9], potentissimus[10] creditur. Satis illi superque satis honoris est, si quidquam mortale pectus[11] satis existimat.

[52] At[12] dives Asia Xersi non sufficit, Graeciam imperio cupit[13] adjungere. Alexander[14] victo Dario, Babylonia[15] capta, Egypto subacta, superatis Indis, *aestuat infelix angusto[16] limite mundi ut Gyarae clausus[17] {327r} scopulis[18] parvaque seripho*[19]. Hannibalem non capit Africa, addit[20] imperio Hispaniam, Pyrenaeum transilit, superat Alpes, ingreditur Italiam nihilque actum a sese putat, nisi vexillum in capitolio ponat[21]. Attila, rex Hunnorum[22], totius Scythicae gentis solus[23] imperium tenens[24], invasor Germaniae, Galliarum populator, vastator Italiae[25], inopem se miserumque[26] judicat, nisi primas mundi gentes Romanos Visigotasque sibi subjiciat. Sed quid miramur viros[27]? Conditrix Babyloniae *Semiramis non contenta quaesitos[28] a viro regni terminos tueri, Aethiopiam[29] imperio[30] adjecit Indisque bellum intulit, quo[31] praeter illam* Dionisyum, Herculem *et Alexandrum* armatus *intravit nemo.* Insatiabilis est dominandi cupiditas. Nulli satis ampla sua potestas videtur, semper in alieno melior seges[32] agro, vicini formosior conjunx, pinguius apud alios pecus apparet.

[53] Nimirum si[33] Wladislaus adolescens alto sanguine natus, spiritu fretus nobili[34], gloriae cupidus, Hungarie regnum affectarit, humanus est hic morbus adeoque communis, ut jam vitio detur animus paterna haereditate contentus. Si quis est, cui sua placent[35], inter principes otiosus, paci deditus, nulli molestus, belli execrator, "En," inquiunt, "deses homo est, meticulosus, pusilli animi, ventris somnique[36] servus. Monachum esse non regem oportuit, mulieri non viro servimus." Hujuscemodi[37] saepe voces regum atria complent. Inde commoti, quibus fervet animus, juvenes injusta bella suscipiunt. {266v} Quod si Wladislaus, hac re ductus, in Hungariam[38] venit, secutus est, ut philosophi volunt, erroneam viam, ut populi sentiunt[39], laudabilem et gloriosam, dignus qui fortibus umbris annumeretur[40].

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[1] vires M5, WO
[2] ~~constat inter omnes, qui Polonis dominetur, clarum et potissimum regem esse nec alterius indigere / viris fortibus ac generosis apud Christianos potentissum regem esse posseque non immerito concertari, si quid / esse regem / satis divitiarumsatis gloriae inter omnes~~ *seq.* W1
[3] qui terram circuierunt *add. in marg.* W1
[4] *omit.* KO
[5] *supralin.* W1
[6] qui his X1
[7] dominatur KO
[8] ~~satis diuitiarum satis potentie~~ *seq.* W1
[9] ~~potentiam ingentem~~ *seq.* W1
[10] potentissimis KO
[11] *supralin.* W1
[12] ac KO
[13] caput X1
[14] ~~subacta Grecia~~ *seq.* W1
[15] ~~subacta~~ *seq.* W1
[16] augusto KO
[17] clausis KO
[18] scapulis KO
[19] scapha KO
[20] addi X1
[21] ~~quid~~ *seq.* W1
[22] Hungarorum V7
[23] *omit.* F1
[24] ~~Germaniam inuadit Gallias vexat Italiam populatur neque~~ *seq.* W1
[25] *corr. ex* nihil se credit W1
[26] se miserumque : miserumque se F1, V5, V6, V7
[27] ~~Semiramis~~ *seq.* W1
[28] Justinus: adquisitos
[29] ~~regno adiecit~~ *seq.* W1
[30] regno V5
[31] quod M5
[32] ~~apparet~~ *seq.* W1
[33] ~~tuus~~ *seq.* W1
[34] alto sanguine … nobíli *add. in marg*. W1
[35] placeant M5
[36] semique KO
[37] hujusmodi V5
[38] ~~fecit quod homin / secutus est humani moris viam~~ *seq.* W1
[39] ~~rect~~ *seq.* W1
[40] animum meretur KO

[51] I know that the kingdom is - as you say - a large and flourishing country, lacking neither men nor wealth. All who have travelled through that country know that the Poles are noble and strong. The man who rules this county has an illustrious name among the Christians, abounds in wealth, and is believed to be very powerful. He has enough, or more than enough, honour if the human heart considers anything to be enough.

[52] But rich Asia was not enough for Xerxes, who wanted to add Greece to his empire. When Alexander had defeated Darius, conquered Babylonia, vanquished Egypt, and subdued India, *he chafed uneasily within the narrow limits of the world, as though he were cooped up within the rocks of Gyara or the diminutive Seriphos*.[1] Africa could not contain Hannibal. Adding Spain to the empire, he crossed the Pyrenees and the Alps, entered Italy, and still felt he had achieved nothing if he did not raise his standard on the Capitol.[2] Attila,[3] King of the Huns, was the sole ruler of the Scythian people, but having invaded Germany, plundered the Gauls, and laid waste to Italy, he still considered himself poor and miserable if he did not overcome the two most powerful people of the world, the Romans and the Visigoths. But why only wonder at men? *Semiramis*,[4] founder of Babylon, *not content with preserving the territories acquired by her husband, added Ethiopia also to her empire, and she even made war upon India, into which no one except her,* Dionysius, Hercules[5] *and Alexander had penetrated under arms.*[6] The greed for power is insatiable. Nobody thinks he has enough. The crop in another's field always seems better, the neighbour's wife more beautiful, and other men's cattle fatter.

[53] So it is not surprising if Wladyslaw, a youth born of high blood, with a noble spirit, and eager for glory, also aspired to the Kingdom of Hungary: this sickness is human and so common that a man who is content with his paternal inheritance is seen as flawed. If a prince is satisfied with his own territories, is at leisure, peaceful, harming no one, and hating war, people say, "This man is indolent, fearful, pusillanimous, and a slave to food and sleep. He should be a monk, not a king. We are serving a woman, not a man." Such gossip fills the halls of kings and makes excitable youths undertake unjust wars. If this is what brought Wladyslaw to Hungary, he followed a course that philosophers consider erroneous, but the people commendable and glorious, and he would deserve to be counted among *the bold spirits.*[7]

[1] Juvenalis, 10: 169-170.
[2] In the heart of Rome.
[3] Attila (ca. 408-453): King of the Huns from 434 to his death.
[4] Semiramis: Legendary queen of Babylonia.
[5] On the Indian campaigns of Dionysius, Hercules and Alexander, see letter 251.
[6] Justinus: *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum*, 1: 2. Translation from Watson.
[7] Lucanus: *De Bello Civili*, 6: 559.

[54] Haec placuit[1] ad tua scripta referre, non quia impugnare[2] illa velim, sed ut solutionem a te recipiam[3] eorum, quae mihi dubia superant[4]. Nam etsi multae sint ac[5] maximae laudes, quae[6] Wladislao regi suisque vel praelatis vel proceribus attribui possunt[7], cupio et hoc illis[8] ascribere praeconium sine controversia posse[9], quod Hungariam non humano solum sed etiam divino jure sibi subegerint[10]. Quod vero praesente rege victos aliquando et[11] prostratos[12] a[13] Polonis Turcos astruis, sequor testimonium tuum[14], quamvis Julianus cardinalis Sancti Angeli, qui tunc in Hungaria[15] legatum apostolicum agebat, suis litteris omnem belli victoriam in Johannem transtulerit, quem ego ad Pataviensem pontificem scribens[16] habui testem.

[55] Cetera, quae de Wladislao refers, nullo apud me dubio sunt. Cognovi ex omnibus, qui eum novere, fuisse illo in[17] adolescente vastum animum, singularem prudentiam, summam liberalitatem, ingenium perspicax[18], administrandae justitiae grandem curam, nullam in eo desideratam ex his, quae regiae virtutes appellantur. Ob quam rem optarem, si fas esset[19], cum tua dignatione in hanc usque diem vixisse illum: melius, ut[20] arbitror, regno Hungarie, melius[21] Christiano sanguini successisset neque fortasse memorabilis illa[22] civitas Bisantina[23], orientalis ecclesiae caput, Greciae columen, in potestatem Turci redacta cum tam[24] magna Christianorum clade fuisset, quae per[25] Constantinum primum[26] instar Romanae urbis[27] amplificata fatali quodam, si licet[28] dicere, decreto sub[29] ultimo Constantino devicta et spurcitiae Saracenorum tradita est, quam vivo Wladislao nec intueri Turcorum imperator audebat. Sed obiit ille, ut ais, rex clarissimus[30], cum majori quam tum[31] [32] credidimus[33] non Poloniae solum, sed Hungariae et totius ecclesiae damno verumque illud ostendit, quod ad sororem scribere Metrodorum Annaeus Seneca tradit: “Mortale[34] scilicet[35] esse mortalium omne bonum.”

Vale, et jam non epistolam sed librum, cum vacaveris[36], legito. Ex Novacivitate Austriae, 6. Kalendas Novembris[37] 1453[38].

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[1] ~~volui~~ *seq.* W1
[2] *omit.* F1
[3] a te recipiam : suscipiam a te KO
[4] ~~cupio namque magnopere~~ *seq.* W1
[5] et F1, V5, V6, V7
[6] *omit.* V7
[7] possint KO
[8] ~~preconium~~ *seq.* W1
[9] ~~quod humani juris sibi subegerint~~ *seq.* W1
[10] subegerunt X1
[11] etiam *add.* KO
[12] aliquando et prostratos *corr. ex* ab Hungaris ac W1
[13] *omit.* X1
[14] *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V7
[15] Hungariam KO
[16] ~~testem~~ *seq.* W1
[17] illo in : in illo F1, V5, V6, V7
[18] ~~justitie grande desiderium~~ *seq.* W1
[19] ~~una tecum~~ *seq.* W1
[20] *omit.* X1
[21] ut arbitror … melius *omit.* F1, V5, V6, V7
[22] *omit.* F1, F5, V6, V7
[23] *corr. ex* Constantinopolitana orientialis X1
[24] *omit.* V7
[25] ~~que p~~ *seq.* W1
[26] *corr. ex* olim W1
[27] edificata *add.* F1
[28] si licet : scilicet M5; solebat KO
[29] ~~Constantino u~~ *seq.* W1
[30] ~~non sine Polonorum ac Christianorum omnium maxima iactura~~ *seq.* W1
[31] *omit.* V5
[32] quam tum : quantum M5
[33] credimus V7
[34] mortales X1
[35] *omit.* M5, V11, X1, KO
[36] X1; uacauerit F1, M5, V5, V5, V11, W1, KO; uaca V7
[37] anno domini *add.* KO
[38] Ex … 1453 *omit.* M5

[54] This is what I wanted to write in answer to your letter, not to refute it but to hear from you the solution to the points of doubt I am still having. For although King Wladyslaw and his prelates and nobles deserve much and great praise, I should wish that they might also be incontrovertibly praised for subjugating Hungary not only by human but also by divine right. I trust your claim that the Turks were defeated and destroyed by the Poles when King Wladyslaw was present, although Cardinal Giuliano of Sant'Angelo,[1] who was apostolic legate in Hungary at the time, in a letter attributed the whole victory to János,[2] which was the source for my own letter to the Bishop of Passau.[3] [4]

[55] I completely agree with the other things you said about Wladyslaw. I have heard from all who knew him that he had immense courage, outstanding wisdom and generosity, keen intelligence, and great concern for the proper administration of justice. Indeed, he lacked none of the qualities of a king. Therefore, if it were permitted, I should wish - with Your Grace - that he had lived to the present day. That, I believe, would have been better for the Kingdom of Hungary and for the Christian world. Moreover, the noble city of Byzantium, seat of the Eastern Church and pillar of Greece, might not have fallen to the Turk which was a disaster for the Christians. That city had been enlarged by Constantine I after the example of the city of Rome, but now - by some decree of fate (if I may say so) - it has been defeated under the last Constantine[5] and given over to the filthy Saracens. When Wladyslaw was alive, the Turkish ruler did not even dare to look at it. But, as you say, that illustrious king died which proved to be a greater loss not only to Poland but also to Hungary and the whole Church than we thought then. Which shows the truth of what Metrodorus, according to Annaeus Seneca, wrote to his sister,[6] viz., *All the Good of mortals is mortal*.[7]

Farewell, and read this book – not letter! – when you have time. From Neustadt in Austria, 27 October 1453.

[1] Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444): Cardinal 1426. Killed after the Battle of Varna.
[2] Governor János Hunyadi.
[3] Leonhard Laiming von (1381-1451): Prince-bishop of Passau from 1424 to his death.
[4] Letter to Leonhard Laiming of 28. October 1445 (letter 190).
[5] Konstantinos XI Dragases Palaiologos)
[6] In a letter of consolation for the death of her son.
[7] Seneca: *Epistolae,* 98: 9.

407. Letter to Antonio de Goppo (3 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: *F1, f. 86r[1]; V5, 117, ff. 149v-150r **; V6, 117, ff. 122r-122v; V7, 117, ff. 157v-158r[2].*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 178, pp. 347-348 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{150r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Antonio, episcopo Tergestino, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Rem admodum ingratam littere mihi tuae nuntiarunt, ex quibus intellexi patriarcham Venetiarum litem movere ecclesiae tuae super homagio, quasi episcopatus olim fuerit Emoniensis[3]. Admiratus sum res vetustate firmatas in dubium trahi simulque doleo, quia scio litigia plena esse taediorum et sumptus velle quamplurimos. Feci tuo nomine Caesareo culmini verbum, et, quas optavisti, litteras ad Venetias et ad urbem Romam obtinui. Eas tuus capellanus secum defert. Exemplar quoque sibi traditum est, ut scire possis, exinde quid ulterius sit agendum. Vinum, quod mittere polliceris, expecto cupide, quia nihil est hoc anno, quod his in regionibus bibile natum sit: intempesta quaedam pruina omnes uvas hujus terrae paulo ante Michaelis solemnia decoxit[4]. Repetiturum in brevi domum non nego me venturum ad te[5] transiturumque Tergestina via, ut ecclesiam revisam, cui olim praefui et cui, dum vixero, affectus ero. Sed neque hoc promitto.

Vale, et amicos, quos scis me Tergesti amare, meo nomine salvere jube. Ex Novacivitate, die 3. Novembris 1453.

[1] DV, 177
[2] *Not collated.*
[3] Emomensis F1
[4] detexit F1
[5] venturum ad te : ad te uenturum F1, V5

407. Letter to Antonio Goppo (3 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: *The Patriarch of Venice had claimed homage from the Bishop of Trieste on the pretext that the diocese of Trieste had once been the diocese of Emona, to which the patriarchate had some rights.*

Editions: *Piccolomini informs the bishop that he has obtained imperial letters of support for the diocese of Trieste and - presumably - its independence from the Venetian patriarchate.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Antonio, Bishop of Trieste.

[1] Your letter brought me the very unpleasant news that the Patriarch of Venice[1] has initiated a lawsuit against your diocese concerning homage, as it had once been the diocese of Emona.[2] I wondered how this matter,[3] confirmed by ancient practice, could now be drawn into doubt, and it pains me since I know that lawsuits are troublesome and very costly. I have spoken about the matter with the emperor and obtained the letters you wanted to Venice and Rome. Your chaplain brings them with him. He has also been given a copy so that you will know what to do later.

I am eagerly awaiting the wine you promised, for this year, nothing drinkable has been produced in these regions. A little before the Feast of Saint Michael,[4] an unseasonable storm ruined all the grapes in the area.

In a short time, I shall be returning home and may go via Trieste to see you and revisit the church of which I was once in charge and which I shall remember fondly as long as I live. But I do not promise it.

Farewell, and greet from me the friends in Trieste whom you know to love me. From Neustadt, 3 November 1453.

[1] Lorenzo Giustinani (1381-1456): First patriarch of Venice (1451).

[2] A small diocese in Istria, located between the Mima and Dragonja rivers, close to present-day Ljubljana.

[3] The independence of the Church of Trieste from the Patriarchate of Venice.

[4] 29 September.

408. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (8 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 86v-87r[1]; V5, 119, 150v-151v **; V6, 119, ff. 122v-123v; V7, ff. 158v-159v.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 179, pp. 348-349 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{150v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, equiti nobili et praestanti, domino Procopio Rabensteino, imperiali consiliario, singulari amico salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Fuit tuus recessus ex hoc loco mihi durissimus, qui me quotidiano socio privatum videbam, sed toleravi aequo animo sperans, res tuas fieri meliores. Nunc consolatus es me, spei nihil detrahens, sed adjiciens potius. Expecto in dies audire gratiora de te tuoque fratre, probatissimo viro. Gaudeo intellexisse tuis litteris inclytum regem Ladislaum feliciter et[2] gloriose coronatum esse. Multa, ut arbitror, ex hac re bona sequentur. Puto dignum esse regem id nosse idioma, quo subditi utuntur. Id modo in vestra potestate est; si secus fiet, nullius arguere negligentiam poteritis nisi vestram; et sapientes estis et potentissimi.

[2] De domino Nicolao stat sententia, ut dixi tibi. Fiet, quod voles, si modo desiderio nostro Deus arriserit. Caute tamen agendum erit propter mores, quos novisti hominum nostrorum, qui omnia sinistrorsum interpretantur. {151r} Georgiconem equestri ordine sublimatum accepi cupide. Exposui Caesari et tuas et illius oblationes, quas audivit libenter et gratias egit. Cupio intelligere, quo in statu sunt res fidei apud vos[3]: credo te non neglecturum, ubi possis, religioni pie consulere. Scribam per nuntium, qui primus occurret, domino nostro de coronatione et aliis, a te mihi significatis. Credo venisse ad vos legatum Caramanni et Carayluchi Turcorum cum litteris apostolicis et imperialibus. Causam illius ut commendatam suscipias, opto, quoniam fidei est et Christi gloriam respicit.

[1] DV, 178-179 [2] ac F1 [3] nos V7

408. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (8 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: *Piccolomini's friend and colleague, Prokop von Rabenstein, had returned to Bohemia with King Ladislaus, hoping to obtain some honourable office at the king's court. He was probably aiming for the chancellorship, for which his service in the emperor's court and chancery had made him very well qualified. He had written to Piccolomini that his prospects were looking good.*

Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Rabenstein for the positive news and sends him news from the Imperial Court.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the noble and eminent Herr Prokop von Rabenstein, imperial counsellor.

[1] Your departure from here was painful to me, seeing myself deprived of a daily companion. But I bore it equably in the hope that it would lead to an improvement in your conditions. Now, you have comforted me. Indeed, you have not lowered my expectations but raised them. Daily, I await good news about you and your esteemed brother.[2] I am glad to hear from you that King Ladislaus[3] has been crowned felicitously and gloriously. I believe much good will come from this. I consider that the king should learn the language used by his subjects. That is now in your power. If it does not happen, you can only blame your own negligence – but you are most wise and powerful!

[2] Concerning Ser Niccolò,[4] the matter stands as I told you. What you wish will happen if only God approves our wish. But it is necessary to act cautiously since you know the ways of the men here, who interpret everything in the worst way possible.[5] I heard with interest that Georg[6] has been made a knight. I have told the emperor about yours and his offers, which he heard gladly and with thanks. I wish to know the situation of the Faith[7] in Bohemia: I believe you will not fail to piously benefit religion where you can. As soon as a messenger becomes available, I shall inform Our Lord[8] about the coronation and the other things you told me. I believe that the legate of the Turks of Karaman[9] and Karayluch[10] has come to you with apostolic and imperial letters. I wish you would take up his cause as recommended since it is beneficial to the Faith and concerns the glory of Christ.[11]

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 44, 551, 553.
[2] Johann Rabenstein.
[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[4] Niccolò Lisci from Volterra.
[5] The plan was apparently (see later letters) for Lisci to join Rabenstein in the service of King Ladislaus which might appear suspicious to the courtiers of the emperor, in conflict with the king.
[6] Governor Georg Podiebrad.
[7] The orthodox faith of the Catholic Church as opposed to the Bohemian Hussitism.
[8] Pope Nicolaus V.
[9] A Turkish tribe that was often in conflict with the Ottoman Turks. Its ruler at the time was Ibrahim II (Karamanid) (d. 1464): Bey of Karaman.
[10] Likely Qara Yoluq Osman (COM (Meserve) 3, 487 n. 53.
[11] Bisaha: *From,* p. 77.

[3] Causa Prutenica adhuc pendet. Audita est actio religiosorum et responsio civitatum, modo replicationes audimus. Mallem hoc negocium amicabili tractatu quam judicio terminari. De pace Italiae nihil adhuc habemus. Papa tamen ei rei operam dat intenditque passagium facere, sicut antequam hinc abires, audivisti. Eizingerus de Ferrea Civitate detrusus est. Tenet adhuc arcem et modo tractatus est, ut illam tradat suscepta pecunia sua, idque reor evestigio futurum, namque si rebellis fuerit, in caput ejus mala faba cudetur. Missae sunt enim bombardae adversus eum et omnes ad expugnandum muros aptae machinae. Dixi, quae voluisti, magistro camerae et duobus Ulricis, qui te benigne resalutant. Noster Johannes {151v} astronomus bene valet et te amat.

Vale et scribe ad nos saepe, multum enim tuae litterae me oblectant. Ex Novacivitate, die 8. Novembris 1453.

[3] The Prussian matter[1] is still pending. The order's plea and the cities' response have been presented. We are now hearing the counterpleas. I should prefer this affair to be settled amicably rather than by a judgement. Concerning the peace in Italy, we have no news so far. The pope is working for it and intends to organise a crusade, as you heard before you left. Eitzinger has been expelled from Eisenstadt.[2] But he still holds the fortress, and they are now negotiating a deal where he will surrender it when he has been paid the money owed to him. This will likely happen soon since, were he a rebel, they would be preparing bad things against him. Indeed, they have already moved cannons and machines for destroying walls against him. I have told the *Kammermeister*[3] and the two Ulrichs[4] what you wanted me to. They greet you back kindly. Our astronomer Johann[5] fares well and loves you.

Farewell, and write often to me, for I take great pleasure in your letters. From Neustadt, 8 November 1453.

[1] The conflict between the Teutonic Order and the Prussian cities. A trial at court was in process.

[2] Eisenstadt: the capital of Burgenland.

[3] Hans Ungnad.

[4] Ulrich Sonnenberg and Ulrich Riederer.

[5] Johann Nihil.

409. Letter to Francesco d'Arco (8 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, f. 86r[1]; V5, 118, f. 150r-150v **; V6, f. 122v[2]; V7, ff. 158r-158v; Archivio Statale di Milano / Arcivescovi di Siena[3] (ASM).*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 180, pp. 349-350 (on the basis of the mss. listed above).*

{150r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, generoso comiti Francisco de Archo salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Accepi tete cupidum esse novorum, quae apud {150} nos sunt, notitiam tibi fieri, maxime vero quo se modo habeat illustris Ulricus, Sillacei comes. Ut desiderio tuo satisfaciam, mitto tibi exemplum epistole meae, quam novissime ad cardinalem Sancti Angeli, magnum virum, scripsi. Exinde fies voti compos. Vale.

[1] DV, 177
[2] DV, 126v
[3] *Collated after WO.*

409. Letter to Francesco d'Arco (8 November 1453,[1] Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As letter 401.*
Subject: *Piccolomini sends Francesco d'Arco a copy of his report to Cardinal Carvajal on the fall of the Count of Cilly.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the noble Count Francesco d'Arco.[2]

[1] I have heard you wish to be informed about recent events here, especially how the Illustrious Count Ulrich of Celje[3] is faring. To satisfy your desire, I send you a copy of my recent letter to that great man, the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo[4]. Thus, your wish is fulfilled. Farewell.

[1] On the date of the letter, see WO, 3:1, p. 350, note a.

[2] Francesco d'Arco (1413-1482): Count of Arco.

[3] Ulrich II of Celje.

[4] Letter 401.

410. Letter to Domenico Capranica (12 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 87r-89r*[1]*; V5, 120, ff. 151v-155r **; V6, 120, ff. 123v-126v; V7, 120, ff. 159v-163r.*
Editions A: *KO, 424*[2].
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 181, pp. 350-356 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{151v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino[3] Dominico, Cardinali Firmano, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Ceterorum litterae, quibus dietim visitor, ad respondendum me quidem invitant, tuae autem, quas nuper accepi, vehementer urgent atque compellunt, quae propter captivitatem Gasparis, qui pridem illustrissimi regis Hungariae paedagogus extitit, aestimationem meam in discrimen adductam demonstrant. Nisi enim, quo pacto sese res habeant, meis scriptis ostenderim, vereor, ne de me sinistra, quae concepta est, opinio noxium edat partum, qui me sine culpa et tibi et ceteris reverendissimis sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus, dominis meis, efficiat odiosum. Accipi igitur rem gestam et, an sim culpabilis, tu judica.

[2] Gaspar, de quo sermo est, humili loco natus, admodum pauper litteras apud Viennam didicit, ut est mos patrius, mendicando se nutriens. Emersit non sine labore; vicit fortunam virtus. Vocatus est in cancellariam Austriae, deinde sibi in aulam assumpto[4] credita est Ladislai regis pueritia, cum jusjurandum praestitisset nihil se contra Caesaris{152r} aut honorem aut utilitatem facturum et, quod ceteri familiares jurant, avertere, quoad possit, quaevis incommoda Caesareo culmini imminentia promisisset. Suscepta paedagogia fuit circa puerum diligens, litteris et moribus illum pro captu instituit. Factus igitur Caesari et omni curiae carus, intravit consilium, sedit cum principibus, in mensa regia cibum suscepit, cumque vacasset in Austria ecclesia una ex majoribus juris patronatus multique illam barones magnique nobiles peterent, praelatus omnibus Gaspar ecclesiam munere Caesaris consecutus est, quamvis et alia beneficia prius non modici valoris obtinuisset. Erat igitur potens in curia Gaspar nomenque non parvum habebat et bonitatis et doctrinae, nec dubium putabatur, quin brevi ad episcopalem ascenderet apicem.

[1] DV, 179-183
[2] DV, 312v-314v
[3] *omit.* F1
[4] sumpto KO

410. Letter to Domenico Capranica (12 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Kaspar Wendel, King Ladislaus' tutor, had become actively involved in an Austrian/Hungarian plot to free the young king from the emperor's guardianship. When the plot was discovered by the emperor, Wendel was arrested and imprisoned. King Ladislaus tried to get him released and raised support for him in Rome, causing Bishop Piccolomini to be criticised by some who believed he had contributed to Wendel's fall and inhumane treatment.*

Subject: *Piccolomini defends himself against the unjust accusations.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to His Lordship, Domenico, Cardinal of Fermo.

[1] I daily receive letters concerning the captivity of Kaspar,[1] former tutor of the Most Illustrious King of Hungary[2], from other people requesting an answer, but your letter, which I just received, is especially urgent and compelling since it shows that my reputation is at stake because of this matter. Unless I can show how the matter developed, I fear that the affair will have serious consequences for me since it apparently discredits me in the eyes of the Most Reverend Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church although I am blameless. So, hear what actually happened and judge me afterwards.

[2] Kaspar was born in humble conditions. As a poor student in Vienna, he had to live by begging, as is the custom in this country.[3] But virtue conquered fortune, and he succeeded though not without difficulties. He was appointed to the Austrian chancery and joined the court. There, he became the tutor of the boy Ladislaus, after he had sworn an oath to do nothing against the emperor's honour or interests and - like all the emperor's other familiars - had promised that he would, to the best of his ability, avert all troubles threatening His Imperial Highness. He was a diligent tutor for the boy and taught him letters and morals to the best of his ability. He became so well-liked by the emperor and all the court that he joined the [emperor's] council, sat among princes, and dined at the royal table. When one of Austria's most important patronate churches fell vacant and was requested by barons and great nobles, he was the preferred candidate and obtained it as a gift from the emperor, although he had already acquired other benefices of no small value. So, he was highly influential at the court and enjoyed an excellent reputation for goodness and learning. All believed he would soon be raised to the episcopacy.

[1] Wendel, Kaspar (d. after 1459): royal secretary, appointed tutor of Ladislaus. Planned the failed attempt to abduct Ladislaus during the emperor's coronation voyage (Heinig, pp. 622-623 and *ad indicem*).

[2] King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

[3] Poor students had to supplement their incomes by begging (Bettelstudenten).

[3] Laudabilis hucusque hominis vita dignaque diligi, sed, nescio quomodo, posthac mutatus est, quidve homini in mentem venerit, ut majora cupere et indigna se negotia agitare coeperit. Intelligens enim Austriales[1] novandarum[2] rerum cupidos, occulta cum Eizingero colloquia inivit, qui Caesari capitalis inimicus habebatur, cumque venisset ex Hungaria episcopus Argensis nomine Paulus, multa cum eo apud Gretzium de abducendo rege Ladislao clanculum pertractavit. In Nova insuper civitate cum barone quodam de Altomonte consilium habuit emittendi ad {152v} portam pueri, ubi[3] parati essent, qui eum equites[4] abducerent, cumque nihil horum processisset, litteras puero dictavit, quas scriberet Austrialibus, mandans eis, ut coeptum propositum contra Caesarem retinerent invitumque sese Italiam petere scirent.

[4] In Roma quoque nonnihil temptasse confessus est. Sed omnia superat, quod Florentiae aggressus est facinus. Cum Caesar ex urbe rediens illac[5] transitum faceret, expectabant ibi Caesarem Hungarorum et Australium oratores, inter quos Augustinus, episcopus[6] Jaurinensis, hujusmodi cum Gaspare apud ecclesiam Sanctae crucis colloquium habuit. "Hic," inquit, "locus est, in quo nostrum regem libertati reddere possumus. Fides publica data est non Caesari tantum, verum etiam Ladislao. Suade igitur puero, cum Caesar abire voluerit, usque ad portam eum sequatur. Eo cum venerit, velle se diebus aliquot Florentiae immorari dicat equumque retrovertat. Quod si Caesar ad exitum voluerit eum compellere, praesto erimus. Vim regi fieri indignum esse dicemus, fidem civitatis implorabimus, puer ipse coactum sese vociferans ad misericordiam populos commovebit[7]. Prius tamen apud senatum urbis operam dabimus[8], praesto ad[9] portas[10] armatos habeat, quibus cohiberi Caesaris violentia possit. Civis hic est, quem Budae negotiantem novimus; is[11] se operam senatus impetraturum[12] {153r} pollicetur. Tu regis animum praepara; nos hanc provinciam cum magistratibus civitatis suscipiemus." Annuit Gaspar atque ad regem profectus ex condicto cuncta disposuit, fuissetque peractum facinus, nisi apud Florentinos plus quieta consilia quam seditiosa valuissent. Nam civis ille, de quo pontifex Jaurinensis fecerat mentionem, cum de tali negotio magistratum alloqueretur, gravibus verbis reprehensus atque correptus ad episcopum rediens impeditas cogitationes exposuit.

[5] Non tamen conquievit Caspar, sed regem, cum Bononiam pervenisset, in hanc sententiam summo pontifici propria manu scribere persuasit[13]: "Accepi, sanctissime pater, adversus fideles nostros, qui pro mea liberatione in Austria[14] laborant, sanctitatem tuam nonnullos processus decrevisse, quae res mihi adversa est. Precor igitur, quidquid contra me actum est, revoces. Id enim erit officii tui, cum scriptum sit: 'Pupillo et orphano astabis.' Id nisi feceris, compelles me majores judices appellare.' Alia fuerunt epistolae verba, effectus autem quem refero. Clausa epistola[15] et signata missa est Augustino episcopo. An vero beatissimo papae Nicolao reddita sit, sua sanctitas novit, me quidem latet.

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[1] Austral… *et passim* KO
[2] novarum WO
[3] ibi V7
[4] equi V5
[5] illuc WO
[6] Augustinus episcopus : episcopus Augustinus V5
[7] commonebit F1
[8] operam dabimus : dabimus operam KO
[9] ante F1
[10] portam KO
[11] his V7
[12] imperaturum V7, KO
[13] scribere persuasit : persuasit scribere KO
[14] liberatione in Austria : in Austria liberatione KO
[15] est *add.* KO

[3] Until then, the man's life had been praiseworthy and commendable, but afterwards he began - I know not why - to change and somehow to aspire to greater things and involve himself in affairs unworthy of him.[1] Seeing that the Austrians were eager for political change, he had secret talks with Eitzinger, considered the emperor's mortal enemy, and when a certain Paul, Bishop of Ardschisch[2], arrived from Hungary, he had lengthy and secret conversations with him in Graz about abducting King Ladislaus. In Neustadt, moreover, he planned with a Baron Hohenberg to have the boy leave by a gate where knights would be standing ready to carry him away. But since all this came to nothing, he dictated a letter for the Austrians to the boy, asking them to continue their plot against the emperor and telling them that he did not want to go to Italy.

[4] In Rome, too, he plotted various things, as he has confessed. But the crime he attempted in Florence surpasses all. Having left Rome, the emperor passed through that city, where Hungarian and Austrian envoys awaited him. Among them was Ágoston, Bishop of Jaurinum,[3] who had a conversation like this with Kaspar in the church of Santa Croce. "This," he said, "is the place where we can give our king his freedom. We have made oaths not only to the emperor but also to Ladislaus. So, persuade the boy to do this: when the emperor decides to leave, let the boy accompany him to the gate. Once there, he should say that he wishes to stay a little longer in Florence and turn his horse back. If the emperor tries to compel him to leave, we are ready and will say that it is unworthy to use force against a king, and we will appeal to the city's loyalty. The boy himself will shout that he is being coerced and thus move the people to compassion. Before then, we will endeavour to persuade the city's senate to have armed men ready at the gates to prevent the emperor from using force. Here is a man we know as a merchant in Buda. He promises to obtain the senate's participation. It is your task to prepare the king while it is ours to deal with the [city] magistrates." Kaspar agreed, went to the king, and arranged everything as required. The crime would have been done if the Florentines had not preferred peaceful counsel to seditious action. For when the citizen mentioned by the Bishop of Jaurinum spoke with the magistrate about this matter, he was severely rebuked and reprimanded, after which he returned to the bishop and told him that the plan would have to be cancelled.

[5] Kaspar did not rest, though. When they arrived in Bologna, he persuaded the king[4] to write to the pope in his own hand: "I have heard, Most Holy Father, that Your Holiness has initiated certain proceedings against my faithful subjects in Austria working for my liberation. I cannot approve of this, so I ask you to revoke all acts against me, as you are obliged to since it is written: You shall help the ward and the orphan. If you do not, you compel me to appeal to greater judges."[5] The words of the letter were different, but this was the meaning. The letter was closed, sealed, and sent to Bishop Ágoston. Whether it reached Most Holy Pope Nicolaus, only His Holiness knows, I do not.

[1] On Kaspar Wendel and the affair with King Ladislaus, see VO, 3: 1, pp. 56-58. On a letter from the cardinals to the emperor of 25 September 1453, see RTA 19/1: pp. 67-68.

[2] See note in WO, 3: 1, p. 352, note a

[3] Ágoston Salánki (-1466): Bishop of Györ (Raab; Arbe; Jaurinum) from 1445 to his death.

[4] Ladislaus.

[5] This was a threat to appeal the pope's actions to an ecumenical council.

[6] Haec omnia, quamvis suspicante non tamen sciente Caesare, hactenus gesta sunt. Cum essemus Ferrariae velletque Caesar navigio Venetias petere, conscius erratorum Gaspar eum adit, marinas {153v} aquas nauseam sibi movere ac nocentissimas esse iturumque se[1] terrestri itinere Tervisium, si placeat[2] Caesareo culmini, dicit. Obtenta licentia et, cum Patavum venisset, receptis universis, quae secum attulerat, et quae in Italia coemerat, bonis, Veronam versus iter festinus direxit, ut qui[3] per Tridentum et vallem Athesis ad Enum transire decreverat, unde conscensa navi in Danubium navigans Viennam denique perveniret, tenuisset proculdubio propositum, nisi tabellarius quidam Caesaris ex Verona veniens hunc se obvium habuisse dixisset. Tunc enim duo post eum equites cum familia missi sunt, qui non longe a Tridento ipsum comprehenderunt vinctumque[4] duxere Venetias, ubi omnia, quae supra memorata sunt, sponte confessus est suaque manu conscripsit.

[7] Ibi primum casus hominis ad meam notitiam venit, nam Caesar me vocans cuncta mihi exposuit voluitque meas in manus hominem dare, quia sedis apostolicae legationem in Austria me nosset habere. Indolui certe adversam amici fortunam. Gaspare multis jam ab annis amicissime usus eram rebarque virum bonum esse et omni[5] benevolentia dignum. Exhorrui ergo cum intellexi, quae de ipso narrabantur, multumque mecum ipse accusavi conditionis humane defluxum, quae nihil certi, nihil fixi habet. Caduca et fluxa omnia sunt[6]: hodie laeti sumus, cras maesti erimus; {154r} modo sublimes, modo infimi reperimur. Caesari autem respondi auctoritatem mihi nullam apud Italos esse, utque misericorditer ageret cum presbytero, porrexi preces.

[8] Ductus est deinde ad Novam Civitatem Gaspar. Hic rursus requisitus sum hominem ad me recipere judiciumque super hujusmodi[7] criminibus agitare. Gravis res mihi visa est, at cum legati auctoritate fungerer, non videbam, quo pacto Caesaris petitionem recusare possem. Habita vero deliberatione, judicem me dixi futurum, si rite et[8] juxta canonicas sanctiones procederetur. Personam autem rei nolui custodiendam assumere, qui non haberem locum, in quo eum opportune recluderem. Placuit Caesari responsio mea, qui neque se plus velle ait, quam sacri canones ordinarent. Adductus est autem semel ad praesentiam meam Gaspar praesente notario, marescallo et Procopio, equite Bohemo, qui ultro sese peccasse confessus, universa, que supra de ipso scripta[9] sunt, ex ordine confirmavit et acceptans me sibi judicem deputatum, ut sui misererer seque Caesari commendarem, cum multis lacrimis flagitavit. Jussi eum boni esse animi, quia, quantum honestas pateretur, saluti suae consulerem. Post haec reclusus est in carcere non squalido aut taetro, sed lucido et spatioso, quamvis securo et optime munito. Ibi et locum secessus habet et plumas, in quibus jaceat, et breviarium, per quod oret. Cibus ad eum bis in die defertur, ex his bibit et comedit, quae familiae Caesaris apponuntur. Fateor misera vita est, sed hanc frequenter suis delictis homines asciscunt.

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[1] *omit.* V5, KO
[2] placet KO
[3] ut qui : et quia WO
[4] uictumque V7
[5] omnium V5, V6, V7
[6] omnia sunt : sunt omnia KO
[7] hujuscemodi V7, KO
[8] ac V5
[9] dicta WO

[6] The emperor suspected something was brewing but did not know what. When we were in Ferrara and he decided to go to Venice by boat, Kaspar, anxious because of his misdeeds, went to him and said that sailing made him violently sick and asked for permission, if it pleased his Imperial Highness, to go overland to Treviso. He got the permission and reached Padova, where he packed everything he had brought with him and what he had bought in Italy. Then he speedily went to Verona, having decided to proceed to Enn via Trient and the Etsch Valley. There he would take ship and go by the Donau to Vienna. He would no doubt have achieved his purpose unless one of the emperor's couriers, coming from Verona, reported that he had seen him on the way. Then two knights and their companions were sent after him, caught him at Trient, and brought him, in chains, to Venice, where he freely confessed all the above and wrote it down in his own hand.

[7] This is where I first heard of the man's downfall, for the emperor summoned me, told me all, and wished me to take charge of him, knowing that I had been appointed apostolic legate to Austria. I truly regretted my friend's bitter fortune. Kaspar had been a close friend for many years, and I considered him a good man, meriting everybody's goodwill. I was horrified to hear what was said about him, and I lamented the uncertainty of the human condition, which has nothing firm and nothing stable. Everything is precarious and fluid: today we are happy, tomorrow sad; now we are raised up, now brought low. However, I told the emperor that I had no [legatine] authority in Italy, and I begged him to show mercy to the priest.

[8] Kaspar was then taken to Neustadt. There, I was again asked to take custody of him and pass judgement on his crimes. I found the matter quite problematic, but having the authority of a legate, I did not see how I could refuse the emperor's request. So, upon consideration, I answered that I would be the judge on condition that the procedure would be legal and according to the canonical rules. However, I declined to take custody of the accused, since I did not have a suitable place to detain him. My answer pleased the emperor, who said he did not want more than what the holy canons ordained. Kaspar was then brought before me in the presence of a notary, the marshall, and the Bohemian knight Prokop. He again confessed his crimes and confirmed everything that is written above. He accepted me as his judge and tearfully begged me to show him mercy and commend him to the emperor. I bade him take heart and said I would look after his welfare as much as decency allowed. Afterwards, he was placed in a prison cell that was neither squalid nor disgusting but spacious and with day light, though secure and well guarded. He has a latrine, a feather bed, and a breviary for his prayers. He is brought food twice a day, and he drinks and eats the same as the emperor's household. Admittedly, his life is miserable, but men often bring such misery upon themselves through their own faults.

[9] Judicis ego[1] in eum, non principis habeo potestatem: legem me scriptam, non meum sequi arbitrium convenit. Quod sibi libera mihi potestas esset, cum sim ego peccator in conspectu Dei dignusque gravi fulmine, praestarem[2] me Gaspari, qualem mihi vellem Deum esse nec difficilis veniae reperirer, cujus dies noctesque indigentem me[3] scio. At modo judex ligatas habeo ad leges manus neque saevire in Gasparem debeo neque illum per indulgentiam impunitum remittere, dum pars est, quae judicium petit. Facio igitur, nisi fallor, quod mihi incumbit. Eapropter vellent aliquando, qui Caesari proximiores sunt et in consilio primi, Gasparem torquere, ut plura confiteretur, idque per me sibi licere[4] deposcunt, negavi me quidquam permissurum, nisi quod judiciarius ordo requireret. Sic[5] homo usque in hanc diem intactus est, quamvis sua culpa custos ejus capite plexus sit, quem[6] ipse ad relaxandum sese induxerat.

[10] Inter haec habiti sunt complurimi[7] tractatus pacis cum Austrialibus. Modo rex Ladislaus, modo Hungari, modo Bohemi liberationem ejus efflagitarunt, quibus homo neque negatus est neque concessus. Mihi, dum talia pendent, non {155r} est visum expedire aut officii mei esse solicitare processum. Taceo igitur neque plus quaero quam quaeror. Caesari tamen saepe, ut captivi misereatur verba feci, quem libenter extra miseriam esse viderem, tum sui causa, cui exceptis criminibus faveo, tum propter me, ut onus hoc non leve deponerem[8]. Sic res in hanc usque diem deductae sunt. Si sum culpa dignus, acre judicium tuum excutiat. Male, ut arbitror, mecum agunt, qui mihi in hoc negotio quidvis vel[9] modicum imputant redduntque pro bono malum, dicentes lucem tenebras et tenebras lucem. Veritas tamen enatabit, nec me, reor, falsa calumnia opprimet. Sum mihi conscius et, quidquid reliqui sentiant, gaudeo conscientia mea.

[11] Haec volui ad scripta tua dixisse, quibus me nonnullorum vocibus male notatum scribis. Si quis dignationi tuae deinceps incusaverit, habebis, quae possis[10] pro defensione mea objicere. Spero autem, quia non cuique mihi detrahenti credas. Quantum vero ad litteras sacri collegii attinet, ego illas divo Caesari reddidi et quae visa sunt ad rem addenda verba bis terque subjunxi. Majestas sua deliberaturam se ait et sacrosancto senatui, quae meliora cogitaverit, responsuram. Ago tibi ingentes gratias, qui negotia Bohemica me rogante sanctissimo domino nostro exposuisti.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 12. Novembris[11] 1453.

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[1] *omit.* KO
[2] prestantem V7
[3] non KO
[4] dicere V7
[5] si V7
[6] quam WO
[7] quamplurimi KO
[8] disponerem F1
[9] aut V5
[10] possis *add. in marg*. V6
[11] anno *add.* KO

[9] I have the power of a judge over him, not that of a prince, so I must follow the written law and not my personal inclinations. If I had unrestricted power over him, I would - being myself a sinner before God and deserving of the thunderbolt[1] - act towards Kaspar as I hope God will act towards me and not be slow to show the mercy of Him, whose mercy I know that I myself always need. But being the judge, I have my hands bound by the laws and must neither be too severe towards Kaspar nor allow him to go unpunished since there is a party[2] requesting a judgement. So, unless I am mistaken, I am doing what is incumbent on me. Therefore, though some men who are close to the emperor and the first in his council want Kaspar to be tortured to reveal more, I have refused to allow it unless required by judicial procedure. Thus, the man has remained untouched to this day even though his guard was executed because Kaspar had persuaded him to release him.

[10] In the meantime, there have been many peace negotiations with the Austrians. Now King Ladislaus, now the Hungarians, and now the Bohemians have urged his release, but it has neither been denied nor granted. While this is unresolved, it does not seem appropriate for me to initiate proceedings. So, I remain silent, and I do no more than I am required to. However, I have often asked the emperor to show mercy to the prisoner, whom I would be only too happy to see freed from his miserable state both for his own sake and for me to be relieved of this heavy burdensome charge. This is what has happened in the matter until now. Let your keen judgement determine if I deserve blame. Personally, I think that I am being abused by those who blame me in any way, and they return evil for good, claiming that light is darkness and darkness is light. But the truth will come out, and I shall not be crushed by false slander. I am happy to have a clear conscience, whatever others may think.

[11] This is what I wanted to write in reply to your letter, informing me that some are criticising me. If anybody hereafter denounces me to you, you will now know how to counter them in my defence. But I do hope that you do not believe those who disparage me. Concerning the letter from the Sacred College,[3] I have given it to the emperor, adding - twice or thrice - such words as I thought appropriate. His Majesty says that he will consider the matter and send a suitable response to the Sacred Senate.[4] I send you immense thanks for relating, as I had requested,[5] the Bohemian affairs to Our Most Holy Lord.[6]

Farewell. From Neustadt, 12 November 1453.

[1] A classical allusion to Jupiter who punishes men with thunderbolts, as in Horaces' verse: *neque / per nostrum patimur scelus / iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina* (Horatius: *Carmina,* 1: 3).
[2] The emperor.
[3] The College of Cardinals.
[4] The College of Cardinals.
[5] See letter to Cardinal Capranica of 27 July 1453 (letter 343).
[6] The pope.

411. Letter to János Vítez (13 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 185v-186r*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 85.*
Editions B: *Fraknoi, 1; WO, 3: 1, 182, pp. 356-357 (on the basis of W1).*

{185v} Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Johanni, episcopo Varadiensi, inclyti regni Hungarii cancellario, domino[3] suo[4] venerandissimo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, imperialis consiliarius, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Insignis eques, dominus Procopius de Rabsten, {186r} vetusta mecum benevolentia conjunctus, scripsit ad me nudiustertius cancellariam praeclarissimi Bohemiae regni sibi commissam esse. Eam ob causam rogatum me fecit praestabilem virum dominum Nicolaum de Volaterris, legum doctorem, socium meum amantissimum, ad se mitterem, cujus opera in cancellaria uti vellet. Non potui negare, quod sincerus amicus petivit. Mitto ad eum virum purae fidei et doctrinae probabilis, cui et oratores et poetae magna ex parte noti sunt, quamvis majus studium ejus in jure civili versatum sit. Is vestram dignationem et suo et meo nomine visitabit. Commendo eum dignitati vestrae, reputaturus mihi ipsi praestitum, quidquid in ejus personam vestra[5] praestabilitas aut auxili aut humanitatis impenderit, nam mihi homo singulari caritate et affectione connexus est. Puto virtutem ejus, postquam noveritis, una mecum diligetis.

Valeat reverendissima paternitas vestra meque pro suo utatur arbitrio et quotiens Nicolaum offenderit alterum Aeneam[6] datum sibi obviam existimet. Ex Nova Civitate, die 13. [Novembris[7]] 1453.

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[1] DV, 376-377
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~me~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~honor~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~digna~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~sese vidisse~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] *em.* WO

411. Letter to János Vítez (13 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Prokop von Rabenstein, a close friend of Piccolomini, had been appointed as King Ladislaus the Posthumous' Bohemian chancellor.*

Subject: *Piccolomini recommends Niccolò Lisci to King Ladislaus' Hungarian chancellor, informing him that Niccolò will be engaged by von Rabenstein in the Bohemian chancery.*[1]

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship János, Bishop of Varad, Chancellor of the Illustrious King of Hungary, his most venerable lord, Enea, Bishop of Siena, Imperial Councillor, sends many greetings.

[1] Two days ago, I received a letter from the distinguished knight, Lord Prokop von Rabenstein, an old friend of mine, informing me that he had been entrusted with the chancery of the illustrious Kingdom of Bohemia.[2] [3] Therefore, he asked me to send him the distinguished Ser Niccolò[4] of Volterra, Doctor of Laws, my beloved companion, whom he wants to employ in the chancery. I cannot refuse the request of a sincere friend. So, I am sending him a man of pure faith and admirable learning, one who is familiar with many orators and poets, though his greatest expertise lies in civil law. He will visit Your Grace in his own and in my name. I recommend him to Your Grace and shall consider any help or kindness you show him as shown to me, for I am bound to him with singular friendship and affection. I trust that when you get to know his qualities, you will love him as I do.

Farewell, Your Most Reverend Paternity, and use me as you will. Whenever you meet Niccolò, please think you are seeing another Enea before you. From Neustadt, 13 November 1453.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 552-553.

[2] Ladislaus the Posthumous.

[3] On Prokop's appointment as chancellor, see RTA, 19/1: p. 552-553.

[4] Niccolò Lisci.

412. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (15 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 89r-89v[1]; V5, 121, ff. 155v-157v **; V6, 121, ff. 126v-128r; V7, 121, ff. 163r-165r.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 183, pp. 357-359 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{155v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, generoso equiti Procopio Rabensteino salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Si dixero me tua promotione toto gavisum pectore, credes mihi, non ambigo. Scis enim, quia te amo atque observo unice, neque si taceam, aliter senties, qui meum animum tuo conjunctissimum intelligis laetum secundis rebus tuis, maestum adversis. Ut ergo tua mens jucunda est, sic meam esse non dubitas. Non est igitur necessarium me nunc scribere, quanto sim gaudio repletus, cum te maximi et gloriosissimi regis assumptum cancellarium agnovi. Plus enim tuae mentis oculis quam scriptis meis adhibes fidei. Illud tamen tacere non possum tres mihi amicissimos hoc anno ad maximas dignitates esse provectos: Johannem Campisium, Nicolaum Amidanum et Johannem Agazarium, quibus ecclesiae pontifcales commissae sunt Placentina, Mediolanensis et Grossetana. Nunc te quartum ex carissimis et amantissimis meis sublimi dignitate potitum, tantum mihi laetitiae dare quantum nec scribere possim nec dicere. Ago gratias pietati divinae, cui[2] sunt curae, quos amo. Faxit Deus, solidum sit et diuturnum gaudium, quod nunc {156r} habemus nec permittat quavis aegritudine labefactari, aut nullum nobis pro tanta prosperitate aut minimum infortunium reddat; sinat nos uti felicitate et, quae sunt suae majestati placita, mentem ut faciamus, tribuat.

[2] Quod petis de Nicolao doctore, jam non est voluntarium: servare oportet, quod promissum est. Homo ad te libenter venit haud dubitans se tibi commendatissimum esse: sequitur fidem ac virtutem tuam. Cum paulo ad te proficiscitur, ego quasi dexterum mihi oculum effodio, ut tuae voluntati satisfaciam utque homini consulam. Scio illi apud te melius futurum quam mecum: locum sua virtute dignum invenies. Mihi ejus recessus gravis est, sed neque tuae neque suae utilitati adversari possum. Cum tres contendunt, quod duobus placuerit[3], necessum est fieri. Mitto igitur ad te, Procopi amantissime, rem pretiosissimam, virum doctrina et probitate praestantem, doctorem doctum in civili sapientia, in historia, in poetica, in oratoria eruditum, dulcis et amoenae conversationis, naturali prudentia praeditum, nihil habentem fellis, recti et honesti cupidum, quem si amaveris et honoratum apud te habebis, ut scribis, facies rem te dignam et mihi gratissimam, qui eum quasi me alterum diligo multumque ad ejus missionem inductus sum, quia cum tecum is fuerit, tunc[4] {156v} me apud te esse confidam. Tu Nicolaum quasi Aeneam amplectere et quotiens illum videris, totiens mei memoriam habeto, quamvis est ipse[5] quam ego longe probrior et amore dignior.

[1] DV, 183-184
[2] an F1
[3] placuit WO
[4] tum V7
[5] *omit.* V7

412. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (15 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *See the preceding letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini congratulates von Rabenstein on his appointment as Chancellor of Bohemia.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Noble Knight, Prokop Rabenstein.[2]

[1] You will, I am sure, believe me when I say that I rejoice with all my heart at your advancement, for you know how much I love and treasure you. You would know it even if I were silent, for you see that my soul is intimately connected with yours and is happy when things go well for you and sad when they go badly. You will not doubt that my soul shares your joy. So, I do not really have to write how happy I am to hear that you have been appointed chancellor to a great and glorious king,[3] for you will trust the eyes of your mind more than my letter. But there is one thing I must say: this year, three of my closest friends have been promoted to high offices: Giovanni Campisio, [4] Niccolò Amidano[5] and Giovanni Agazzari,[6] who have received the dioceses of Piacenza, Milan and Grosseto respectively. Now, you are the fourth of my dearest and most beloved friends to reach high office, which fills me with such joy that I can barely write or say it. I thank Divine Piety for taking care of those I love. May God give the joy we feel now to be solid and permanent and not allow it to end in sorrow or make us pay for this great prosperity with even the slightest misfortune. May He allow us to be happy and do what pleases His majesty.[7]

[2] Your request concerning Doctor Niccolò is not a question of my own wish, for one must keep one's promises. The man will come to you gladly, sure that he will be most welcome: he follows your loyalty and virtue. When, shortly, he leaves to go to you, it will be as if I tear out my right eye to satisfy your wish and do him a favour. I know he will be better off there with you than here with me and that he will find a position worthy of his qualities. His departure is a severe loss to me, but I cannot oppose something that is advantageous both to you and him. When three contend, you must do what two of them want. So, dearest Prokop, I am sending you a most precious thing, a man of outstanding learning and integrity, a doctor versed in civil knowledge, and an expert on history, poetry, and oratory. He has sweet and charming conversation and is gifted with natural wisdom, free of spite, and intent on what is right and just. If you love and honour him, as you write, you will do something worthy of yourself and most welcome to me, for I love him as my other self. Sending him to you, I am much comforted by the thought that when he is with you, I trust that I will be you, too. Receive Niccolò as if he were Enea, and remember me every time you see him, although he is much more decent and worthy to be loved than I.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 553.
[2] On Prokop von Rabenstein, see WO, 3: 1, p. 357, note a.
[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous as King of Bohemia.
[4] Giovanni Campisio (see letter 310).
[5] Niccolò Amidano (see letter 311).
[6] Giovanni Agazzari (see letter 372).
[7] I.e., God's.

[3] Salutes magnifici domini Georgii gubernatoris cum magna voluptate recepi, afficior namque virtutibus hominis et in memoria tanti[1] me viri esse magni muneris loco suscipio cupioque viceversa suae magnificentiae me dedas et commendatum efficias. Quod scribis de meo ad vos transitu, quem illi placere affirmas[2], non esset alienum menti meae, tum quia Pragam videre cupio, tum quod rebus ecclesiasticis nonnihil prodesset conversatio nostra. Sed intelligis negotia mea, quo in statu sunt. Sine scitu pontificis maximi et auxilio pecuniario venire non possem, nisi majestas Caesarea ex aliqua sua causa eo me mitteret. Tunc enim et res suas agitarem et negotia fidei non omitterem. Quae sit tamen animi mei sententia in hoc negotio, ex domino Nicolao plenius accipies, quem et in hoc negotio et in pluribus aliis de mea voluntate instructum audies.

[4] Caesar hodie accepit de tua dignitate cum singulari alacritate dixitque te dignum illo honore et multa in tuam commendationem in pleno consilio locutus est. Omnes te commendaverunt[3] et tua fortuna laetos sese ostenderunt, maxime Johannes Ungnodius et Ulrici duo. {157r} Dixi Caesari de tua erga se fide, qui eam habere perspectam ait neque ambigit, ubi possis, ejus te cupidum honoris esse. Crede mihi, admodum gratum est omnibus, quod de te nuntius Paulus attulit. Scio et sanctissimum pontificem Nicolaum et sacrum collegium hoc ipsum cum singulari jucunditate percepturum[4], maxime vero Sancti Angeli cardinalem, atque utinam primus sim[5] ego, qui de te meis scriptis Romanam curiam efficiam certiorem.

[5] Martinus Norinbergensis[6], advocatus et doctor insignis, hodie me domi conveniens de tua dignitate magnificis verbis locutus est, at qui te amat vero corde. Intelligo ex sermone suo, si locum aut pro cancellario Austriae aut pro consilio regio inveniret, non recusaret, sed illi principi summa fide et alacri animo serviret. Tu hominem nosti, cogita obsecro, an ei prodesse queas. Vir est, qui possit et regi et tibi utilis esse. Intendit homo ad ecclesiasticum se statum conferre, sic facile beneficia consequi posset. Ego ista ad te scribo, quia ita intelligo hominis mentem esse, quamvis non rogarit pro se fieri verba. Sed amicus etiam non rogatus amici causam promovere debet. Super hoc gratum habebo[7], si mihi quantocius rescripseris. Johannes astronomus laetus est fortuna tua, sicut scripto ejus intelliges.

[6] De rebus Italiae non scribo tibi quidquam, quando Nicolaus omnium instructus {157v} ad te proficiscitur. Is et de duce Burgundiae te certiorem faciet, quem fama est summo conatu ad rem fidei contra Turcos animatum esse.

Vale et Nicolaum ita commendatum habe, quemadmodum Gaspar Slik Aeneam habuit. Ex Nova Civitate, die 15. Novembris 1453.

[1] tante WO
[2] confirmas WO
[3] commendarunt WO
[4] precepturum V7
[5] sum V7
[6] Norimbergensium V7,WO
[7] habeo V7

[3] I received the greetings from His Magnificence, Lord Governor Georg,[1] with great pleasure, for I am much impressed by the man's qualities and consider it a great honour to be remembered by such a distinguished person. Please commend me in turn to His Magnificence and assure him of my devotion. What you wrote about my travel there, which you said would please him, is certainly something I would consider, both because I want to see Prague and because our conversation would benefit the ecclesiastical affairs.[2] But you know my situation: I could not come without permission and financial support from the Supreme Pontiff unless His Imperial Majesty would send me there for some reason. Then, I could take care of the emperor's matters without neglecting the religious. You will learn more fully from Niccolò about my thoughts and feelings on this and several other matters since he is fully informed about my wishes.

[4] Today, the emperor was delighted to hear about your [new] office and said you were highly qualified for this honour. He said much in your praise in the full council. All commended you and expressed their pleasure at your good fortune, especially Hans Ungnad[3] and the two Ulrichs.[4] I told the emperor about your continuing loyalty towards him, and he said that he was quite aware of it and did not doubt that you would defend his honour where you could. Believe me, everybody was overjoyed at the news about you brought by the messenger Paul. I know that also Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus and the Sacred College will receive the news with extraordinary pleasure, especially the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo. I hope to be the first to inform the Roman Curia about you.

[5] Martin[5] from Nürnberg, an advocate and distinguished doctor, visited me today and spoke glowingly about your [new] office. He loves you sincerely. From what he said, I understood that if offered a position in the Austrian Chancery[6] or in the king's[7] council, he would not refuse but serve the king loyally and eagerly. You know the man. Please consider whether you can help him. He is a man who could be useful both to the king and yourself. He intends to take ecclesiastical orders to obtain benefices more easily. I write this to you, for this is what I think he wanted, though he did not ask me to speak on his behalf. But a true friend should promote a friend's cause even without being asked. I would be grateful for a prompt answer on this issue. Astronomer Johann[8] rejoices in your fortune, as you will see from his own letter.

[6] I do not write about Italian affairs since Niccolò will come to you fully informed about everything. He will also inform you about the Duke of Burgundy,[9] who is rumoured to be highly motivated to act for the Faith against the Turks.

Farewell, and please treat Niccolò as well as Kaspar Schlick once treated Enea. From Neustadt, 15 November 1453.

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[1] Georg Podiebrad.

[2] Probably a veiled reference to a possible solution of the Hussite schism by papal recognition of the Bohemian's right to communion under both species.

[3] Kammermeister.

[4] Ulrich Sonnenberger and Ulrich Riederer. On this passage, see Reinle, p. 470.

[5] Martin Mair.

[6] Or: as Austrian chancellor. Of King Ladislaus as Duke of Austria.

[7] Ladislaus the Posthumous.

[88] Johann Nihili.

[9] Philippe III le Bon.

413. Letter to Peter von Schaumberg (18 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 186r-187r* [1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 86.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 184, pp. 359-362 (on the basis of W1).*

{186r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Petro, sacrosancte Romanae ecclesiae[3] presbytero cardinali et Augustensi pontifici, domino suo colendissimo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, commendatum se facit.[4]

[1] Superioribus diebus redditae fuerunt mihi litterae vestrae, in quibus duo mihi committebatis: alterum, ut negotia beatae Mariae Teutonicorum pro mea virili juvarem; alterum, ut opusculi cujusdam dignationi vestrae copiam facerem, quod adversus Australes in laudem Caesaris[5] composueram. Sed non fuit tunc, qui meum responsum expeteret. Respondebo igitur modo, quando legatus vester ad Caesarem[6] missus domum revertitur.

[2] In facto religionis dico et facio, quae mihi juri consona videntur et ad imperialem gloriam pertinere, faveoque religioni quoad possum, cujus causam existimo justiorem. Legatus vester, quid in re illa actum sit, dignationem vestram plenius instruet. Magna causa est et caudam post se longam trahit. Opusculum, de quo facit vestra {186v} dignitas mentionem, misi ante annum ad cardinalem Sancti Angeli, cujus auctoritatem et judicium maximi facio[7]. Non est visum ejus prudentiae publicandus[8] liber, dum his in regionibus moram traho[9]. Parui sententiae tanti patris. Nescio, quo pacto Romae, ut scribitis, nonnulli exemplar habuerint. Ego, quoad possum, recludo et in abdito loco retineo, quod imprimis dictavi. Eam ob causam supplico, ne dignatio vestra aegre ferat, si modo non mitto, quod petitis[10]. Mittam autem quamprimum Senis fuero, neque id longum erit, si divina pietas dabit. Est enim animus post natalia domini proxima statim hinc iter arripere ac domum repetere[11], tumque opus hoc et[12] aliquod aliud in purgationem more curabo quantocius destinare. Interea me servitorem vestrum nihil minus amabitis, quia debitum et usuras reddam. Ac tantum de litteris prioribus[13].

[3] Posteriores[14] proprium quoddam ecclesiae vestrae negotium concernebant. Id puto pro vestro desiderio terminatum, quantum in hoc tempore fieri potuit. Ego, ubi possim, numquam deses inveniar voluntati vestrae morem gerere.

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[1] DV, 377-379
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~tituli~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~re~~ *seq.* W1
[5] ~~edideram~~ *seq.* W1
[6] ~~veniens~~ *seq.* W1
[7] ~~petivique manum operi apponeret extimaretque~~ *seq.* W1
[8] ~~publicandum~~ *seq.* W1
[9] ~~quamvis aliqui nescio quando nacti exemplum~~ *seq.* W1
[10] ~~scit enim~~ *seq.* W1
[11] ~~tumque~~ *seq.* W1
[12] ~~alia~~ *seq.* W1
[13] ~~in secundis~~ *seq.* W1
[14] ~~rem pro~~ *seq.* W1

413. Letter to Peter von Schaumberg (18 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Cardinal von Schaumburg had made various requests to Piccolomini.*
Subject: *Piccolomini assures the cardinal that he supports the cause of the Teutonic Order, promises to send him his oration "Sentio" when he has left Austria, and informs him that a matter concerning his diocese has been settled to his satisfaction.*[1]

To the Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, His Lordship Peter,[2] Presbyter Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and Bishop of Augsburg, his Worshipful Lord, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] Your letters were recently delivered to me. In the [first] one, you requested two things from me. One was to support the cause of the [Order] of Saint Mary of the Germans to the best of my ability.[3] The second was to have a copy made for Your Grace of a small work that I have written against the Austrians and in praise of the emperor.[4] Nobody, however, asked for my reply to your letter, but I shall answer now since the envoy you sent to the emperor is going home.

[2] In the matter of the order, I say and do what seems just to me and pertains to the imperial honour. I support the order as much as I can since I consider its cause to be the more just. Your envoy will fully inform you about what has been done in the matter until now. It is an important case, with a long tail.[5] The small work mentioned by Your Grace I sent, more than a year ago, to the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,[6] whose authority and opinion I greatly respect. He wisely thought I should not publish the book while still in these regions. I obeyed the judgement of this great Father. I do not know how it is that some people in Rome have a copy, as you write. I myself keep hidden as much as possible what I wrote then. Therefore, I beg Your Grace to accept that I do not now send what you ask for. But I shall send it as soon as I am in Siena, and that will not be long if it pleases the Divine Piety. For it is my intention to leave here after Christmas and return home, and then I shall send you the book and also some other apologetic writings. In the meantime, you should not love your servant less, for I shall repay my debt with interest. No more in reply to your first letter.

[3] The second letter concerned an affair of your diocese. I believe it has now been settled to your satisfaction, as much as was possible at the present time. I shall never be found remiss in obeying your will as far as possible.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 44, 451, 551, 552, 553, 565. See also Bisaha: *From*, p. 77.

[2] Peter von Schaumberg (1388-1469): Bishop of Augsburg (1429) and cardinal (1439).

[3] Piccolomini is referring to the court hearing on the conflict between the Teutonic Order and the Prussian cities.

[4] Piccolomini's oration *"Sentio"* of December 1452 (COR, 4: 20).

[5] I.e., with far-reaching consequences.

[6] Juan Carvajal.

[4] Venio nunc ad novitates harum partium, quae scribi possunt. Comes Ciliae, ut audivistis, nisi fallor, ex gubernatione Austriae dimotus est indignationemque regis sui non parvam incidit[1]. Quaerit vias admodum multas, per quas in gratiam revertatur; nulla sibi adhuc successit. Ter quaterque salvi conductus litteras petivit, quibus tuto posset Pragam ingredi et alloqui regem, et quamquam negatae sint[2], non tamen cessat *pulsare ad ostium,* si forsitan aliquando sibi *aperiatur.*

[5] Rex[3] suus cum maxima populi laetitia et ingenti apparatu in die Simonis et Judae[4] Pragae coronatus est, in quorum vigilia ante annos 14 pater ejus Albertus obierat mortem[5]. Albertus, dux Austriae, et Albertus, marchio Brandeburgensis, ac Johannes, Hungariae gubernator, praesentes fuere. Bona coronae, quae non jacent pignori, ante festum Luciae proximum regi tradenda sunt; medios quoque fructus omnium bonorum daturos sese illi Bohemi jactitant. Delegerunt regi consiliarios et curiae quosvis magistratus. De rebus fidei parva mentio sit. Sunt, qui putant non exiturum ex Bohemia regem, antequam gentis idioma condiscat et siceram bibere. Alii vero iturum eum mox Vratislaviam ferunt. Ipse autem[6] suis litteris scribit {187r} se quam primum repetiturum Viennam ibique de rebus Turcorum cum Hungaris tractaturum. Australes in festo sanctorum omnium conventum habuere apud Crempsam, volentesque gubernatores eligere non fuerunt unanimes, quamvis litterae regis ad 6 annos eos assumere gubernatores juberent.

[6] Hic fuit ante dies 20 orator quidam Caramanni, qui se dicit Turcorum inimicum, quamvis sit ipse Turchus, hortatusque est magnopere Caesarem, ut exercitum contra Turcum praeparet[7], quem venturum prope diem in Hungariam asserit. Litteras secum detulit domini nostri papae, regis Aragonum et dominii Venetorum, quae suspicionem malae fidei auferebant. Is profectus est ad regem Hungariae. Dolet se Christianos desides invenisse auguraturque nostrae religioni mala propter negligentiam nostram.

[7] Italia turbida est. Oratores contendentium de pace apud Romanum pontificem agunt. Nescio, quibus in terminis res sit. Timeo ne, dum de lana certamus, lanam simul atque ovem amittamus. Alia, quae modo scribam non habeo.

Facio me iterum et iterum dignationi vestrae commendatum. Ex Nova Civitate, die[8] 18. Novembris[9] 1453.

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[1] ~~studet~~ *seq.* W1
[2] ~~tamen adhuc~~ *seq.* W1
[3] ~~Ladi~~ *seq.* W1
[4] ~~coronatus est in quo~~ *seq.* W1
[5] ~~mar~~ *seq.* W1
[6] *corr. ex* vero W1
[7] prepararet WO
[8] ~~xx~~ *seq.* W1
[9] ~~Octobr~~ *seq.* W1

[4] I now come to the news from these parts that I can write about. If I am not mistaken, the Count of Celje[1] has - as you will have heard - been removed from the government of Austria and has incurred the king's disfavour. He is now seeking many ways to return to favour but has not yet succeeded. Three or four times, he has asked for a safe-conduct to enter Prague and speak with the king, and though it has been refused, he continues to *knock on the gate* in case it *should be opened* to him.[2]

[5] To the immense joy of his people and with great splendour, the king[3] was crowned in Prague on the Feast of Saints Simon and Jude,[4] on whose vigil[5] his father[6] died 14 years before. Duke Albrecht of Austria,[7] Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg,[8] and Governor János[9] of Hungary were present. The crown properties that are not held in pledge must be returned to the king before the Feast of [Saint] Lucia.[10] The Bohemians boast that they will transfer the intermediary incomes from all the crown estate to him. They have appointed councillors for the king and some court officials. Little is said about the Faith. Some think the king will not leave Bohemia until he has learnt the language of the people and to drink beer. Others say that he will soon be going to Wroclaw. He himself writes in his letters that he will return to Vienna as soon as possible to confer with the Hungarians on the Turkish matters. On the Feast of All Saints,[11] the Austrians held an assembly in Krems to elect governors, but they could not agree, though the king had ordered them by letter to appoint governors for a period of 6 years.

[6] Twenty days ago, an ambassador from Karaman[12] was here. He said that, though a Turk himself, he was an enemy of the Turks,[13] and he urged the emperor to mobilise an army against the Turk,[14] whom he said would soon invade Hungary.[15] He brought letters with him from Our Lord Pope,[16] the King of Aragon,[17] and the Venetian Dominion, which removed the suspicion of fraud. Afterwards, he continued to the King of Hungary.[18] He regrets the passivity of the Christians and presumes it will go badly for our religion because of our negligence.

[7] Italy is in turmoil. The ambassadors of the conflicting parties are negotiating peace before the Roman Pontiff. I do not know how the matter stands. I fear that while fighting about the wool, we may lose both the wool and the sheep. I have no more to write.

I recommend myself to Your Grace again and again. From Neustadt, 18 November 1453.

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[1] Ulrich II.
[2] Matthew, 7: 8.
[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[4] 28 October 1453.
[5] 27 October 1439.
[6] Emperor Albrecht II.
[7] Albrecht VI.
[8] Albrecht III.
[9] János Hunyadi.
[10] 13 December 1453.
[11] 1 November 1453.
[12] A Turkish tribe that was often in conflict with the Ottoman Turks. Its ruler at the time was Ibrahim II (Karamanid) (d. 1464): Bey of Karaman.
[13] The Ottoman Turks.
[14] Sultan Mehmed II
[15] See RTA 19/1: pp. 44 ff.
[16] Nicolaus V.
[17] Alfonso V the Magnanimous.
[18] Ladislaus the Posthumous.

414. Letter to Nicolaus V (24 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 90r-91r[1]; V5, 122, ff. 157v-159v **; V6, 122, ff. 128r-129v; V7, 122, ff. 165r-167r.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 185, pp. 362-364 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{157v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, beatissimo papae Nicolao V. salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quamvis omnia, quae gerantur apud nos, aliorum scriptis apostolico culmini significata non dubitem, officii tamen mei non minus esse deputo, quae noviter emergunt scitu digna, tuae beatudini conscribere. Eapropter, cum superioribus diebus novitatem Austrialium[2] erga comitem Ciliae factam pietati tuae manifestaverim, restat modo, quae secuta sunt, exponere. Ea sic se habent: rex Ladislaus, excluso comite Ciliae, in Bohemiam profectus est, sequentibus eum Alberto, Austriae duce, et altero Alberto[3], marchione Brandeburgensi, Johanne, Hungariae gubernatore, et multis ex Austria et Hungaria praelatis ac nobilibus. In Iglavia receptus est a gubernatore Bohemiae ceterisque baronibus summo honore. In introitu regni juravit subditis et juramenta suscepit, ut vetusta consuetudo jubet. Ante Pragam longo intervallo clerus et universus populus obviam ei venit, inter quos {178r} Rochezana principatum tenuit velut urbis archiepiscopus, quamvis nec infula uteretur neque baculo.

[2] In die apostolorum Simonis et Judae per Olomucensem[4] episcopum coronatus est grandeque factum convivium, sed neque coronationi neque convivio interfuit Rochezana. Sequentibus diebus officiales regni instituti sunt[5], inter[6] quos nobilis eques Procopius Rabensteinus, tuae sanctitati deditissimus, haud ultimus fuit. Is enim coronae Bohemiae cancellarius creatus est jamque gerit officium et scripsit ad me, ut Nicolaum Volaterranum, legum doctorem, familiarem meum, ad se mitterem, quod factum est. Georgius Pogiebratius regni curam gerit et personae regis atque omni nocte in thalamo ejus dormit, neque Austrialis aut[7] Hungarus in eo potestatem habet, quamvis Eizinger[8] etiam in palatio mansionem obtineat. Volunt Bohemi regem suum apud se manere, donec patrium sermonem ediscat regnicolisque sine interprete loquatur.

[3] Hungari et Austriales decepti atque irrisi domum revertuntur, aegre ferentes se fore venatos, Bohemos autem praedam recepisse[9]. Albertus marchio non bene contentus ad propria repedavit. Dux Albertus Viennam petiturus affirmatur. Eizinger[10] et Johannes vaivoda adhuc[11] in Bohemia perseverant conjuncti Georgio, gubernatori Bohemiae, id inter se placitantes, ut unus Bohemiam, alter Hungariam, tertius Austriam in potestate habeat. {158v} Austriales et Hungari ceteri de familia regis cibo potuque retinentur, pecuniam nullam impetrant. Qui licentiam[12] redeundi domum petit non aegre obtinet.

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[1] DV, 185-187
[2] Austral… *et passim* V6
[3] Austriae duce … Alberto *omit.* V7
[4] Olmucensem F1; Holumicensem V6, V7
[5] instituti sunt : instituit V7
[6] in V6, V7, WO
[7] neque WO
[8] Azingher *et passim* V6, V7
[9] cepisse V5
[10] Eyzingerus V5
[11] adhunc F1
[12] potestatem V5

414. Letter to Nicolaus V (24 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *King Ladislaus had been crowned king of Bohemia.*
Subject: *Piccolomini reports on the king's reception and coronation in Bohemia, on the appointment of the grand officers of state, on the Austrian disappointment at developments in Prague, and on the fate of the rebels against the emperor, including the Count of Celje and Ulrich Eitzinger.* [1]

Enea, Bishop of Sienea, sends many greetings to the Most Holy Pope, Nicolaus V.

[1] Although Your Apostolic Highness has surely been informed by letters from others about everything that happens here, I nonetheless consider it my duty to report such news as is worth knowing to Your Holiness. Some time ago, I informed Your Piety about the Austrian rebellion against the Count of Celje.[2] [3] Now, it remains to relate what happened afterwards. Here is how matters stand: after the dismissal of the Count of Celje, King Ladislaus left for Bohemia. He was accompanied by Duke Albrecht of Austria and the other Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, Governor János of Hungary, and many prelates and nobles from Austria and Hungary. In Iglau,[4] he was received with the highest honours by the Governor of Bohemia[5] and the other barons. When he entered the kingdom, the king took his oath to his subjects and received their oaths in return, as ancient custom demands. A good distance from Prague, he was met by the clergy and all the people, led by Rokycana as if he were the city's archbishop, though he used neither mitre nor crozier.

[2] The king was crowned by the Bishop of Olomouc[6] on the Feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude. Afterwards, a grand banquet was held. Rokycana attended neither in the coronation nor the banquet. The following days, the officials of the kingdom were appointed.[7] Important among them was the noble knight, Prokop von Rabenstein, who is most devoted to Your Holiness. He was made Chancellor of the Crown of Bohemia and is now in charge of that office. He has already asked me to send him Niccolò[8] of Volterra, doctor of laws and one of my familiars, which I did. Georg Podiebrad governs the kingdom and the king's person and sleeps every night in his chamber. No Austrian or Hungarian has any power with the king, though Eitzinger has been given an apartment in the palace. The Bohemians want the king to remain with them until he has learned their language and can speak to his subjects without an interpreter.

[3] The Hungarians and the Austrians are returning home, disappointed and scorned. They are indignant that they did the hunting,[9] whereas the Bohemians seized the prey. Margrave Albrecht has returned home, disgruntled. Duke Albrecht is reportedly on his way to Vienna. Eitzinger and Voivode János are still in Bohemia as allies of Georg, the Governor of Bohemia. They have agreed among themselves that Georg holds Bohemia, the other Hungary, and the third Austria. The other Austrians and Hungarians from the king's household are given food and drink but no money. Those who request permission to go home receive it easily.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 46, 452, 548, 551, 552, 553, 565.
[2] Ulrich II of Celje.
[3] No letter to the pope himself on this matter is extant, but Piccolomini may be referring to a letter of 16 October to Cardinal Carvajal (letter 401) with an account of these events, which would undoubtedly be communicated to the pope. Cf. letter 417: 1.
[4] Jihlava
[5] Georg Podiebrad.
[6] Jan XIII (WO: Johannes Haes).
[7] On the appointment of the Bohemian officials, see RTA, 19/1: p. 552-553.
[8] Niccolò Lisci.
[9] By rebelling against the emperor and forcing him to release Ladislaus from his guardianship.

[4] Decretum est apud Bohemos omnia bona coronae ad manus regis ante festum Luciae reddi debere, quae non sunt obligata pignori. Ut autem redimi hypothecata possint, medios fructus omnium[1] bonorum unius anni et[2] nobiles et plebei ad cameram regalem daturos se promiserunt. Fertur et ecclesiarum bona esse restituenda jamque Georgiconem, quae[3] occupaverat, reddidisse, sed hoc mihi non satis exploratum est. Procopius scribit cupere Georgiconem me illuc proficisci sperareque meum[4] transitum utilem esse rebus ecclesiae, sed hoc ego non faciam, nisi tua beatitudo jusserit. Rochezana publice praedicat de laudibus novelli regis jubetque orare populum, ut Deus cor ejus ad veritatem inclinet, ut idem sapiat idemque teneat, quod sanctus ille Johannes Hus[5] olim docuit, ad quam rem perficiendam omnes pueri regis comites ex illa secta delecti sunt.

[5] Dum haec in Bohemia geruntur, comes Ciliae saepe legatos ad regem misit, qui sibi audientiam impetrarent, neque id quovis pacto impetrare potuit. Fuit prope Pragam ad iter mediae diei neque permissus est civitatem ingredi, alloquium ejus rege penitus recusante. Is nunc ad Caesarem venit estque modo apud nos erratorum veniam {159r} petens promittitque non minus prodesse quam nocuerit. Tractatus cum eo pendent[6]. Is[7] tamen adjunctis sibi[8] plerisque nobilibus Austriae, Eizingero bellum minatus est, nec dubium est, quin etiam illi sua tempestas immineat, qui contra Caesarem contraque jussum apostolicum non timuit erigere cornua.

[6] Omnes fere poenas dederunt, qui ductores exercitus adversus Caesarem fuere. Comes de Schamberg[9] huc[10] ad Caesarem impetraturus veniam profectus, infra sex dies animam exalavit praeventusque morbi furore sine sacramentis ecclesiae decessit. Sic Deus in eos ulciscitur, qui sedis apostolicae mandata contemnunt. Corpus illius hic inhumatum[11] non est sed ad castra filiorum delatum. Dominus de Walsee gratiam Caesaris multis precibus quaerit. Favet Deus Caesari nostro, qui sine gladio suos humiliat inimicos. Austriales omnes malo animo sunt propter absentiam regis. Jussi gubernatores sibi deligere, qui ad sex annos regant patriam, recusarunt. Res turbidae sunt: oportet Austriales Bohemorum parere jussibus, et, quidquid pecuniarum exigunt[12], ad illos mittere. Sic Austria commissi facinoris poenas luit.

[7] Nos hic habemus Prutenos cum subditis litigantes. Causa audita est, nunc ad sententiam properatur. Assunt multi principum oratores, quorum consilio res geritur. Ob hanc rem non potui, ut optabam, reverti domum ante natalia domini, sed his {159v} peractis annuente Caesare iter arripiam curaboque me semel ante pedes reddere tuae beatitudinis, cui me commendatum veluti fidele mancipium cupio. Caesar bene valet expectans, si quid sibi tua beatitudo in rebus Turcorum imperet. Custodiat te divina pietas ad felicem statum ecclesiae sanctae.

Ex Novacivitate, die 24. Novembris 1453.

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[1] annuorum V5; annuum F1, V7 *[see preceding letter, sect. 5]*
[2] *omit.* WO
[3] qui F1
[4] eum WO
[5] hiis V7
[6] pendet V7
[7] his V7
[8] saepe V7
[9] Schamberga V6; Stiamberga V7
[10] hic F1, V5
[11] inhumatus WO
[12] exugunt V5; exsugunt (?) V6

[4] In Bohemia, it was decided that all crown properties not held in pledge must be returned to the king's hand before the Feast of Lucia. And to redeem the pledged properties, the nobles and commoners promised to transfer a year's income from all their properties to the royal treasury. It is also said that the Church's properties are to be returned and that Georg had already returned those he had previously occupied, but I do not have sufficient information on this point. Prokop[1] writes that Georg desires me to travel there and hopes that my visit will profit the Church's affairs, but I shall not do so unless Your Holiness commands it. Rokycana preaches publicly in praise of the new king and instructs the people to pray to God to bend his heart to the truth[2] and to believe and hold what that holy man Jan Hus[3] once taught. To achieve this, all the king's young companions have been chosen from this sect.

[5] During these events in Bohemia, the Count of Celje often sent envoys to the king seeking an audience, but without success. He stayed half a day's journey from Prague, and since the king absolutely refused to speak with him, he was forbidden access to the city. The count has now come to the emperor seeking pardon for his errors and promising to benefit the emperor's cause in the future more than he harmed it in the past. Negotiations with him are still going on.[4] He is joined by several Austrian nobles and threatens Eitzinger with war. So, there is no doubt that a storm is now brewing for those who dared to raise their horns against the emperor and against the apostolic decree.[5]

[6] Almost all those who led armies against the emperor have now received their punishment. The Count of Schaunberg[6] arrived here to obtain the emperor's pardon but died within six days, and his violent sickness prevented him from receiving the sacraments of the Church before his death. Such is God's vengeance on those who scorn the decrees of the Apostolic See. The count's body was not buried here but was taken to his sons' camp. The Lord of Walsee[7] fervently begs for the king's favour. Thus, God favours our emperor, who humiliates his enemies without having to use force. All Austrians are indignant because of the king's absence. They were ordered to elect governors to rule the country for six years but refused. The situation is chaotic: the Austrians have to obey the orders of the Bohemians and send them the money they require. Thus, Austria is being punished for its sin.[8]

[7] The Prussians[9] are here litigating against their subjects.[10] The case has been heard, and the verdict is imminent. Many princely envoys are here to advise on the conduct of the whole matter. Therefore, I could not return home[11] before Christmas, as I had hoped. But the emperor has given me permission to leave when this matter has been concluded, and I shall present myself at the feet of Your Holiness, to whom I commend myself as a loyal servant. The emperor is well and awaits what Your Holiness may request of him in the matter of the Turks.[12] May the Pious God preserve you to ensure the prosperity of Holy Church.

From Neustadt, 24 November 1453.

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[1] Prokop von Rabenstein.
[2] The Hussite teachings.
[3] Jan Hus (1369-1415). Hussite teacher. Burnt by the Council of Konstanz.
[4] See RTA, 19/1: p. 552-553.
[5] During the Austrian rebellion against the emperor in 1452.
[6] Schaunberg, Johann II (c. 1396 - 16 November 1453): Count. Landmarschall of the Dukedom of Austria. Councillor and Reichshofmeister under emperors Albrecht II and Friedrich III.
[7] Reinprecht [Ruprecht] IV von Walsee (1405/6-1450): Hauptmann ob der Enns.
[8] The rebellion against the emperor.
[9] The representatives of the Teutonic Order.
[10] The allied Prussian cities.
[11] To Italy.
[12] In the matter of a war (crusade) against the Turks, the emperor was lea-ving initiative to the pope.

415. Letter to Juan Carvajal (24 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 187r-188r*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 87.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 186, pp. 364-367 (on the basis of W1).*

{187r} Domino Sancti Angeli. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi[3] colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem.[4]

[1] Habens de Procopio nostro[5] felix nuntium, nescio cui libentius quam dignationi vestrae communicem, nam et vos hominem colitis ejusque bonam fortunam quam libentissime auditis. Is nunc regni Bohemiae cancellarius creatus est optima regis et omnium baronum voluntate, de qua re etiam Caesar laetus est, qui hominem sibi et affectum et fidelem intelligit[6]. Mitto ad dignationem vestram suarum copiam Iitterarum, ut gaudium vestrum tanto sit amplius quanto certius. Ex ejus scriptis percipietis et regis coronationem et quae sit illarum partium dispositio. Ego ad Procopium misi doctorem meum, ut optavit, hominem fidelem et prudentissimum, non juris tantum scientia sed etiam oratoria peritissimum, {187v} quem licet haberem apud me cupide, Procopio tamen negare nihil potui. Deinde consideravi non esse detrahendum hominis utilitati, quem puto apud novellum regem in magnum virum evasurum.

[2] Quamvis Procopius non credat regem brevi exire Bohemiam, ipse tamen scribit se causa Turcorum mox Viennam rediturum, ubi velit Hungaros convocare. Nescio, quid magis credam. Nos hic nullam diligentiam facimus[7] in negotio passagii, donec sedes apostolica legatum ad Caesarem mittat.

[3] Cupimus audire pacem Italiae, quam daturum Deum confidimus, nisi nos Turcis velit esse subjectos et superbiam sub tyranno deponere. Neque enim alia via est, qua vinci possumus, nisi discordiarum nostrarum. Fama fuit non tamen certa Turcos ingressos esse Valachiam, sed non continuatur rumor. Brevi certitudinem rei habebimus.

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[1] DV, 379-381
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *supralin.* cod.
[4] ~~quia scio nobilem equitem Procopium Bohemum digna habens~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~felicia et~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~id ut plenius intelligat~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~in fact~~ *seq.* cod.

415. Letter to Juan Carvajal (24 November 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *As the preceding letters.*[1]

To His Lordship of Sant'Angelo. Most Reverend Father in Christ and My Worshipful Lord. After recommendation.

[1] Having joyful news about our Prokop,[2] I do not know whom I would rather share it with than Your Grace, for you, too, cherish him and are glad to hear about his good fortune. He has now been appointed Chancellor of the Kingdom of Bohemia with the full approval of the king[3] and all the barons. The emperor, too, is happy with this appointment, knowing Prokop to be devoted and loyal to him. I am sending Your Grace a copy of his letter so that certainty may enhance your joy. The letter will also tell you about the king's coronation and the situation in those parts. As Prokop wished, I have sent my doctor[4] to him, a loyal and wise man and a specialist not only in law but also in oratory. I would much have liked to keep him with me, but I cannot deny Prokop anything. Moreover, I considered that I should not limit Niccoló's prospects, believing he would become a great man in the new king's [service].

[2] Though Prokop does not believe the king will soon leave Bohemia, the king himself writes that he will return to Vienna soon to take care of the Turkish matter, and he wants to summon the Hungarians there. I do not know what to believe. Here, we shall do nothing concerning a crusade[5] before the Apostolic See sends a legate to the emperor.

[3] We long to hear of peace in Italy. We trust that God will give it unless he wants us to become subject to the Turks and [punish] our pride by placing us under a tyrant. Indeed, the only way we can be defeated is through our own conflicts. There was an unconfirmed rumour that the Turks had invaded Wallachia, but it has not persisted. We shall soon have more reliable information.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 46, 553, 565.
[2] Prokop von Rabenstein.
[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[4] Niccolò Lisci.
[5] Passagium. On Piccolomini's use of this term, see his oration *Moyses vir Dei* of 24 April 1452 (COR, 4: 19).

[4] Post haec jam scripta delata sunt nova certiora: regem non egressurum intra breve tempus Bohemiam, nisi fortasse in Sclesiam[1] iverit, ut pecuniam illinc habeat novello regi debitam, quam se Sclesitae[2] daturos negant, nisi faciem regis intueantur. Georgius gubernator omni nocte in camera regis dormit, adjunctique regi sunt[3] pueri de secta Hussitarum, qui dies noctesque illum inspiciant, neque Hungarus neque Australis in eum potestatem habet, quamvis Azingher in palatio mansionem habeat. Georgius omnia regit. Rochezana in omni sermone jubet orare plebem, ut Deus cor regis[4] aperiat ad hauriendam veritatem, quam Johannes Hus praedicavit, fiatque mens regis una cum populo suo. Albertus marchio domum repetiit. Dux Albertus Viennam creditur esse venturus. Australes in Bohemia parvi habentur momenti, magna ex parte reversi sunt jamque suum errorem cognoscunt, qui regem imperatori abstulerunt, ut Bohemis traderent.

[5] Comes Ciliae est hic apud nos et gratiam Caesaris quaerit. Tractus cum eo habentur. Imperator vix ei venienti assurexit, cum primo praesentiam imperialem adivit. Comes de Schamberg per hos dies hic mortuus est sine sacramentis ecclesiasticis et ad castrum suum portatus sepeliendus. Inter Azingherum et comitem Cilie futurum bellum timetur, comes enim adversus eum milites cogit. Ille cum Georgicone et Johanne vaivoda foedus init. Omne {188r} malum in Austriam redundabit. Imperator domi sedens inimicos intra se concertantes ruentesque respicit. Haec modo apud nos aguntur.

[6] Causa Prutenorum, quae dietim agitatur, non permittit me domum repetere[5], nam Caesar licentiam non concedit, nisi haec expediatur, et tunc ad tempus. Erit ergo necesse his in partibus natalia me domini peragere, deinde iter arripiam. Difficile est dominorum imperia fugere.

[1] Selesiam WO
[2] Selesitae WO
[3] regi sunt : sunt regi WO
[4] ~~ad~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~nisi expediatur~~ *seq.* cod.

[4] After I wrote the above, we have received more certain news: the king will not leave Bohemia anytime soon but will go to Silesia to collect the money owed to him as the new king, for the Silesians refuse to pay them unless they see the king in person. Governor Georg[1] sleeps every night in the king's chamber, and the king is surrounded by companions of his own age from the Hussite sect, who keep constant watch over him. No Hungarian or Austrian has any power with him, although Eitzinger has an apartment in the palace. Georg controls everything. In all his sermons, Rokycana instructs the people to beg God to open the king's heart to the truth as preached by Jan Hus, so the king's mind may be united with that of his people. Margrave Albrecht[2] has gone home, and Duke Albrecht[3] is believed to be returning to Vienna. The Austrians are disregarded in Bohemia and have mostly returned home. They now recognise it was an error to remove the king from the emperor and to deliver him to the Bohemians.

[5] The Count of Celje[4] is here, seeking the emperor's favour. They are now negotiating with him. The emperor barely rose when he came and was admitted to the imperial presence. Count von Schaunberg[5] died here some days ago without the sacraments of the Church, and his body has been brought to his castle for burial. It is feared there will be war between Eitzinger and the Count of Celje, for the count is now gathering soldiers against him, whereas Eitzinger is making an alliance with Georg and Voivode János. All hell will break loose in Austria. The emperor sits at home, observing his enemies fighting and destroying each other. This is what is happening here now.

[6] The Prussian case occupies us daily and prevents me from going home, for the emperor will not let me leave before it has been resolved, and then only for a time. So, I shall have to spend Christmas in these parts, and then I leave. It is difficult to escape the power of lords.

[1] Georg Podiebrad.
[2] Albrecht III (Brandenburg).
[3] Albrecht VI (Habsburg).
[4] Ulrich II.
[5] Johann II von Schaunberg.

[7] Reverendissimus dominus meus Firmanus scripsit ad me nuper in facto Casparis, paedagogi quondam Ladislai regis, jubens me ad liberationem ejus intendere misitque litteras sacri collegii, quas Caesari reddidi. Respondeo suae reverendissimmae paternitati, quae me asserit a nonnullis notari tamquam illius hominis miseriarum causa non parva fuerim. Ego quidem certo scio[1] Gasparem mea opera adhuc vivere, nisi enim restitissem, jamdiu submersus esset. Laboravi etiam pro libertate nec profeci[2], nimis enim suis actibus indignatus est Caesar.

[8] Nuper autem, cum litteras collegii sacri majestati suae legissem petivissemque multis verbis responsum, nihil aliud extorquere potui, nisi quia vellet Caesar in ea amplius deliberare. Unus autem ex consiliariis, amicus meus[3], mihi adhaerens: "Cave," inquit, "ne multa loquaris; res enim odiosa est et Caesari et[4] his, qui potentissimi apud eum sunt." Ob quas res supplico dignationi vestrae apud reverendissimum dominum meum Firmanum et reliquos cardinales, si qui sunt me incusantes[5], purgationem meam assumere velitis. Nimis enim grave mihi est contra stimulum calcitrare. Sed veniam spero cito ad vos et meis me purgabo verbis atque hanc provinciam alteri relinquam.

Valete optime, et me commendatum ut soletis habete. Ex Nova Civitate, die 24. Novembris[6] 1453.

[1] ~~illu~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ~~nisi~~ *seq.* cod.
[3] ~~in aures~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~qui~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~rei veritatem~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] *supralin.* cod.

[7] My Most Reverend Lordship of Fermo[1] has recently written to me concerning Kaspar,[2] the former tutor of King Ladislaus, requesting me to work for his release, and he has sent me the letter of the Holy College, which I have given to the emperor.[3] I am sending a reply to His Most Reverend Paternity, who tells me that there are some who blame me for being a major cause of that man's misfortunes. However, I know for certain that Kaspar is only alive today because of my intervention: had I not resisted, he would now have perished. I have even worked for his release but without success, for the emperor is still furious at his actions.

[8] When I recently read the letter of the Holy College to His Majesty and pressed for an answer, I could only obtain that the emperor would consider the matter further. But one of the councillors, a friend of mine, whispered to me, "Do not say more, for this whole matter is odious to the emperor and to those who have the greatest influence with him."[4] Therefore, I beg Your Grace to defend me to My Most Reverend Lord of Fermo and the cardinals who blame me, for it is too hard for me to stamp on the sting. But I shall soon come to you in person and defend myself - and leave this whole matter to somebody else!

Live well, and favour me as always. From Neustadt, 24 November 1453.

[1] Cardinal Domenico Capranica.
[2] Kaspar Wendel
[3] Note the indiscriminate use of "Caesar" and "Imperator" in the same letter - after the imperial coronation in 1452.
[4] WO, 3, 1, p. 366, n. a: Kaspar Wendel appears to have been released by 1461.

416. Letter from Nicolaus V (27 November 1453, Rome).

Manuscripts: *AAV / Reg. Vat. 401, f. 510.*[1]
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 187, pp. 367-369 (on the basis of AAV).*

Nicolaus, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, in singulis districtibus dominorum ducatus Austria et nonnullis aliis Germaniae partibus cum potestate legati de latere nostro et apostolicae sedis nuntio salutem et apostolicam beneditionem.

[1] Humilibus supplicum votis libenter annuimus, favoribus prosequimur oportunis exhibita. Siquidem nobis pro parte dilecti filii Conradi Hinderbach,[2] clerici Pataviensis diocesis, petitio continebat, quod orta dudum inter ipsum et dilectum filium Balthasarem de Starhenberg, qui se gerit pro clerico, super parochiali ecclesia sancti Stephani de Kirchperg dictae diocesis, quam tunc per obitum quondam Dietmari Hinderbach, ejusdem ecclesiae rectoris, extra Romanam curiam defuncti vacantem, Conradus se vigore quorundam litterarum apostolicarum, per quas dilectus filius Gotfridus, abbas monasterii Sancte Trinitatis, Novaecivitatis, Cisterciensis ordinis, Salzeburgensis diocesis, nonnulla beneficia ecclesiastica cum cura vel sine cura in quibusdam tunc expressis locis vacantia tunc vel vacatura usque ad certum numerum tunc expressum pro totidem personis idoneis ad hoc per carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Fridericum, Romanorum imperatorem semper augustum, tunc regem illustrem, nominandis, quae si vel, cum vacarent, personae ipsae infra certum tunc expressum tempus acceptarent collationi et dispositioni suae reservandi et de illis, cum vacarent, post acceptationem hujusmodi per se vel alium seu alios providendi aliaque, quoad hoc, ut hujusmodi provisionum debitus succederet effectus, necessaria faciendi et exequendi facultatem habebat necnon nominationis per imperatorem, tunc regem, de ipso Conrado et reservationis pro eo per abbatem praedictos earundem litterarum et facultatis obtentu factarum, prout ex illarum forma poterat infra tempus legitimum acceptasse et de illis sibi provideri fecisse seque eam litterarum et facultatis ac nominationis et reservationis necnon acceptationis et provisionis earundem vigore assecutum fuisse canonice ipsumque Balthasarem se nominationi, reservationi ac acceptationi et provisioni necnon assecutioni hujusmodi contra justitiam opposuisse et opponere ac fecisse et facere, quominus ipse Conradus dictam ecclesiam potest pacifice possidere, Balthasar vero praedicti eandem ecclesiam ad se de jure spectare asserebant, prout asserunt materia quaestionis et causa hujusmodi per appellationem dicti Conradi ad sedem apostolicam legitime introducta, nos illam ad praefati Balthasaris instantiam dilecto filio magistro Johanni Didaci de Cora, capellano nostro et auditori causarum palatii apostolici audiendam commisimus et fine debito terminandam, qui in ea ad nonnullos actus citra tamen conclusionem inter partes ipsas dicitur processisse.

[1] *Reproduced after WO.*

[2] Konrad Hinderbach (1427 – c. 1488): Vicar General and canon of Trient; Parish priest of Kirchberg/Walgram. Provost of Skt. Viktor in Mainz.

416. Letter from Nicolaus V (27 November 1453, Rome).

Context: *A conflict had arisen between Konrad Hinderbach and Balthasar Starhemberg concerning the Stephanskirche in Kirchberg.*

Subject: *The pope commands Piccolomini - in his capacity as an apostolic legate - to pass judgement in a conflict between Konrad Hinderbach and Balthasar Starhemberg concerning the Stephanskirche in Kirchberg.*

Nicolaus, Servant of the servants of God, sends greetings and apostolic blessing to His Venerable Brother, Enea, Bishop of Siena, and envoy with the power of legate *de latere* to the lands of the lords of the Duchy of Austria and several other parts of Germany.

[1] We readily grant the humble prayers of suppliants and show appropriate favours in those matters that are brought before us. On behalf of our beloved son, Konrad Hinderbach, a cleric of the Diocese of Passau, a petition has come before us, stating that a dispute had long arisen between him and our beloved son, Balthasar of Starhemberg, also a cleric, concerning the parish church of Sankt Stephan of Kirchperg in that same diocese. That church had become vacant following the death of Dietmar Hinderbach, its former rector, who had died outside the Roman Curia. Konrad claimed that, by virtue of certain apostolic letters, he had legitimately obtained possession of that church. These letters had granted our beloved son Gotfried, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity in Neustadt, of the Cistercian Order and Diocese of Salzburg, the faculty to provide, for a certain number of suitable persons to be nominated by our most dear son in Christ, Friedrich, then the illustrious King of the Romans and now Emperor, a number of ecclesiastical benefices with or without the cure of souls - in certain places then named - which were either vacant at the time or would become vacant in the future. If these individuals accepted the appointment within a certain time also specified, the abbot had the authority to reserve to himself the right of collation and provision of those benefices and to carry out all necessary acts to ensure the proper legal effect of such provisions. Under the terms of these letters, Friedrich nominated Konrad, and the abbot made a reservation in Konrad's favour. Konrad claims that, in accordance with the form of those letters, he accepted the provision within the legal time frame and was thus canonically provided with the church. He also states that Balthasar unjustly opposed this nomination, reservation, acceptance, and provision, and continues to do so - thereby preventing Konrad from peacefully possessing the said church. Balthasar, for his part, claims that the church rightfully belongs to him by law. As both parties assert, this matter was lawfully brought before the Apostolic See by way of an appeal by Conrad. At Balthasar's request, we entrusted the case to our beloved son, Master Johannes Didacus of Cora, our chaplain and an auditor of the causes of the Apostolic Palace, to hear and bring to a proper conclusion. However, it is reported that, though he initiated certain proceedings, he did not bring the case to a final conclusion between the parties.

[2] Cum autem, sicut eadem petitio subjungebat in partibus illis de meritis causae hujusmodi levius et melius ac sub earundem partium minoribus laboribus et expensis constare possit quam in curia antedicta pro parte dicti Conradi nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut causam ipsam advocare et alicui in eisdem partibus resumendam et ulterius audiendam ac debito fine terminandam commitere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur, nos igitur hujusmodi in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati ac statum causae hujusmodi habentes praesentibus pro expresso illamque ad nos harum serie advocantes fraternitati tuae per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus vocatis Balthasare praedicto et aliis, qui fuerint evocandi, causam hujusmodi in eo statu, quo coram dicto auditore remansit, resumans illam ulterius audias et appelatione remota debito fine decidas faciens, quod decerneris per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observari. Testes autem, qui nominati fuerint, si se gratia, odio vel timore subtraxerint censura simili, appellatione cessante compellas veritati testimonium perhibere. Non obstantibus tam piae memoriae Bonifatii papae VII, praedecessoris nostri, quibus cavetur, ne quis extra suam civitatem vel diocesim nisi in certis exceptis casibus et in illis ultra unam dietam a fine suae diocesis ad judicium evocetur seu ne judices a sede apostolica deputati extra civitatem et diocesim, in quibus deputati fuerint, contra quoscumque procedere aut alii vel aliis vices suas committere seu aliquos ultra unam dietam a fine diocesum eorundem trahere praesumant, dummodo ultra duas dietas aliquis auctoritate praesentium non trahatur quam aliis constitutionibus apostolicis contrariis quibuscumque. Aut si praefato Balthasari vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim ab eadem sit sede indultum, quod interdici, suspendi vel excomunicari non possint per litteras apostolicas, non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis dominicae 1453, quinto Kalendis Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno septimo. P. de Legendorff.

[2] Since, as the same petition further stated, the merits of this case could be more easily and properly understood, and with less labor and expense in those regions than at the aforesaid Curia, a humble request was made on behalf of the said Konrad, that we would, with apostolic benevolence, transfer the case and commit it to someone in those same regions, to be resumed, heard further, and brought to a proper conclusion. We, therefore, inclined to such petitions in this matter and considering the present condition of the case, formally recall the matter to ourselves through the present document and entrust it by apostolic letters to Your Fraternity and command you to summon Balthasar and any others who must be summoned, and resume the case in the state in which it remained before the aforementioned auditor. You are to hear it further and decide it without further appeal, bringing it to a just conclusion, and to ensure by ecclesiastical censure that your ruling is firmly upheld. As for any witnesses who may be named, if they try to evade testimony out of favor, hatred, or fear, you shall compel them to testify truthfully by the same censure, with no appeal permitted. This mandate is to remain valid notwithstanding the constitution of Our predecessor, Pope Bonifatius VIII, of pious memory, which decreed that no one may be summoned to a trial outside their city or diocese except in certain specified cases, and then not beyond one day's journey from the edge of their diocese. Nor may judges appointed by the Apostolic See proceed outside the city and diocese where they are appointed, or delegate their authority to others, or summon anyone beyond that one-day limit - provided that no one is summoned beyond two days' journey under this present authority, despite any other apostolic constitutions to the contrary. Likewise, even if Balthasar or any others, either jointly or separately, have received an indult from the same Apostolic See that they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by apostolic letters unless such letters make explicit and word-for-word mention of the indult, this shall not apply here.

Given in Rome, at Saint Peter's, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1453, on 27 November, in the seventh year of our pontificate. Signed: P. de Legendorff

417. Letter to Juan Carvajal (10 December 1453, Rome).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 188v-189r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 88.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 188, pp. 369-371 (on the basis of W1).*

{188v} Domino Sancti Angeli. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem.

[1] Ut res apud nos in dies novantur[3], scribo sine intermissione dignationi vestrae, quamvis perraro ad me rescripta veniant. Credo, putatis me esse in via, sed fallimini. Prutenica causa non me permisit recedere. Ea hodie - ut puto - finietur. Pars civitatum existimans se gravatam[4], non vult in judicio amplius comparere, nisi aliud nascatur. Timendum est inter partes grave bellum, neque enim legibus aut canonibus inter populos potentes diffiniri lites solent. Facile est ferre sententiam, exequi difficillimum. Sed mitto hec et ad novitates venio, quas domino nostro sanctissimo cupio notas fieri.

[2] Comes Ciliae, ut a me pridem scriptum est, gubernationem Austriae amisit, jussus excedere sui regis curia. Is fuit hic aliquibus diebus, gratiam Caesaris quaerens, et quamvis multa offerret, non invenit, neque enim facile creditur his, qui fallere consueverunt. Res tamen in deliberatione pendet usque ad nativitatem dominicam, quae propediem instat.

[3] Rex Ladislaus recepta corona Bohemiae Pragae quiescit gubernaturque per Georgiconem. Custoditur autem[5] diligenter, ne clam recedat. Australes, qui cum eo ministri erant, sive pueri sive viri, omnes[6] abdicati sunt et remissi domum. Patiuntur Australes a Bohemis, quod ipsi Stiriensibus fecere. Familia, quae regi ministrat, omnis Bohemica est et praesertim de communione duplici. Alberti duo, dux et marchio, confusi domum ierunt neque ausi sunt in Austriam reverti[7], timentes populi rumorem, cum regem, quem abduxerunt, reducere non potuerint. Azingher et gubernator Hungariae, inviti Pragae retinentur neque dimittuntur, nisi alios suo loco barones statuant. Volunt enim Bohemi per eos et Austriae et Hungariae dominari.

[1] DV, 382-383
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~curo~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] *em.;* gratam cod.
[5] ~~ne~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~rem~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~cum~~ *seq.* cod.

417. Letter to Juan Carvajal (10 December 1453, Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *As the preceding letters - with the addition of the (false) rumour of Rokycana's apoplexy.*[1]

To His Lordship of Sant'Angelo. Most Reverend Father in Christ and My Worshipful Lord. After humble recommendation.

[1] Since new things happen daily, I write to Your Grace continually, although I rarely receive any letters in return. You probably think I am on the road back,[2] but you are mistaken, for the Prussian matter has prevented me from leaving. I believe it will be concluded today. The party of the [Prussian] cities believes it has been unfairly treated and will not attend the judgement unless there is a new development. It is to be feared that there will be a bitter war between the parties, for conflicts between strong people are not usually settled by laws or canons.[3] It is easy to pass sentence but very difficult to enforce it. But I leave this matter aside and come to some news, which I wish you to communicate to Our Most Holy Lord.

[2] As I wrote previously, the Count of Celje[4] has been deposed from the governorship of Austria and has been ordered to leave his king's court. He has been here[5] for some days, seeking the emperor's favour, but though he promised much, he was unsuccessful, for those who usually fail [their promises] are not easily trusted. However, the matter is still under discussion and will be settled at Christmas, which is imminent.[6]

[3] King Ladislaus has received the crown of Bohemia and is now staying peacefully in Prague, under the governance of Georg.[7] He is guarded carefully, lest he leave in secret. His Austrian attendants, both boys and men, have all been dismissed and sent home. The Austrians are now being treated as badly by the Bohemians as they themselves treated the Styrians.[8] The members of the king's household are all Bohemians of the utraquist persuasion.[9] The two Albrechts, the duke and the margrave,[10] have gone home dejected and have not dared to come to Austria for fear of popular protests since they failed to bring back the king they took [to Prague]. Eitzinger and the Governor of Hungary[11] are detained in Prague against their will and will only be sent away if they give other barons as hostages, for the Bohemians want to dominate Austria and Hungary through them.[12]

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 536, 565.
[2] To Italy
[3] Civil and ecclesiastical law.
[4] Ulrich II.
[5] At the emperor's court.
[6] RTA, 19/1: p. 564.
[7] Georg Podiebrad.
[8] In connection with the rebellion against the emperor, Duke of Styria.
[9] Hussites practising communion under both species.
[10] Albrecht VI (Habsburg) and Albrecht III (Hohenzollern).
[11] János Hunyadi.
[12] See RTA, 19/1: p. 552-553.

[4] Multum se delusos Australes intelligunt, qui sese venatos vident, ut Bohemi praedam caperent, neque Hungari sine poenitentia sunt, qui regem ex Pozonio Viennam reverti permiserunt. Multum Austria turbata est[1], baronesque et populi divisi sunt: alii comitem, alii Azingherum sequuntur, alii imperatorem ad se[2] reverti vellent. Nulla concordia est, {189r} nec belli timor abest inter comitem et Azingherum. Imminet ingens calamitas atque[3] injuria, nam populo rebelli, qui neque papam neque imperatorem veritus est, quae potest non digna videri miseria? Dant jam poenas sui sceleris Australes; carent rege, pestilentiam sentiunt, carestiam patiuntur, bellum in foribus habent. Grave his erat visitare suum regem ad Novam Civitatem; nunc Pragam ire coguntur, quodque dolendum est, magnus imminet timor, ne puellus tener Hussitarum inficiatur lepra.

[5] Sed fama est, nescio an vera, Rochezanam apoplexia tactum usum linguae perdidisse; sic enim quidam ex Bohemia redeuntes referunt, quod si mendacio caret, miraculi simile potest videri, cum is paulo ante mirum in modum se jactaret et jam tempus advenisse praedicaret, in quo veritates suae possent elucescere, rogaretque plebem supplices Deo preces offerre, ut novelli regis animum sibi conformem redderet neque tam nobilem spiritum a via salutis alienum teneret. Multum perfidiae cecidit, si verum est, quod rumor induxit. Ego id[4] credam, cum nostri Procopii litteris certior fiam, quem factum esse regni cancellarium superioribus litteris meis vestre dignationi confirmavi. Haec sunt apud nos modo, quae scribi possunt.

Valete, et ut soletis me commissum habete. Ex Nova Civitate ipsa die Kalendis Decembris 1453.

[6] Post haec jam scripta et in hunc usque diem retenta expeditum est negotium Prutenicum. Sententia lata est, et liga civitatum cassata. Quia sumus prope natalia, statui hic festa peragere, deinde sine ulteriori dilatione, si sanitas aderit, domum repetam. Rumor, qui de Rochezana elinguato fuerat, dietim evanescit et falsus creditur; reliqua in veritate perseverant.

Datum in Nova Civitate, ipsa die[5] 10. Decembris 1453[6].

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[1] ~~dolens se rege car~~ *seq.* cod.
[2] ad se *supralin.* cod
[3] *em.* WO; neque cod.
[4] ~~minime~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~kalendis Dec~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] Post haec … 1453 *add. in marg.* cod.

[4] The Austrians now realise how greatly they have been deceived, seeing that they did the hunting whereas the Bohemians took the prey. The Hungarians, too, have regrets, for they allowed the king to return to Vienna from Pozon.[1] [2] Austria is in turmoil, and the barons and the people are divided: some follow the Count [of Celje], others Eitzinger, and others again want the emperor to return. There is no agreement, and they now fear a war between the count and Eitzinger. A great and ruinous catastrophe is threatening, and rightly so, for a rebellious people that feared neither emperor nor pope has deserved any misfortune. The Austrians are now paying the price for their crimes[3]: they are without their king, they suffer plague and famine, and they have war at their gates. It was too burdensome for them to visit their king in Neustadt,[4] but now they are forced to go to Prague to see him. And what is more painful: they gravely fear the boy will become infected with the Hussite leprosy.

[5] But there is a rumour (I do not know if it is true) that Rokycana has been struck with apoplexy and cannot speak. This is what some travellers returning from Bohemia claim, and if it is true, it is like a miracle, considering that only a short while ago, he was boasting extravagantly, declaring that the time had come when his truths could shine forth and urging the people to beg God to turn the new king's mind [to the Hussite teachings] and not keep his noble spirit away from the way of salvation. If the rumour is true, a great error has fallen. But I shall only believe it when I see it confirmed by a letter from our Prokop, whom, in a previous letter, I told Your Grace had been made chancellor of that kingdom. This is what I can write for now.

Farewell, and favour me as always. From Neustadt, 1 December 1453.

[6] After I wrote the above letter (and kept it until today), the Prussian affair has been concluded. Judgement has been passed,[5] and the cities' league has been quashed. Since we are close to Christmas, I have decided to stay here for the feast, and then, without further delay, I shall - if I am well - return home. The rumour about Rokycana's muteness is fading daily and is now believed to be false. But the other things I wrote appear to be correct.

Given in Neustadt, 10 December 1453.

[1] Present-day Bratislava (Pressburg)

[2] After a Hungarian diet from 24 August to 16 September, see RTA, 19/1: p. 536.

[3] Their rebellion against the emperor.

[4] When he was under the emperor's guardianship.

[5] The emperor's judgement is printed in Voigt: *Geschichte,* 8: p. 340 (WO, 3: 1, p. 371).

418. Letter to friends in Rome (10 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 189r-189v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 89.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 189, pp. 371-372 (on the basis of W1).*

{189r} Venerabiles viri, amici honorandi[3].

[1] Littere meae, nisi fallor, ad vos complures deductae sunt, quibus harum partium novitates significavi. In eis scripsi comitem Ciliae ex administratione depositum, regem Ladislaum in Bohemia coronatum illic retineri, Procopium nostrum regni cancellarium factum. Nunc haec addita sunt: comes Ciliae hic fuit gratiam Caesaris petens necdum illam habuit. Albertus, dux Austriae, et alter Albertus, marchio Brandeburgensis, ex Bohemia recessere neque ausi sunt in Austriam reverti, cum reducere regem nequiverint. Australes omnes, qui regi ministrabant, remissi sunt. Azingher et gubernator Hungariae in Bohemia retinentur; per illos enim et Hungariae et Austriae dominari Bohemi volunt. {189v} Comes Ciliae bello se instruit cupitque Azingherum invadere, habens in foedere secum plurimos Austriae barones. Novus ignis accenditur. Nunc demum excommunicatam se Austria sentiet, sine rege, sine gubernatoribus, rapinis atque incendiis vexatam, dignaque suis actibus praemia referentem. Res Prutenica hodie terminari deberet in facto ligae, sed civitates judicium fugiunt. Nec alia[4] modo. Rogo faciatis diligentiam in facto ecclesiae mihi promissae et annatae remittendae. Imperator noluit me dimittere propter causam Prutenorum. Nunc mihi manendum est, donec festa praetereant.

Valete mei memores et amantes. Ex Nova Civitate, Kalendis Decembris 1458.

Retinui has litteras usque in praesentem diem. Interim expeditum est negotium Prutenicum in favorem religionis. Liga damnata est, poenae et damna in arbitrio Caesaris sunt. Putamus, quia civitates adhuc se humiliabunt, si bonus modus tenebitur. Ego jam voluissem ad iter me ponere, sed quia prope sunt festa, decrevi hic illa peragere. Deinde mox iter arripiam et domum petam. Nescio an Romam veniam, si via per Tusciam patuerit. Rogo, domine Ulrice, velitis litteras his allegatas quam celeriter Senas mittere et me semper habere commendatum, ut soletis.

Ex Nova Civitate, die 10. Decembris 1453.

[1] DV, 383-384
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~scripsi~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] alio WO

418. Letter to friends in Rome (10 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *As the preceding letters* [1]

Venerable men, honourable friends.

[1] Unless I am mistaken, you should have received several letters from me with news from these parts[2]. In them, I wrote that the Count of Celje[3] has been deposed from his position of governance, that King Ladislaus has been crowned in Bohemia and is being retained there, and that our Prokop[4] has been made chancellor of the kingdom. Now this news may be added: the count of Celje has been here[5] to seek the emperor's favour but has not yet obtained it. Duke Albrecht[6] of Austria and the other Albrecht,[7] the Margrave of Brandenburg, have left Bohemia and have not dared to return to Austria since they failed to bring the king back with them. All the Austrians who served the king have been dismissed. Eitzinger and the governor of Hungary[8] remain detained in Bohemia since the Bohemians aim to dominate Hungary and Austria through them. The Count of Celje has allied himself with many Austrian barons and is preparing for war, intending to attack Eitzinger. A new fire is being lit. Now Austria will finally feel its isolation,[9] being without a king, without governors, plagued by plunderings and burnings, and receiving the just deserts of their own actions. The Prussian affair of the [cities'] league should be concluded today, but the cities will not attend the judgement. No more for now. I ask you to be diligent in the matters of the church promised to me and of the remission of the annates.[10] Because of the Prussian affair, the emperor did not want to let me leave, and now I will stay until the [Christmas] feast is over.

Farewell; remember and love me. From Neustadt, 1 December 1453.

I have kept this letter back until now. In the meantime, the Prussian affair has been concluded in favour of the [Teutonic] Order. The [cities'] league has been condemned, but the penalty and the fine were left to the emperor's decision. We think the cities will bow to the judgement if moderation is shown. I had decided to leave now, but since the feast is close, I will remain for it. But immediately afterwards, I shall leave and return home. I do not know whether I shall be able to come to Rome - that depends on the road through Toscana being open. I ask you, Herr Ulrich,[11] to forward the attached letter to Siena as soon as possible and to favour me as always.

From Neustadt, 10 December 1453.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 565.
[2] The letters are not extant.
[3] Ulrich II
[4] Prokop von Rabenstein.
[5] In Wiener Neustadt.
[6] Albrecht VI (Habsburg).
[7] Albrecht III (Hohenzollern).
[8] János Hunyadi.
[9] Or excommunication.
[10] The parish church of Irdning and the annates for the Diocese of Siena, see letter 308 (among others).
[11] Not identified.

419. Letter from Goro Lolli (10 December 1453, Piane).

Manuscripts: *F1, ff. 103r-103v[1]; V5, 137, ff. 181v-182v **; V6, 137, ff. 147r-147v ; V7, ff. 188v-189r.*
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 190, pp. 372-373 (on the basis of V5 and V6).*

{181v} Gregorius Lollius Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Conjuratio Eyzingeri[2] adversus comitem Ciliae, comitis ipsius ejectio[3] de regno, triumviratus factura[4], quaeque in Austria, Bohemia atque Hungaria gesta sunt usque adeo oratione tua ac litteris ad cardinalem Sancti Angeli missis illustrata sunt, ut *summa voluptate {182r} affectus scripta lectitando tota contriverim,* ut de Xenophonte ac *Cyripaedia* scribit Cicero, nec hoc mei tantum judicii est, nam cum in castris sim regis Aragonum, cujus exercitus dux est illustrissimus ejus primogenitus Ferdinandus, dux Calabriae, isque audisset me ex Austria litteras recepisse, cupidus quippiam intelligere de Cesare et ejus consobrina augusta Leonora, interrogavit, quid novi ex Austria haberem, ego litteras permisi legendas, quae tanta oblectatione eum atque alios primores et plerosque doctissimos viros affecerunt, ut nihil suavius umquam exhausisse viderentur et praecipue ducem ipsum ac magnificum comitem Celani[5], qui litteratissimus et disertissimus studiosos omnes summo amore amplectitur. Ego litterarum copiam pluribus ex eis petentibus ad transcribendum feci et in primis duci ipsi[6], qui duo a me rogavit: primum[7] ut nomine suo amicitiam suam tibi offerrem et quaecumque ab eo pro te fieri possent, deinde ut quas litteras tuas haberem, quae honeste ab eo legi possent, aut earum copiam sibi concederem[8]. Utrumque annui[9] et pro opportunitate respondi. Quanta jucunditate litteras tuas receperim ac legerim, quas ad me scripsisti, judicii tui sit.

[2] Secundae enim fuerunt ab his, quae ante molestissimae de aegrotatione tua mihi redditae fuerant. Secundae sane, si quidem secundas res non ex ordine dumtaxat sed feliciores quandoque dicimus. Superata {182v} infirmitate te incolumem evasisse laetissimo animo legi, manu tua omnibus exaratis litteris et mihi notis. Petrum nostrum ex adversa ad bonam pervenisse valetudinen non invitus intellexi, quem etiam nomine meo salvum dici cupio.

[3] Res Etruriae ita se habent: Florentini adversus civitatem nostram tot tantaque moliuntur ac tot vexationibus persequuntur, ut nisi universalis Italiae pax fiat, non dubito bellum inter eos et nos futurum. Mater et sorores et omnes tui bene valemus et tibi nos commendamus, quem Deus incolumem servet.

Ex castris regiis juxta Planam, die 10. Decembris 1453.

[1] DV, 211-212
[2] Ayzingheri V6
[3] deiectio V6
[4] factio *sup. ras.* V5; fractura V6, V7
[5] Cilani F1, V5; Caelani V7
[6] duci ipsi : ipsi duci V5
[7] primo V5
[8] conducerem WO
[9] animi V7

419. Letter from Goro Lolli (10 December 1453, Piane).

Context: *Piccolomini had sent copies of his oration "Sentio" and letter to Cardinal Carval to Lolli.*
Subject: *Lolli informs Piccolomimi that he has shown the letters to Prince Ferrante and his courtiers, who were delighted to read them.*

Goro Lolli sends many greetings to Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] In the oration[1] and letter[2] sent to the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,[3] you described Eitzinger's intrigue against the Count of Celje,[4] the count's deposition from the government, the formation[5] of the triumvirate,[6] and other events in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. I read and reread them with such fascination that I wore them out, as Cicero wrote about Xenophon[7] and his *Cyropaedia.*[8] This sentiment was not just my own! I am now in the camp of the King of Aragon[9] [10], whose army is commanded by his illustrious and firstborn son, Ferrante, Duke of Calabria.[11] [12] When Ferrante heard that I had received letters from Austria, he was eager to hear about the emperor and his cousin, Empress Leonora, and asked me what news I had from Austria. So, I allowed him to read your letter, which he, other nobles, and several most learned men enjoyed so much that they (especially the duke himself and the Count of Celano,[13] a well-read and eloquent man who greatly loves learned men) claimed to have never read anything so captivating. I had copies made for several men who asked for them, and first among them, the duke himself, who asked two things of me: first, that I offer you his friendship and whatever he could do for you; and second, that I provide him with copies of the letters that he could decently read or let him read them directly. I agreed to both and answered as was opportune. Thus, you may see how gladly I received and read your letters.

[2] This letter came after the one I received from you, where you wrote dejectedly about your illness.[14] Happily, the next letter was positive.[15] I was overjoyed to read that you have recovered from your illness, in a letter written in your own hand, so well known to me. And I was glad to hear that our Pietro[16] has regained his health, and I ask you to greet him from me.

[3] This is the situation in Toscana: the Florentines are plotting so intensely against our city and afflicting us in so many ways that I am sure there will be war between them and us unless a general peace is made in Italy. Your mother, sisters, and all your relatives are in good health, and we recommend ourselves to you. May God preserve you safe and sound.
From the royal camp at Piane, 10 December 1453

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[1] Oration "Sentio" of December 1452 (COR, 4: 20).
[2] Letter 401.
[3] Juan Carvajal.
[4] Ulrich II.
[5] The later mss. (V6, V7) have "fractura": breaking.
[6] The triumvirate consisted of Ulrich Eitzinger governing Austria, János Hunyadi governing Hungary, and Georg Poediebrad governing Bohemia.
[7] Xenophon (c. 430 - c. 354 BCE): Athenian military leader, historian and philosopher.
[8] Cicero: *Epistolae ad Familiares*, 114: 1.
[9] King Alfonso V The Magnanimous (Aragon).
[10] The government of Siena had sent Goro Lolli and Francesco Patrizi on a mission to King Alfonso. See Hankins: *Political* (location 747 ff. in the digital edition).
[11] Ferrante I (1424-1494): Son of Alfonso V. Duke of Calabria. King of Naples, 1458-1494.
[12] On King Alfonso's Tuscan campaigns 1452-1454, see Ryder: *Alfonso*, ch. 7.
[13] Lionello Accrociamuro (-1458): Italian condottiero. In 1440, he married Countess Jacovella da Celano who brought him the County of Celano (later taken over by the Piccolomini family).
[14] Letter to Goro Lolli of 3 September 1453 (letter 362).
[15] Here, Lolli uses an untranslatable wordplay on secundus having the double meaning of "second" and "positive".
[16] Pietro Todeschini, Piccolomini's nephew, see letters 362: 7 and 391: 1.

420. Letter to Goro Lolli (10 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 189v-190r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 90.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 191, pp. 373-374 (on the basis of W1).*

{189v} Domino Gregorio. Eximie doctor, frater amantissime.

[1] Increpas me, ut arbitror, quia non venio ad te cito[3] putasque fortasse, me non satisfacere scriptis meis. At si litteras revolvis a me missas, invenies me promisisse reditum expedita causa Prutenorum. Sic enim voluntas Caesaris erat. Ea hucusque protracta est, maximis agitata contentionibus, sedentibus apud Caesarem electorum et aliorum Alamaniae principum legatis. Nune sententia lata est et civitatum liga damnata. Damna et poenae in arbitrio Caesaris pendent. Itaque jam sum liber ad veniendum.

[2] Sed quia festa nativitatis e proximo instant libetque Caesari ea hic me agere, parebo tanto principi, et his peractis sine ulla ulteriori dilatione domum repetam. Esto itaque certus[4] {190r} omnino ante quadragesimam me domum venturum, nisi Deus infirmitate aut alio me impedimento retinuerit, cujus voluntati nihil obstat[5]. Jube igitur procuratorem meum, quae necessaria domui sunt, apparare, ut hominibus atque jumentis nihil desit.

[3] De novitatibus harum partium haec magnificis dominis referre poteris: comes Ciliae ex gubernatione regis Hungariae dejectus est. Quaerit modo gratiam Caesaris et non invenit, quamvis multa polliceatur. Rex ipse apud Bohemiam Pragae coronatus retinetur neque permittitur in Austriam reverti. Nullus Teutonicus sibi ministrat, consiliarii, cubicularii, dapiferi, pincernae omnes remissi sunt, qui ex Austria illuc ierant, praeter unum Azingherum, qui Pragae jussus est manere, ut per eum facilius Austria in obedientia conservetur. Procopius, nobilis eques, qui mecum Romae Senisque fuit, cancellarius regni Bohemie creatus est multumque apud regem potest. Pestis in Austria crassatur multaque funera apud Viennam in dies habentur. Comes Ciliae bello sese instruit, exclusionem suam vindicaturus. Gubernator Hungariae[6] non permittitur egredi Bohemiam, quo fuerat regem secutus, nam et cum ipso imperium Hungariae retenturos se Bohemi putant, nec alia[7] modo.

Matrem et sorores tuas et meas cum fratribus et[8] liberis salvere jube et dominum Bartholomaeum. Nostrum vicarium hortare reditum meum ne ante recedat[9]. Jam enim in via me esse arbitror. Dominos[10] Marianum Sozinum, Georgium Andrenzium, Franciscum Patritium, Leonardum Benivolentem et amicos omnes meis verbis salvos dicito.

Vale. Ex Nova Civitate, die 10 Decembris 1453.

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[1] DV, 384-385
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~si tamen scr~~ *seq*. cod.
[4] ~~nisi~~ *seq*. cod.
[5] ~~rogo facias / curato igitur~~ *seq*. cod.
[6] ~~ex Bohemia non~~ *seq*. cod.
[7] alio W
[8] fratribus et *supralin.* Cod.
[9] ~~quia~~ *seq*. cod.
[10] *corr. ex* dominum cod.

420. Letter to Goro Lolli (10 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini once again declares that he will be home soon and adds news from the imperial court.* [1]

Ser Goro. Distinguished Doctor and beloved brother.

[1] You reproach me - I believe - for not coming to you quickly and failing to do what I promised. But if you look over the letters I have sent, you will find that I promised to return when the Prussian affair had been concluded, for that was the emperor's will. However, that matter has dragged on, driven by great disputes, with the legates of the prince-electors and other German princes sitting with the emperor. Now, judgement has been passed, and the cities' league has been condemned. The fines and penalties have been left to the emperor's discretion. So, now I am finally free to go.

[2] However, the Christmas Feast is close, and the emperor would like me to spend it here. I shall obey this great prince and return home without further delay after the feast. So, you may be quite sure that I shall be back before Lent unless God keeps me here with an illness or some other impediment, for nothing can stand against His will. So, ask my procurator[2] to arrange everything necessary in my home[3] so that neither men nor horses and mules will lack anything.

[3] Concerning the news from these parts, you may relate the following to Our Magnificent Lords[4]: the Count of Celje[5] has been deposed from the governance of the King of Hungary[6]. He is now seeking the emperor's favour but not getting it, though he makes grand promises. The king himself has been crowned in Bohemia and is now being retained in Prague and not permitted to return to Austria. He has no Austrian servants: the counsellors, attendants, stewards, and cupbearers who came from Austria have all been sent back except Eitzinger, who has been commanded to stay in Prague so that it will be easier - through him - to keep Austria obedient. The noble knight Prokop,[7] who accompanied me to Siena and Rome, has been appointed Chancellor of the Kingdom of Bohemia and has great influence with the king. The plague is raging in Austria, and there are many burials daily. The Count of Celje is preparing for war to avenge his deposition. The Governor of Hungary[8] has not been allowed to leave Bohemia, where he had followed the king, for the Bohemians believe they can control Hungary through him. No more for now.

Greet your and my mother, sisters, cousins, and children, and Ser Bartolomeo from me, and ask our vicar to stay until our return, for I think I am almost on my way. Greet Mariano Sozzini, Giorgio Andrenzio, Francesco Patrizi, Leonardo Benvoglienti, and all my other friends from me.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 10 December 1453.

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 553, 565.
[2] Bartolomeo.
[3] The episcopal palace in Siena.
[4] The city government of Siena.
[5] Ulrich II
[6] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[7] Prokop von Rabenstein.
[8] János Hunyadi.

421. Letter to Rafaele Primadizi and Bartolomeo (Procurator) (10 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 190r-190v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 91.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 192, pp. 374-375 (on the basis of W1).*

{190r} Dominis vicario et procuratori. Venerabiles dilecti nostri.

[1] Quoniam mens nostra est, postpositis omnibus causis, nativitatis dominicae[3] peractis, quae nunc instant, festivitatibus, [domum repetere[4]], precamur[5] vos vicarium, ne ante reditum nostrum ex domo nostra recedatis, vos vero Bartholomaeum canonicum hortamur, ut quae sunt in domo necessaria {190v} tam[6] hominibus quam equis apparetis et instruatis domum, quia ante quadragesimam instantem, nisi Deus aliter ordinaverit, omnino vobiscum erimus et[7] sacrum jejunium cum nostro populo faciemus. Alia modo non scribimus, quoniam verbis agere vobiscum pro diem confidimus.

Valete et omnes amicos nostros jubete salvere. Ex Nova Civitate Austriae, die 10. Decembris 1453.

[1] DV, 385-386
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~quae nunc instant~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] domum repetere *em.* WO
[5] ~~hortamur~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~per~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~quadragesim~~ *seq.* cod.

421. Letter to Rafaele Primadizi and Bartolomeo (Procurator) (10 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Piccolomini was still confident that he would return to Siena after the approaching Christmas.*
Subject: *He asks his vicar to stay on until his return and his procurator to make the necessary preparations.*

To his vicar and procurator. Venerable and beloved [sons].

[1] Since we intend to leave everything else behind us and go home after the festivities of the approaching Christmas, we ask you, Vicar, not to leave our home before our return, and you, Canon Bartolomeo, to make the necessary preparations for men and horses and to make the house ready for us. For unless God ordains otherwise, we shall join you and keep the holy fast together with our people. We write no more for now since we trust we shall speak directly with you soon.

Farewell, and greet all our friends from us. From Neustadt in Austria, 10 December 1453.

422. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (10 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 190v-191r*[1] [2]
Editions A: *Weiss, 92.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 193, pp. 375-376 (on the basis of W1).*

{190v} Magnifice comes, frater amantissime.

[1] Fuit animus meus, cum[3] Franciscum nepotem ad te mitterem, non post multos[4] menses Italiam ingredi ac tibi de sumptibus ejus satisfacere. Res est in hanc usque diem protractata. Interea non sine magno onere apud te Franciscus commoratus est. Scio tamen amorem tuum omnia ferre[5] libenter neque videri tibi gravia, quae mei causa facis. Ego tamen peractis, quae modo instant[6], dominicae nativitatis festivitatibus, hic iter arripiam eroque, Deo favente, intra paucos dies tecum et de Francisco simul conveniemus[7]. Faciam quoque debito meo erga te satis. Interim rogo illustrissimo domino duci commendatum me facias, cui has novitates certo referre poteris: imperatoriam majestatem benevalentem esse; comitem Ciliae ex regimine Austriae depulsum huc venisse veniam et gratiam petentem, neque obtinuisse, quamvis multa polliceretur; regem Hungariae in Praga coronatum illic retineri; Australes, qui cum eo profecti fuerant, omnes esse remissos praeter Azingherum, baronem potentem, ut per illum Austriae imperium[8] apud Bohemos maneat; Johannem quoque, Hungariae gubernatorem, Pragae invitum manere: sic[9] Bohemos et Austriae et Hungariae dominari velle. Dominum Procopium equitem, amicum et socium meum, regni Bohemiae cancellarium factum. Nunc comitem Ciliae milites quamplurimos cogere, ut Australibus bellum inferat[10]. Civitates Prusciae, quae in hac curia adversus religionem Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum litigabant, succubuisse in judicio, ligam earum damnatam atque cassatam esse; timeri tamen, ne bellum inter partes[11] oriatur, quae ambae potentes sunt. Nititur tamen Caesar eas componere. Sic se res {191r} habent harum partium.

Vale. Dominis Alberico Malettae, Hannibali de Gonzaga, filiis magistri Hugonis et ceteris amicis meo nomine quamplurimas salutes dicito hisque me dedito. Honestissimam dominam conjugem tuam cum liberis salvere jubeto. Franciscum, ut incumbat studio canonum[12] admonito ac domino Andreae Benzio cum meis verbis commendato. Ex Nova Civitate Austriae, 10. Decembris 1453.

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[1] DV, 385-386
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~nepo~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~dies~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~pat~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] istant cod.
[7] ~~faciam quoque / tu suis necessi~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] *corr. ex* regimen cod.
[9] ~~enim~~ *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~sic se res harum partium habent~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] *corr. ex* eos
[12] ~~jubeto atque~~ *seq.* cod.

422. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei[1] (10 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *At the beginning of 1453, Piccolomini had sent his nephew, Francesco, to Ferrara to study canon law with Andrea Benci while staying with their relative, Jacopo Tolomei.*

Context: *Piccolomini will soon come to Ferrara and settle Tolomei's expenses for Francesco. News from the imperial court.*[2]

Magnificent Count, beloved brother.

[1] When I sent my nephew Francesco[3] to you, it was my intention to come to Italy after a few months and refund your expenses. But my return has been delayed until now. In the meantime, Francesco has been staying with you at a considerable cost, but I know that your love makes you accept it gladly and that what you do for me does not seem burdensome to you. When the approaching Christmas festivities are over, I shall leave, and - God willing - I shall be with you shortly and discuss our further plans for Francesco. And I shall certainly fulfil my obligations towards you. In the meantime, I ask you to commend me to the Most Illustrious Lord Duke,[4] whom you may give this reliable news: His Imperial Majesty is well; the Count of Celje[5] has been deposed from the government of Austria and has now come here seeking pardon and favour and making grand promises - but in vain; the King of Hungary[6] has been crowned in Prague[7] and is now being held back there; the Austrians who had come with him have all been sent back except Eitzinger, a powerful baron, so that - through him - the Bohemians may have power over Austria. Also János,[8] the Governor of Hungary, remains in Prague against his will. Thus, the Bohemians intend to control Austria and Hungary. Lord Prokop,[9] a knight and my friend and companion, has been made Chancellor of the Kingdom of Bohemia. The Count of Celje[10] is now busily gathering soldiers for a war against Austria. The Prussian cities have been litigating at this court against the Order of Saint Mary of the Germans. They have now lost the court case, and their league has been condemned and dissolved. But it is feared that there will be war, for both parties are strong. However, the emperor is endeavouring to settle matters. This is the situation in these parts.

Farewell. Give many greetings to lords Alberico Maletta[11] and Annibale de Gonzaga, the sons of Master[12], and my other friends, and tell them I am theirs. Do also greet your honourable wife and your children. Urge Francesco to apply himself to the study of canon law and commend him for me to Ser Andrea Benci.[13] From Neustadt, 10 December 1453.

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[1] Jacopi di Pietro Tolomei. For this identification, see letter 312.
[2] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 565.
[3] Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini.
[4] Borso d'Este
[5] Ulrich II.
[6] Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg).
[7] As king of Bohemia.
[8] János Hunyadi.
[9] Prokop von Rabenstein.
[10] Ulrich II.
[11] Maletta, Alberico (1410-1466): Count. Doctor of laws. Councillor of the marquesses of Este and, from 1453, of Francesco I Sforza, Duke of Milan.
[12] Ugo Benci.
[13] Francesco's teacher.

423. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (12 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 192r-192v*[1] [2] ***.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 93.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 194, pp. 376-378 (on the basis of W1).*

{192r} Domino Procopio. Magnifice miles et amice honorande. Post salutem.

[1] Credo te accepisse nostrum dominum Ulricum ad ecclesiam Gurcensem esse promotum, virum bonum et tui amantissimum. Nam Johannes, qui illi ecclesiae praefuit, in manibus eam sanctissimi domini nostri resignavit. Johannes Hinderbachius hanc rem Romae absolutam scribit. Ecclesia in Ruspachio ad quinquennium eidem Ulrico commendata est; is modo ad regiam majestatem scribit, cupiens id sibi ratum teneri. Non puto necessarium esse me scribere et commendare[3] patrem tibi amicissimum, quem tua sponte juvabis[4]. Rem tamen mihi gratissimam feceris, si quomodo negotium successerit e vestigio rescripseris.

[2] Illud insuper tuae magnificentiae notum esse volo me scilicet post actas dominicae nativitatis festivitates intra ipsam octavam epiphaniae hinc abiturum petiturumque domum et Romanam curiam, id enim jam mihi Caesar indulsit. Eam ob causam, si tibi videtur, quod per me possit aliquid apud sanctissimum dominum nostrum operari in utilitatem inclyti regni Bohemiae, scribito mihi, inveniens me certe cupidissimum. Poteris autem haec magnifico domino Georgio gubernatori communicata facere meque suae magnitudini commendare ac[5] de omnibus prius quam abeam reddere certiorem. Quippe, si pietati apostolicae et[6] gloriosissimo[7] regno vestro placuerit, quamvis animus sit domi quiescendi, tamen pro tanto bono iterum Germaniam petere non pigritabor. Sed hoc casu necessum esset regiam serenitatem sanctissimo domino nostro litteras dare, quae ad id operis me peterent. Expediret etiam me tuis scriptis certum fieri, quae illa essent, in quibus denique vellent Bohemi quiescere, quid de compactatis, quid de bonis cleri, quid denique de rebus aliis, in quibus nosti contentionem esse. Sic enim clarius ac lucidius ad res procederem.

[1] DV, 389-390
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~hom~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~gratum tamen m~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] meque suae … ac *add. in marg.* cod.
[6] ~~inclito~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~regno tuo placuerit~~ *seq.* cod.

423. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (12 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Ulrich Sonnenberger had been appointed Bishop of Gurk.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Rabenstein about Sonnenberger's appointment and about his own plans for returning to Italy. He also raises the prospect of a settlement of the Hussite/Bohemian schism.*[1]

Lord Prokop. Magnificent Knight and honourable friend. After greetings.

[1] I believe you have heard that our Lord Ulrich, an excellent man who loves you well, has been appointed to the Church of Gurk, for Johann,[2] who presided over that church, has resigned it into the hands of Our Most Holy Lord. Johann Hinderbach writes from Rome that the matter has been concluded. The Church in Ruspach has been given *in commendam* to the same Ulrich for a period of five years.[3] He now writes to His Royal Majesty[4] asking for confirmation. I do not think it necessary for me to write and commend this Father, your close friend, since you will help him of your own accord. Still, you will do me a great favour if you write soon about what happens in this matter.

[2] Moreover, I wish Your Magnificence to know that - with the emperor's permission - I shall leave after the Christmas festivities, during the Vigil of Epiphany, and return to my home and to the Roman Curia. Therefore, if you think that I may achieve anything with Our Most Holy Lord[5] to the benefit of the Illustrious Kingdom of Bohemia, do write to me, and you shall certainly find me eager and prompt. Please communicate this to His Magnificent Lordship, Governor Georg,[6] commend me to His Excellency, and inform me about everything before I leave.[7] Though my intention is to have a peaceful time at home, I would not hesitate to return to Germany in this important matter if it would please His Apostolic Piety and your most glorious kingdom. But in that case, it would be necessary for His Royal Serenity[8] to write to Our Most Holy Lord requesting that I be assigned this task. It would also be helpful if you could let me know what would finally be acceptable to the Bohemians, especially concerning the Compacts,[9] the clerical properties, and the other contentious issues you know of. Thus, I would be better prepared to proceed with the matter.[10]

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[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 46, 565.
[2] Johann V Schallermann.
[3] The church (parish) was apparently situated in Austria, and Sonnenberger therefore needed to be confirmed by Ladislaus the Posthumous as Duke of Austria.
[4] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[5] The pope.
[6] Georg Podiebrad
[7] This letter is dated 12 December, and Piccolomini would leave for Italy not later than 13 January (end of the Vigil of Epiphany), which gives a month for his letter to reach Prague, for a decision on the matter to be made there, and for a return letter to reach Piccolomini in Wiener Neustadt.
[8] King Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[9] The Hussite Compacts, by which the Council of Basel had granted the - conditional - privilege of communion under both species to the Hussite nation.
[10] This is the first clear statement of Piccolomini's project for a resolution of the Hussite/Bohemian schism, harmful both to the Church and to the Habsburg possession of Bohemia. The idea may have been formed in connection with his meeting with Georg Podiebrad in 1451 (see Piccolomini's *Report on an Imperial Mission to Bohemia,* (CRDM, 3) and the introduction to the oration *"Petivistis ex Caesare"* delivered to the Bohemian nobles at Benesov on 22 July 1451 (COR, 4: 16). It matured during later meetings with Podiebrad in Wiener Neustadt in the Spring of 1455. When Piccolomini finally returned to Italy in 1455, he brought with him a complete proposal - supported by the emperor and King Ladislaus - for a settlement of the schism, based on papal recognition of the Bohemian privilege of communion under both species, Bohemian recognition of papal authority and return of ecclesiastical properties. The proposal was contained in the oration/memorandum to Pope Calixtus III *"Res Bohemicas"* (COR, 6: 28).

[3] Placeret insuper me instructum redderes, quaenam sit Bohemorum intentio in facto passagi contra Turcos, ut sanctitati apostolicae id exponerem, quae nunc illi rei maxime dedita est. Super his expecto litteras tuas ante meum recessum.

[4] De Italia haec habentur: Papa summo conatu ad passagium instruendum navat operas. Cardinalis Firmanus {192v} ad Genuenses missus est, ut quandam populi contentionem sedet classemque illic armari adversus infideles curet. Legati principum et communitatum Italiae Romae sunt pacemque agitant. Comes tamen Franciscus multo superior Venetis est eosque admodum premit neque pacem amplecti vult, nisi sibi et suis honorificam.

[5] Res[1] Prutenica hic expedita est: lata sententia, liga damnata. Communitates admodum turbatae sunt. Comes Ciliae apud Caesarem[2] fuit veniamque petivit et gratiam; necdum compositae res ejus sunt[3].

Vale optime, et dominum Nicolaum habeto quasi me alterum commendatum. Ex Nova Civitate in vigilia Luciae 1453. Tuus Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[1] ~~Polonica~~ *seq.* cod. [2] ~~nos~~ *seq.* cod. [3] ~~valete~~ *seq.* cod.

[3] Please, do also tell me about the Bohemian intentions concerning the crusade against the Turks so that I can inform His Apostolic Holiness, who is now entirely focused on this matter. I expect your letter before my departure.

[4] In Italy, the situation is this: the pope does everything he can to organise a crusade. The Cardinal of Fermo[1] has been sent to Genova to settle a popular uprising and arrange for a fleet to be armed against the infidels. Envoys of the Italian princes and city-states have been sent to Rome to negotiate a general peace. However, Count Francesco[2] is much stronger than the Venetians; he presses them heavily and only wants a peace that is honourable to himself and his allies.

[5] The Prussian affair has been settled here: judgement has been passed, the league condemned, and the cities are in turmoil. The Count of Celje[3] has visited the emperor, seeking pardon and favour. His affair has not yet been settled.

Live well, and treasure Ser Niccolò[4] as if he were my other self. From Neustadt on the Vigil of Lucia 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] Domenico Capranica.

[2] Francesco I Sforza, Duke of Milan, at the time at war against Venice.

[3] Ulrich II.

[4] Niccolò Lisci.

424. Letter to Niccolò Lisci (12 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 192v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 94.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 195, p. 378 (on the basis of W1).*

{192v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Nicolao, doctori docto. Salutem. Eximie doctor, amice carissime[3].

[1] Redditae sunt mihi litterae tuae, quibus te Pragam pervenisse valentem didici et[4] ab nostro Procopio bene visum atque susceptum. Id accepi summa cum voluptate. Quod pro te factum a me dicis et laudas, non est millesima pars ejus, quod[5] debeo, minus vero ejus, quod vellem. Sed facio, quod possum amici causa et id benigne a te recipi gratum habeo. Scribo nune domino Procopio de meo recessu deque rebus illis, quas hinc abeunti tibi communicavi. Hortare suam magnificentiam, mihi ut quantocius respondeat, quia post epiphaniam non ero hic diutius, nisi fortasse aegritudo et domestica podagra me oppresserit, quam pietas divina procul abigat.

Commenda me domino[6] cancellario et domino Varadiensi, quibus sum deditissimus, et scribe ad me saepe. Mitte litteras ad curiam imperialem, ut dentur domino Johanni Nihili astronomo. Is eas ad me ulterius diriget. Vale. Ex Nova Civitate, die 12. decembris 1453. Tuus Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[1] DV, 390
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … carissime *corr. ex* Domino Nicolao cod.
[4] ~~ab~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~teneor~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~p~~ *seq.* cod.

424. Letter to Niccolò Lisci (12 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Piccolomini had sent his friend and familiar, Niccolò Lisci, to Prague to join the staff of the new Bohemian chancellor, Prokop von Rabenstein.*[1]

Subject: *Piccolomini is happy that all has gone well for Lisco and confirms that he himself will leave the imperial court sometime after Christmas.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, to Ser Niccolò, learned Doctor. Greetings. Distinguished Doctor, dearest Friend.

[1] I have received your letter[2] informing me that you have arrived in Prague safe and sound and have been well received by our Prokop.[3] I was overjoyed to hear it. You praise me for the favour you say I have done you, but that is less than one thousandth of what I owe you and less than what I want to do. But I do what I can for a friend, and I am glad it makes you happy. I am writing to Lord Prokop about my departure and the matters I told you about when you were leaving. Please exhort His Magnificence[4] to answer me as soon as possible, for I shall not remain here beyond Epiphany[5] unless I am attacked by some illness or my usual podagra, which Pious God forbid.

Commend me to the Lord Chancellor and His Lordship of Varad.[6] I am most devoted to them both. And write to me often. Send the letters to the imperial court to be given to Herr Johann Nihili, the astronomer, who will forward them to me. Farewell. From Neustadt, 12 December 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] See letters to Rabenstein of 8 and 15 November (EPI, 6: 408: 2 and 412, 2).

[2] Not extant.

[3] Prokop von Rabenstein.

[4] *Idem.*

[5] 6 January 1455

[6] Bishop Jánoz Vitez, Hungarian chancellor.

425. Letter from Johann Tröster (14 December 1453, Wien).

Manuscripts: *Dietrichsteinische Bibliothek, Nikolsburg / Kod. II 122, f. 141r*[1].
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 196, pp. 378-380 (on the basis of Dietrichstein).*

Note: *This text is so abstruse and difficult that a translation has not been attempted. The text may also have suffered through scribal transmission.*

Context: *Johann Tröster had been suspected of complicity in the Austrian plot to free Ladislaus the Posthumous from the emperor's wardship and had been dismissed from the imperial service.*
Subject: *Tröster begs Piccolomini to procure some kind of occupation for him.*[2]

{141r] Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino domino Aenae, praesuli Senensi, poetae laureato, doctissimo praeceptori primo, Johannes Tröster, plebanus in Hornberg, commendationem.

[1] Reddi jussi, pater reverendissime, in tempore, quo ab omni vacuus esses molestia, epistolam hanc timoris, egestatis errorisque mei declarativam maxime observarique mandavi, quo solus esses. Sed quid? Numquam minus solus quam cum solus es: aut veteribus amicis confabularis aut tibi hii. Sed, quaeso, parcant mihi adeunti et vos philosophi scatote ad sinistram vosque divi cum custodibus et sanctioribus viris ad dextram, ceteri vos poetae et oratores in medium una mecum procedite, petite, opem fertote, ne lubrica spes verset vices sed abrumpat moras et vera valeat, ut veniat. *Tu quoque orientis regis Arthaxerxis gener fare, cum itidem casus obtigit ob iram, dum in ignominiam incidisses regique contemptui esses.* Inquam ergo, *quemadmodum computatorum digitis nunc decios millenarios nunc unarios queunt ponere, eodem quoque regum amicos posse quandoque totum quandoque minimum.*

[2] Hiis verbis humanissimam me affari libet paternitatem neque vereri me presente regium te appellare amicum, cum *multos salis modios* in unis aulis edidisti, unde demum expleta, cognita, visa auditaque est amicitia tua, quae te altum fecit. Et cum sis, oro, peto per Deum atque hominum fidem obtestor, mi here, mi pater, o mi humanissime Aenea, desertum me revoca, aures Caesareae celsitudinis pietate penetra, ignorantiam innocentiamque meam excusa, dominos Gurcensem episcopum, Hinderbachum, doctores mei bene amantes, advoca et ad millenarium digitos extende, quia universum potes.

[3] Moveat te id, quod est in ore omnium vulgo, me esse alumnum tuarum primarum et optimarum artium, ne me peregrinari sinas cum neutrobique stabile habeo stabulum neque vix, quid manducem, scio. Ajunt cum Cicerone prandere me, cenare cum Marone et cum mihi quaestus ex elenticis sophisticisque garrulacondius, ut ipsis est, esse nequeat, illiberale omne studium putant meum quemadmodun in nostra disciplina cetariorum et aliorum laniorum etc. Redeo et ego cum Junone clamito, tellus colenda est, pellices caelum tenent. Sed tua paternitas, quae singula suo studio complectit, providet et noscit, meos dirigat calles salebramque meam mihi commutet viam. Suscipiet scio, scio, innocentiam, aequitatem, petitionem, suscipiet futurum, eximium, magnum meum studium Caesar ille divinus, quod in sua laude convincam, dum vivam, vivetque futuris saeculis in eis. Neque gloriabor cum et me suae reddam patriae eum adolescentem, quem diuturno jam tempore sua aetas

[1] *Reproduced after WO.*
[2] *See also letter 360.*

vix retulit. Age, bone vir, petitioni et egestati consule meae et cuivis gentium me redde; sum enim tuus. Reddes enim gratum neque futilem sed fructuosum omnium famulum.

Sis felix et vale optime, homini praestantior omni. Ex Wienna Austriae, 1453, die 14. Decembris.

426. Letter from Friedrich III (15 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *Original in the archive of the Bandini-Piccolomini counts in Siena*[1].
Editions A: *None.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 197, pp. 380-384 (on the basisof Bandini).*

In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis. Federicus tertius, divina favente clementia Romanorum imperator semper augustus, ac Austriae, Styriae, Carinthiae et Carniolae dux, dominus Marchiae Sclavoniae et Portus Naonis, comes in Habspurg, Tyrolis, Ferretis et in Kyburg, burggravius Burgaviae et landgravius Alsatiae, venerabili Aeneae, episcopo Senensi ac sacri palatii Lateranensis comiti, principi et consiliario nostro devoto dilecto, gratiam Caesaream et omne bonum. Venerabilis, devote, dilecte.

[1] Quamvis - ad imperatoriae dignitatis fastigium ordinatione creatoris[2] altissimi et ejus dispensatione gratuita misericorditer sublimati - cunctis fidelibus nostris ad impartiendas gratias proni simus et liberales, illos tamen uberiori favore et amplioribus gratiarum muneribus prosequendos existimamus, qui se prae ceteris studio ferventi nostris obsequiis dedicarunt ac experientia edocente. quotidiana sollicitudine et intemeratae fidei constantia nostrae celsitudini prudenter simul et utiliter adhaeserunt. Scimus enim, quoniam thronus augustalis tanto felicius solidatur et ampliori prosperitate proficit, quanto indeficientis suae virtutis donaria largiori benignitatis manu in subjectos benemerentes effuderit.

[2] Sane, cum tua devotio nostre sublimitati nunc in protonotariatus, nunc in consiliariatus officiis solerter et fideliter serviendo ac diversas legationes modo per Italiam modo per Germaniam obeundo, commodum et honorem nostrum totis conatibus promoverit ac inter nos et inclytam Leonoram augustam apud illustrissimum Alfonsum, Siciliae et Aragoniae regem, in urbe Neapolitana jussu nostro matrimonium concluserit nobisque demum ad coronam imperialem Rome suscipiendam transeuntibus non parum adjumenti praebuerit, cogitantes et animo saepius revolventes post labores decem annorum, quos in nostris obsequis assumpsisti, quae tibi digna tuis meritis praemia tribuamus, ex quibus non tua sinceritas solum, verum et nobilis familiae tuae de Piccolominibus de Senis, unde tibi origo est, erga nos et imperium sacrum tanto magis erigatur et solidetur intentio, quanto in te atque ipsam familiam nostrae beneficentiae largius donativa processerint, animo deliberato sanoque principum, comitum, baronum ac procerum sacri imperii nostrorum fidelium accedente consilio et assensu, motu proprio ac de certa nostra scientia deque imperialis plenitudine potestatis te, quem pridem in nostrum et imperii dicti principem assumpsimus, omnimodo pro majori tua dignitate et ampliori honore sacri Lateranensis palatii aulaeque nostrae et imperialis consistorii comitem facimus, creamus, erigimus, attollimus et gratiosius insignimus teque numero et coetui aliorum dictorum palatii, aulae et consistorii comitem adjungimus et aggregamus,

[1] *Reproduced after WO.*

[2] *em.;* creationis WO

426. Letter from Friedrich III (15 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *After 10 years of loyal service to the emperor, Piccolomini had received permission to return to Italy and settle his affairs there. In principle, the leave of absence might be temporary, but the emperor may also have had in mind his plans for furthering Piccolomini's career by his promotion to the cardinalate, as promised by the pope.*
Subject: *The emperor appoints Piccolomini as a Lateran count.*
Note: *Abbreviated translation.*

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Friederich III, by God's grace, Emperor of the Romans always August, to the Venerable Enea, Bishop of Siena and Count of the Holy Lateran Palace, Our devoted and beloved prince and councillor, imperial grace and all good.

[1] Though prompt and ready to show favour to all our subjects, we consider that we should show greater favour to those who fervently serve Us and wisely and usefully uphold Our exalted office with constant and firm loyalty, for We know that Our imperial throne has a more solid foundation and enjoys greater prosperity when We generously reward the unfailing virtue of our well-deserving subjects.

[2] You have served Us diligently and faithfully, first as a protonotary, later as a councillor, and you have performed various diplomatic missions in Italy and Germany. You have strenuously promoted Our advantage and honour, and, in Naples, you concluded the marriage between Us and the Most Illustrious Empress Leonora at the court of the Most Illustrious Alfonso, King of Sicily and Aragon. And, finally, you provided great assistance to Us travelling to Rome to receive the imperial crown. Therefore, We have been considering how to fittingly reward your ten years in Our service and how to attach not only you but the whole Piccolomini family of Siena, from where you come, more closely to Us and the Holy Empire. On the advice of the faithful princes, barons, and nobles of the Holy Empire, We have, of Our own will, in certain knowledge of the matter, and with the fullness of imperial power, decided to appoint you, whom We have previously made a prince of Ours and of the Empire, as Count of the Holy Lateran Palace, Our Court and the Imperial Consistory.

[3] decernentes et hoc imperiali statuentes edicto, quod tu ex nunc in antea omnibus et singulis privilegiis, juribus, immunitatibus, gratiis, libertatibus, praerogativis, officiis, honoribus, salariis, stipendiis et aliis quibuslibet utilitatibus, emolumentis et commodis frui debeas et gaudere, quibus ceteri Lateranensis palatii et aulae et consistorii nostri comites hactenus freti sunt seu quomodolibet potiuntur consuetudine aut jure, quodque possis et valeas per totum Romanum imperium facere et creare notarios publicos seu tabelliones ac judices ordinarios et universis personis, quae dignae, habiles et idoneae per te fuerint inventae, notariatus seu tabellionatus et judicatus ordinarii officium concedere et committere, nec non eas et quamlibet earum imperiali auctoritate de praedictis officiis per pennam et calamarium investire, dummodo ab ipsis notariis seu tabellionibus et judicibus ordinariis vice et nomine sacri imperii et pro ipso imperio fidelitatis debitum corporale et proprium recipias juramentum, videlicet quod instrumenta tam publica quam privata, ultimas voluntates et quaecumque judiciorum acta et omnia et singula, quae in illis et quibuslibet eorum ex debito officiorum dictorum et cuilibet eorum faciendum occurrerit et scribendum juste, pure ac fideliter omni simulatione, machinatione, falsitate et dolo remotis scribent, legent et facient, scripturas autem illas, quas debuerint in publicam formam redigere in membranis et non in cartis abrasis neque papireis conscribent, sententias et dicta testium, priusquam publicata fuerint et approbata, sub secreto firmiter tenebunt, ac quod in quolibet instrumento publicando annotationem annorum imperii tunc dominantis opportuno loco subnectent. Volumus autem et harum tenore decernimus, quod notarii seu tabelliones et judices ordinarii, per te sicut premittitur creandi et assumendi, per totum Romanum imperium facere, scribere et publicare possint instrumenta, contractus, judicia, testamenta, codicillos et ultimas voluntates, decreta et auctoritates interponere, in quibuscumque contractibus illa vel illas requirentibus ac cetera omnia alia et singula facere, publicare et exercere, quae ad officium publici notarii vel tabellionis et judicis ordinarii pertinere et spectare noscuntur insuper auctoritate Caesarea tibi concedimus et largimur, quod tutores, curatores et munduales pupillis minoribus et amentibus dare et constituere ac parentibus liberos suos, quos in potestate sua habent, emancipare volentibus etiam dictis liberis a judicio absentibus, in adoptionibus quoque et arrogationibus auctoritatem impartiri et decretum interponere nec non iis, qui honestate morum praediti patrimonia sua cupiunt gubernare, dum tantum vigesimum, si masculi, si vero feminini sexus fuerint, decimum octavum aetatis annum excesserint, in casibus opportunis veniam aetatis concedere valeas.

[4] Amplius etiam auctoritate praedicta tibi concedimus et pro singulari munere donamus, quod possis et valeas naturales bastardos, spurios, manzeres[1], notos, incestuosos, copulative et disjunctive et quoscumque ex illicito et damnato coitu procreatos seu procreandos viventibus vel etiam mortuis eorum parentibus legitimare, illustrium tamen principum, comitum vel baronum filiis dumtaxat exceptis, et eos ad omnia jura legitima restituere et reducere omnemque geniturae maculam penitus abolere, ipsos restituendo ad omnia jura successionum etiam ab intestato cognatorum et agnatorum, ad honores quoque et dignitates et ad singulos actus legitimos, ac si essent de legitimo matrimonio procreati, dummodo legitimationes per te faciendae, ut praemittitur, non praejudicent filiis legitimis haeredibus, quin ipsi eum legitimandis per te aequis portionibus succedant parentibus et agnatis.

[1] *em.;* manseres WO

[3] By the present imperial decree, we ordain that from now on you shall enjoy all the rights, immunities, favours, liberties, prerogatives, offices, honours, salaries, stipends, and other advantages and emoluments accruing to the counts of the Lateran Palace, Our Court, and Consistory. Moreover, you are authorised to appoint such persons as you consider qualified to the offices of public notaries and ordinary judges in the whole Roman Empire …[1] Moreover, by imperial authority, We grant you the right to appoint tutors, curators, and guardians[2] for children in their minority and demented people, to pass judgement in cases of parents who wish to set free children in their power (even when the said children are not present at the judgement) and in cases of adoption of children and adults, and to grant the privilege of age to those who wish to administer their own inheritance and are capable of doing so decently, as long as they are at least 20 or, in the case of women, 18 years old.

[4] Further, we grant you the authority to legitimate children - collectively or singly - born out of wedlock, be they bastards, spurious, incestuous, and all children sired in illicit or forbidden intercourse, whether their parents are alive or dead, except sons of princes, counts or barons, to grant them the full rights [of legitimate children] and to entirely remove all stain of birth, to grant them full rights of succession even to intestate relatives and to all honours and dignities, and single legitimate acts, they would have had if born of a legitimate marriage, on the condition, however, that your acts of legitimation do not prejudice the rights of legitimate sons to whom you must assign reasonable parts of the inheritance after their parents and relatives.

[1] Here follows a description of the notarial office.

[2] Mundoaldus.

[5] Ceterum, ut in domo sive familia tua de Picolominibus praefata splendeat memoriale perpetuum, quod tu nobis fideliter et provide serviendo in oculis nostris praecipuam inveneris gratiam, volumus et hac imperiali sanctione concedimus et decernimus, quod post tuum ex hac transitoria vita decessum unus ex familia tua praedicta, quem tu ante obitum tuum duxeris eligendum, et post illius mortem senior miles in eadem familia, aut si miles defuerit, senior doctor, milite vero et doctore deficiente, semper unus post alium ex senioribus dictae familiae, qui ad hoc habilis, idoneus per majorem partem virorum ipsius domus de Picolominibus fuerit simpliciter electus et deputatus et perpetuis futuris temporibus hujusmodi comitatus palatini officio, dignitate, potestate et auctoritate perfruatur, cum facultate, notarios seu tabelliones et judices ordinarios creandi naturales, bastardos, spurios, manseres, notos, incestuosos et quoscumque illegitime genitos legitimandi, restituendi et habilitandi, ac omnia alia et singula faciendi, gerendi et exercendi, quae tu ipse vigore praesentium facere, gerere et exercere posses sub omnibus modis et clausulis superius expressis.

[6] Denique ad majus familiae tuae decus exuberatioremque nostre benignitatis ostensionem domui tuae sive familiae prefatae et cuilibet ex ea damus atque concedimus, ut super armis sive signis, quibus ipsa ab antiquo usa dinoscitur, aquilam nigram coronatam, expansis alis in campo aureo, ac eandem super galeam cum tecturis et redimitibus nigri et glauci coloris circumquaque pendenti loco cimerii ubique locorum atque terrarum cum sibi placuerit deferre possit et valeat absque alicujus contradictione, quemadmodum in medio praesentiarum litterarum pictoris artificio clarius designatur.[1]

[7] Non obstantibus in praedictis aut aliquo praedictorum legibus, quibus cavetur, quod naturales, bastardi, spurii, incestuosi, copulative vel disjunctive vel alii quicumque de illegitimo coitu procreati vel procreandi non possint vel debeant legitimari sine consensu et voluntate filiorum naturalium et legitimorum, quibus legibus et cuilibet ipsarum volumus expresse de certa scientia quoad praemissa derogare et harum tenore derogamus ac etiam non obstantibus in praedictis aliquibus legibus aliis imperialibus, civilibus aut municipalibus provisionibus, reformationibus, constitutionibus, statutis sive consuetudinibus quarumcumque civitatum, terrarum ac locorum seu principum et dominorum per sacrum imperium constitutorum, cujuscumque tenoris fuerint, etiam si tales essent, qui de verbo ad verbum deberent exprimi aut de eis fieri mentio specialis, quibus omnibus et singulis obstantibus aut obstare volentibus in praemissis casibus ex certa scientia ac de plenitudine potestatis totaliter derogamus ac derogatum esse volumus per praesentes. Et ne de cetero statuta fiant, aut consuetudines introducantur per aliquem principem sive dominum aut per aliquem communitatem vel universitatem, quae huic nostrae concessioni aut ejus effectui quomodolibet obviare possint, praesenti prohibemus edicto, statuta et consuetudines hujusmodi penitus annullantes, nullius roboris vel momenti esse declarantes. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc nostrae creationis, erectionis, adjunctionis, aggregationis, ordinationis, decreti, concessionis, donationis, largitionis, statuti, prohibitionis, annullationis, declarationis, voluntatis et gratiae paginam infringere aut ei quovis ausu temerario contraire sub poena nostrae indignationis gravissima et viginti marcarum auri puri, quam contrafaciens totiens, quotiens contrafactum fuerit ipso facto, se noverit inremissibiliter incursurum, quarum auri marcarum medietatem imperialis fisci sive aerarii, residuam vero partem in curiam passorum usibus decernimus applicari.

[1] *Here follows a drawing of the arms.*

[5] Further, so that there will be a perpetual memorial in your Piccolomini house or family of your loyal service to Us and the exceptional favour you have found in Our eyes, We ordain that after your passing away from this transitory life, one member of your family, whom you will have chosen before your death, shall enjoy the office, dignity, power, and authority of this palatinate countship. After his death, the same shall apply to the senior knight of the same family, or, if there is no knight, the senior doctor, or, if there is no knight or doctor, any senior member of the said family who has been elected and found qualified for this office by a simple majority of the men of the House of Piccolomini, with the same rights and obligations … that you yourself have been granted by the present decree.

[6] Finally, for the greater honour of your family and as a splendid sign of Our favour, We grant your house or family and any member of it the right to show, over the coat of arms used by it since old age, a crowned black eagle with spread wings on a golden background [1]… You may use this coat of arms - as clearly shown by a painted image in the present letter[2] - everywhere in the world as you wish without objection from anyone.

[7] Notwithstanding any laws concerning illegitimate children stipulating that they can only be legitimated with the consent and acceptance of the legitimate sons … and any other laws, be they imperial or civil laws or municipal rules, etc.[3]

[1] Here follows a further heraldic description of the coat of arms.
[2] Here follows a drawing of the coat of arms.
[3] Here follows a prohibition (on the payment of fines) to counteract the imperial decree of appointment.

[8] Gaudeas igitur, Aenea, ac de tanto majestatis munere tu et domus tua de Piccolominibus vehementer exultet, tantoque erga nos et imperium sacrum ferventius et animosius vestra erigatur intentio, quanto majoribus nos conspicitis esse perventos muneribus gratiarum praesentium sub nostrae majestatis sigilli testimonio litterarum.

Datum in Civitate nostra Nova Austriae, Salcenburgensis diocesis, anno a nativitate domini 1453, die 15. mensis Decembris, regni nostri 14., imperii vero 2. Ad mandatum domini imperatoris Ulricus Solismontis[1], electus Gurcensis[2].

[1] *em.*; Simmendus WO

[2] *em.*; Burgensis WO

[8] So, be happy, Enea, and rejoice that you and your Piccolomini House have been granted this great imperial favour, and be dedicated and zealous in your service to Us and the Holy Empire, seeing the great gifts granted to you by favour of the present letter as witnessed by the seal of Our Majesty.

Given in Our City of Neustadt in Austria, in the Diocese of Salzburg, on 15 December in the year of Our Lord 1453, the 14th of Our reign, the 2nd of Our Imperial [office]. On the order of the Lord Emperor, Ulrich Sonnenberger, Elect of Gurk.

427. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (15 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 191r-191v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 95.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 198, pp. 384-386 (on the basis of W1).*

{191r} Domino Petro de Noxeto. Magnifice comes, major honorande.

[1] Saepe a me scriptum est domino nostro sanctissimo, quam sit acceptus imperiali culmini magister[3] Ulricus Ridrer, utriusque juris interpres et facundissimus et doctissimus, quantum quoque hic homo et possit et velit apostolicae majestati servire. Non est, cur illa repetam, quae tibi notissima esse non ambigo, sed cur hoc refricem, modo absolvam. Intelligo multos esse in Romana curia, qui praeposituram Frisingensem quaeritant, per promotionem electi Pataviensis propediem vacaturam. In hac re magnum vertitur interesse Caesarae sublimitatis et inclytae domus Austriae, in cujus dominiis ecclesiae Frisingensis castra consistunt, cumque modernus Frisingensis episcopus senio confractus plenusque diebus non diu supervivere possit, haud dubium est, qui praepositus illi successor detur, quando vir doctus et reputatus fuerit[4], si locus electioni pateat, ut consuetum esse videmus. Eam ob causam, licet superioribus diebus imperialis majestas per suas litteras confessorem suum ad hujusmodi praeposituram promovendum commendaverit, tamen postea timens, ne ille fortasse[5] domino nostro papae minus gratus appareret, jussit me pietati apostolicae scribere atque instare, ut magister Ulricus ad eam praeposituram promoveatur, idque factum a me est. Verum, quia dietim novae difficultates emergunt et novae fiunt praticae, statui haec pauca ad te scribere, qui Caesareae serenitatis honorem atque profectum cupis, quique[6] magistrum Ulricum optime nosti, ut cum de tali praepositura fuerit agendum, hunc virum et suae virtutis gratia et imperatoriae majestatis intuitu apud sanctitatem domini nostri toto conatu promoveas. Neque plura de hoc.

[2] De novitatibus harum partium, etsi scribo reverendissimo domino Sancti Angeli plenius[7] ejusque litteras visurum te minime dubito, pauca tamen et his inserere libet {191v} ad consolationem tuam, qui Caesareos quasi unus ex nobis honores desideras[8]. Haec hujusmodi sunt. Comes Ciliae ex gubernatione regis Ladislai et Austriae praecipitatus huc ad Caesarem venit erratique veniam petiit et gratiam, offerens se amplius serviturum quam nocuerit. Nondum sibi venia data est, pendent tractatus et praticae quam multae.

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[1] DV, 387-388
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *omit*. WO
[4] ~~cum non nisi elect~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] ~~parum~~ *seq.* cod.
[6] ~~honorem~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~pauca~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] ~~eo~~ *seq.* cod.

427. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (15 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *The provostship of Freising was to become vacant, and the emperor now wanted it to be given to his close collaborator Ulrich Riederer.*

Subject: *Piccolomini urges da Noceto to support Riederer's appointment and sends news from the Imperial Court.*[1]

To His Lordship Pietro da Noceto. Magnificent and Worshipful Count.

[1] I have often written to Our Most Holy Lord,[2] how much His Imperial Highness esteems Ulrich Riederer, an eloquent and learned specialist in both laws,[3] and how much this man can and wants to serve His Apostolic Majesty. So, I surely need not repeat what you know well, but I shall briefly explain why I bring this matter up again. I understand that many at the Roman Curia are seeking the Provostship of Freising, soon to become vacant when the Elect of Passau[4] is promoted. This matter is quite important to His Imperial Highness and the Illustrious House of Austria, in whose domains the castles of the Church of Freising are situated. Since the present Bishop of Freising[5] is quite old and worn down, he cannot survive for long. When the election [of his successor] is held, the provost - as usually happens - will undoubtedly become his successor if he is a learned and well-esteemed man. His Majesty has previously commended his confessor for promotion to this provostship, but now, fearing that this man might be less acceptable to Our Lord Pope, he has ordered me to write to His Apostolic Piety and urge that Magister Ulrich be promoted to the provostship, and so I have done. But since new difficulties arise daily and new cabals, I have decided to write these few words to you, who seek His Imperial Serenity's honour and success and well know Magister Ulrich, so that when a decision is to be made concerning this provostship, you fervently support this man with the pope both for his own merits and out of regard for His Imperial Majesty[6]. I will say no more about this.

[2] Regarding the news from these parts, I have written fully to the Most Reverend Lord of Sant'Angelo.[7] Though I am sure that you will see that letter, I shall say a few words for your comfort since you are as concerned about the emperor's honour as if you were one of us. So, this is the news: the Count of Celje[8] has been deposed from the government of King Ladislaus and Austria. He has now come to the emperor seeking pardon and favour and offering to benefit the emperor more in the future than he harmed him in the past. He has not yet been pardoned; many negotiations and maneouvres are still ongoing.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 565.
[2] The pope.
[3] Civil and canon law.
[4] Ulrich von Nussdorf.
[5] Johann IV Tulbeck (d. 1476): Bishop of Freising 1453-1473. He had only become bishop of Freising in January the same year and would first retire in 1473.
[6] On this passage, see Reinle, p. 486.
[7] Cardinal Juan Carvajal. See letter 417.
[8] Ulrich II.

[3] Rex Hungariae in Praga coronatus residet, neque mens Bohemorum est illum prius exire regnum, quam sermonem sue gentis ediscat et siceram bibere. Nunc per Bohemos regitur. Australes et omnes Teutonici[1] ab ejus ministerio sequestrati sunt et domum remissi praeter Azingherum, qui Pragae retinetur, non ut regem gubernet, sed ut per eum Austria in oboedientia regi maneat. Similiter quoque et gubernator regni Hungariae apud Pragam observatur. Consiliarii regis Bohemi sunt et ministri omnes. Noster Procopius regni cancellarius factus est et in alto gradu collocatus. Albertus, Austriae dux, et Albertus, marchio Brandeburgensis, cum non possent regem reducere, noluerunt in Austriam reverti, rumorem plebis et indignationem veriti, sed ad propria inglorii perrexerunt. Barones Austriae jam oculos ad Caesarem vertunt. Comes de Schiamberg, cum huc venisset ignoscique suis excessibus peteret, intra paucos dies ex hac luce migravit.

[4] Civitates Prusciae, quae adversus religionem suosque dominos litigabant, ligam quandam defendentes, in judicio succubuere estque liga damnata et cassata. Imperator[2] cum decem et novem legatis principum in judicio sedit. Nune aliqua de concordia inter partes agitantur. Ob hanc rem necessarium fuit, in hanc usque diem me hic manere, neque enim aliter indulgere mihi recessum Caesar voluit, nisi expedito negotio Prutenorum. Nunc ergo, peractis nativitatis dominicae festivitatibus, domum repetam et fortasse ad te veniam.

Cupio sanctissimi domini nostri pedibus me commendes neque sinas privari me promissione ecclesiae in Hirn electi Pataviensis, cujus mihi et sponsor et fideijussor es. Vale optime cum reverendissimo patre domino Perusino et Jacobo de Mediolano ac ceteris amicis. Ex Nova Civitate, die 15. Decembris 1453. Tuus Aeneas, episcopus Senesnis.

[1] ~~ad~~ *seq.* cod

[2] ~~in judicio~~ *seq.* cod.

[3] The King of Hungary[1] has been crowned and presently resides in Prague. The Bohemians will not let him leave the kingdom before he has learnt his people's language and to drink beer. So, now he is being governed by the Bohemians. The Austrians and all the Germans from his service have been dismissed and sent home except Eitzinger, who is being kept in Prague not to govern the king but - through him - to keep Austria obedient to the king. Likewise, the Governor of the Kingdom of Hungary[2] is being kept in Prague. The king's counsellors and servants are all Bohemians. Our Prokop[3] has been made Chancellor of the Kingdom and given a high rank. Since Duke Albrecht of Austria[4] and Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg[5] could not bring the king back with them to Austria and therefore feared the people's anger and protests, they did not want to return there but went to their homes ingloriously. The barons of Austria[6] are now turning their eyes to the emperor. The Count of Schaunberg[7] came here to seek forgiveness for his errors but died just a few days later.

[4] The Prussian cities, which were litigating against their lords, the [Teutonic] Order, and defending their alliance, lost their case, and their league was condemned and quashed.[8] The emperor himself sat in judgement together with 19 envoys from the princes. They are now negotiating some form of concord between the two parties. Because of this matter, I had to remain here until now, for the emperor only wanted to let me go after the settlement of the Prussian affair. But now I shall return home and maybe visit you as soon as the Christmas festivities are over.

Please commend me at the feet of Our Most Holy Lord and do not allow me to be deprived of the promised Church in Hirn[9], now belonging to the Elect of Passau[10], since you are my sponsor and guarantor. Live well, with the Most Reverend Lord of Perugia[11] and Jacopo of Milan[12] and the other friends. From Neustadt, 15 December 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] Ladislaus the Posthumous, King of Hungary and Bohemia and Duke of Austria.
[2] János Hunyadi.
[3] Prokop von Rabenstein.
[4] Albrecht VI (Habsburg).
[5] Albrecht III (Hohenzollern).
[6] Of whom many had joined the rebellion against the emperor the previous year.
[7] Johann II von Schaunberg.
[8] The emperor passed judgement in the case on 1 December 1455. See RTA, 19/2, p. 690.
[9] The Church of Irdning?
[10] Ulrich von Nussdorf.
[11] Jacopo Vanucci (-1487): Bishop of Perugia 1449-1482.
[12] Unidentified.

428. Letter to Paolo Morosini (16 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 193r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 96.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 199, pp. 386-387 (on the basis of W1).*

{193r} Domino Paulo Mauraceno. Vir magnifice atque insignis.

[1] Accepi litteras vestras multi sunt dies, quibus mihi rem vestram Placentinam commendabatis. Vidi etiam complurima scripta vestra ad physicum Caesareum, in quibus mei faciebatis mentionem. Respondebo breviter. Fuit mihi semper animus vestrae voluntati morem gerere, cum propter virtutem et nobilitatem vestram, tum propter notitiam, quam contraximus olim apud Sanctum Salvatorem et propter illos generosos comites de Colalto, qui vestrae domus sunt observantissimi. Curavi ergo, ut litterae ad intentionem conscriberentur et sigillarentur. Quo facto, cum majestas imperialis curiam mutaret, nescio quomodo litterae jam expeditae perditae sunt nec diligenter quaesitae inveniri potuerunt. Rursus quoque pervestiganti mihi vestrum memoriale, ex quo novas possem notulas sumere, nusquam compertum est. Sic desiderium vestrum simul et meum diu frustratum est. Ad hoc faciunt nostrae mores curiae, quae tarda est et, ut verum dicam, raro sine praesenti auro quidquam expedit. His autem diebus, cum revolverem scripturas meas, inveni praeter spem dictum memoriale moxque gavisus secretario Caesaris tradidi, unde minutae fierent exinde[3], ex quibus litterae conscriberentur. Itaque jam spero vestram rem esse in vado et cito suum transitum habituram[4]. Intelligis rei statum. Ego, quaecumque possum, vestri causa paratus sum facere. In hoc negotio non valui[5] amplius operari.

Valete. Ex Nova Civitate, die 16. Decembris 1453. Vester Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

Si orator Senensium apud vos est, cupio litteras his alligatas sibi assignari mandetis.

[1] DV, 391
[2] *Autograph*
[3] *omit.* WO
[4] ~~habetis~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] volui WO

428. Letter to Paolo Morosini (16 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *A Venetian noble, Paolo Morosini, had asked for and been granted some favour from the emperor. An imperial letter had been written and sealed but got lost before it was sent.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs Morosini that he has found his original memorial and arranged for a new imperial letter to be written and sent.*

To Paolo Morosini[1]. Magnificent and Distinguished Sir.

[1] I received your letter many days ago, in which you commended your affair of Piacenza to me. I have also seen several letters from you to the imperial physician,[2] in which you mentioned me. I shall answer briefly. It was always my intention to comply with your wish because of your own qualities and nobility, the friendship we formed at San Salvatore, and [finally] because of the noble counts of Collalto,[3] who greatly respect your house. So, I arranged for the appropriate letter to be written and sealed. But then the imperial court moved, and - I know not how - the already expedited letter was lost and could not be found despite a careful search. I myself looked for your memorial from which to make new notes but could not find it anywhere. Thus, our common desire was frustrated for some time. But this is what happens in our court, which is rather slow and - to say the truth - rarely acts without money being offered. However, while some days ago I was leafing through my papers, I unexpectedly found your memorial. Delighted, I immediately gave it to the emperor's secretary so he could write up the minutes as the basis of a new letter for you. So, I expect that your matter is proceeding and will soon be settled. You see how it stands for now. I shall do whatever I can for you. In this matter, I could not do more than I have.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 16 September 1453. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

If the Sienese ambassador[4] is there,[5] I ask you to give him the attached letter.

[1] Paolo Morosini (d. 1482): Venetian diplomat and humanist. Son of the senator, Egidio Morosini. (See WO, 3: 1, p. 386, n. a).
[2] Jacopo Giovanni de Castro-romano [Castelbarco]: Physician of the emperor and one of the two high-ranking Italians at the imperial court (Heinig: *Kaiser*, 1: 296).
[3] The House of Collalto (Princes of Collalto and San Salvatore) is an old and distinguished Austro-Italian noble house of Lombard origin, named after their seat at Collalto (Treviso).
[4] Leonardo Benvoglienti.
[5] In Venice.

429. Letter to Leonardo Benvoglienti (16 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 193r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 97.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 200, p. 388 (on the basis of W1).*

{193r} Domino Leonardo dei Benevolentibus. Spectabilis vir, amice carissime.

[1] Quamvis cupiam tibi multa scribere, modo tamen, quae committam litteris, pauca sunt. Statui, peractis nativitatis dominicae festivitatibus, domum petere. Tunc aut Venetiis aut Senis, si Deus dabit, te conveniam et verbo supplebo, quae desunt calamo. Pacem his in[3] partibus habemus, sed incertam atque nutantem. Comes Ciliae gratiam imperatoris quaerit, nondum tamen invenit. Rex Ladislaus apud Bohemos retinetur. Australes universi ab ejus gubernatione semoti sunt. Res Turcorum apud nos silent. Expectantur Apostolicae sedis nuntii, qui somnolentos excitent.[4] Frigus apud nos inauditum atque incredibile viget, et caritas rerum ultra solitum opprimit plebem.

Vale. Ex Nova Civitate, die 16. Decembris 1453. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[1] DV, 391
[2] *Autograph*
[3] his in : in his WO
[4] ~~vale ex Nova Civit~~ *seq.* cod.

429. Letter to Leonardo Benvoglienti (16 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini's planned return to Italy. News from the imperial court.*[1]

To Ser Leonardo de' Benvoglienti. Distinguished sir, dearest friend.

[1] Although I would write much to you, I have only a few things that I can put into a letter now. I have decided to return home after the Christmas festivities. Then - God willing - I shall meet you in Venice or Siena and supply what the pen has left out. We have peace in these parts, but an uncertain and shaky one. The Count of Celje[2] seeks the emperor's favour but has not yet obtained it. King Ladislaus[3] is being kept back in Bohemia. All Austrians have been removed from his government. Here, there is no talk whatsoever of the Turks. We are waiting for the envoys of the Apostolic See to wake up the somnolent. An unusual and incredible frost is reigning here, and high prices burden the people more than usual.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 16 December 1453. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 47, 553, 565.

[2] Ulrich II.

[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous.

430. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (16 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 193v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 98.*
Editions B: *AC, vol. 2/2, nr. 3759; WO, 3: 1, 201, pp. 388-389 (on the basis of W1).*

{193v} Domino cardinali Sancti Petri. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem[3].

[1] Venientem ad partes vestras Matthaeum Pisanum nolui meis litteris transire vacuum, quibus me nondum ivisse domum sciretis. Id fecit causa Prutenica, quae his diebus absoluta est: lata sententia et liga cassata. Neque enim prius licentiam abeundi Caesar dedit. Ibo ergo nunc ad ecclesiam meam, peractis dominicae festivitatis solemnitatibus, nisi aliud subsit impedimentum[4], quod Deus procul avertat. Id propterea scribo, ut sciatis, in quo loco ad me possitis seribere, si quid sit, quod mihi veluti servo vestro velitis committere. Terret me tamen frigoris austeritas, cujus similem, postquam in Alamania dego, numquam expertus sum neque homines quamvis senes harum partium majorem intemperiem vidisse se meminerunt. Extraordinariae temporum vices mirabiles solent portendere[5] calamitates: Deus nostri misereatur. Haec terra carestiam timet, pestis in foribus est, bella et Christianorum et gentium expectamus circumcisarum[6]. Despotus Rasciae cum Turco fertur conciliatus. Hic expectantur apostolici legati. Interim cuncta silent. Deus bene omnia vertat.

Valeat dignatio vestra et me habeat suo more commendatum. Ex Nova Civitate, die 16. Decembris 1453. Servulus vester Eneas, episcopus Senensis.

[1] DV, 392
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~Que nunc scribam dignationi vestre pauca sunt / non tamen / nec tamen hoc nuntius meis~~ *seq.* cod
[4] ~~id proptere~~ *seq.* cod
[5] pertendere WO
[6] ~~de Ture~~ *seq.* cod

430. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (16 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letters.*
Subject: *Piccolomini's return to Italy. The cold weather in Austria.*[1]

To His Lordship the Cardinal of San Pietro.[2] Most Reverend Father in Christ and My Worshipful Lord. After humble recommendation.

[1] Since Matteo Pisano[3] was travelling to your region, I wanted him to bring you a letter from me to let you know I had not yet returned home. The reason is the Prussian affair that was only concluded some days ago (judgement has been passed and the league annulled), for the emperor would not let me leave before. But I shall return to my Church[4] after the Christmas festivities unless - God forbid - some impediment arises. I am writing this so you will know where to reach me if you need anything from your servant.

I am terrified by the awful cold. I have never seen anything like it since I came to Germany, and even old men cannot remember seeing worse [winter] weather. Extraordinary events[5] usually portend catastrophes. May God have mercy upon us. In this country, there is fear of famine, the plague is reigning outside, and we expect war between the Christian and the circumcised peoples.[6] The Despot[7] of Rascia[8] is said to have reconciled with the Turk. Here, we are waiting for the apostolic legates. In the meantime, all is silence. May God arrange everything for the best.

May Your Grace fare well and favour me as always. From Neustadt, 16 December 1453. Your humble servant, Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 47.
[2] Nikolaus von Kues.
[3] Possible the son of Pietro de Nero da Pisa, servant of the emperor (AC)
[4] The diocese of Siena.
[5] "weather phenomena"?
[6] The Islamic peoples (not the Jews).
[7] Durad I Brankovic.
[8] Serbia.

431. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicky (16 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 193v[1] [2] **; X1, ff. 128r-128v.*
Editions A: *Weiss, 99.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 202, pp. 389-390 (on the basis W1).*

{193v} Domino Sbigneo, cardinali Cracoviensi Sanctae Priscae. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine colendissime. Post humilem recommendationem[3].

[1] Quo pacto absoluta sit res Prutenica, legati civitatum dignationi vestrae palam facient. Ego in ea causa, quod justum putavi, summo conatu prosecutus sum nec immemor fui scriptorum vestrorum. Timeo nunc, ne qua in parte[4] oriatur discordia, si qui forte sint, qui Caesaream sententiam parvifaciant. Vestra sapientia, quae prope adest, studeat pacem atque concordiam serere nunc maxime, dum Turcorum gladius nostris cervicibus imminet, ne, dum Christianorum nostrorum ferre jugum recusamus, Turcis parere cogamur. Ego paucos post dies domum repetiturus sum. Si quid est, quod mihi scribere velit[5] vestra dignitas, illuc litteras dirigat mihique semper imperet.

Valete optime, et, ut soletis, me amate. Ex Nova Civitate, die 16. Decembris 1453. Servulus vester Aeneas, episcopus Senensis[6].

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[1] DV, 392
[2] *Autograph.*
[3] Domino … recommmendationem : Reverendissimo in Christo patro et domino Sbigneo, tituli Sanctae Priscae sanctae Romanae ecclesiae presbytero cardinali Cracoviensi pontifici Eneas episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit. Post humilem recommendationem X1
[4] partes WO
[5] velit scribere : scribere velit X1
[6] Servulus .. . Senensis *omit*. X1

431. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicky (16 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *On 1 December 1453, the emperor had passed judgement in the case of the Prussian cities (supported by the Poles) vs. the Teutonic Order.*
Subject: *Piccolomini informs the cardinal about the imperial judgement and exhorts him to work for peace and concord. He also informs him about his imminent departure.*

To His Lordship Zbigniew, Cardinal of Krakow and Santa Prisca. Most Reverend Father in Christ and My Worshipful Lord. After humble recommendation.

[1] Your envoys will inform you how the Prussian matter has been concluded. In this whole affair, I have striven to do what I thought was right, and I remembered your letter. I now fear that a conflict may arise if perhaps some will scorn the emperor's judgement. May you, in your wisdom, work for peace and concord, especially now that the Turkish sword hangs over our necks, lest we be forced to submit to the Turks while refusing to carry the yoke of our own Christians. I shall return home in a few days. If there is anything Your Grace wants to write to me, please send the letters there, and I shall always be at your service.

Live well, and love me as always. From Neustadt, 16 December 1453. Your humble servant, Enea, Bishop of Siena.

432. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (17 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 80r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 100.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 203, p. 390 (on the basis of W1).*

{80r} Domino Nicolao, cardinali Sancti Petri, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, commendatum se facit. Reverendissime in Christo pater[3].

[1] Proficiscitur ad praesentiam vestram vir providus et, quantum intelligo ex aliis, virtute ac bonis moribus ornatus, Anosco, lator praesentium, qui longo tempore spectato viro magistro camerae imperialis servivit. Is praebendam in ecclesia vestra vigore precum imperialium acceptavit, modo possessionem quaerit. Scribit pro eo Caesar et magister camere et magister Ulricus. Quamvis post tanta nomina vanae videri possint litterae meae, gratissimum tamen habuero, si meas huic homini profuisse preces intellexerim, qui et mihi aliquando non vulgariter complacuit. Nec alia modo.

Recommendo me ipsum dignationi vestrae, ad cujus imperium praesto sum. Ex Nova Civitate, die 17. decembris 1453[4].

[1] DV, 165
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~et domine mi colendissime. Post humilem recommandationem~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] ~~servulus vester Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod.

432. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (17 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: *A certain "Anusco" had obtained an imperial request for a prebend in the diocese of Trient, whose bishop was Cardinal von Kues.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks the cardinal to favour the request.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, commends himself to Lord Cardinal Nikolaus of San Pietro. Most Reverend Father in Christ.

[1] You will receive the visit of a thoughtful and – as far as I hear from others – decent and well-mannered person, Hanusco,[1] bearer of the present letter. He has served the distinguished imperial *Kammermeister*[2] for a long time. Having received an imperial letter of *preces*[3] for a prebend in your diocese,[4] he now seeks to obtain possession of it. The Emperor, the Kammermeister[5], and Magister Ulrich[6] are writing in his favour[7]. Though a letter from me can add little to such splendid references, I should be most happy to see my request benefit the man, who at one time did me a great service. No more for now.

I recommend myself to Your Grace, whose commands I am always ready to obey. From Neustadt, 17 December 1453.

[1] Mentioned in letter to Kaspar Schlick of 3 July 1443 (EPI, 3: 129 1) as a socius, possibly then a member of the chancery staff.
[2] Hans Ungnad
[3] Preces primariae.
[4] The diocese of Trient.
[5] Hans Ungnad.
[6] Ulrich Rieder. (Ulrich Sonnenberger was now Bishop-Elect of Gurk).
[7] On this passage, see Reinle, p. 476.

433. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter of Brixen (17 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 80r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 101.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 204, pp. 390-391 (on the basis of W1)*

{80r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, venerabili capitulo ecclesiae Brixinensis salutem plurimam dicit.[3]

[1] Quamvis nulla sint mea erga vos merita, quia tamen ecclesiae[4] vestro semper affectus fui, audeo pro viro bono et mihi carissimo preces offerre. Eapropter rogo, quoad possum, obnixe, ut honorabilem Anoschonem, praesentium exhibitorem, in agendis suis et potissime in negotio prebendae, quam in ecclesia vestra acceptavit, benigne commendatum suscipiatis. Id erit mihi singulariter gratum et, ubi potuero, conabor vobis et in communi et in particulari vices rependere.

Datum ut supra.

[1] DV, 165
[2] *Autograph*
[3] ~~Venerabiles viri amici carissimi et honorandi~~ *seq.* cod.
[4] *corr. ex* capitulo cod.

433. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter of Brixen (17 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *As the preceding letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks the chapter to support Hanusco's request for a prebend.*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Venerable Chapter of the Church of Brixen.

[1] I have no merit towards you, but I have always been sympathetic towards your church. So, I dare to make the following request on behalf of a good man, most dear to me: please, deal kindly with the Honourable Hanusco, bearer of the present letter, in the matter of the prebend he has received in your diocese. This would please me immensely, and I shall endeavour to repay your kindness as much as possible, both in general and in particular matters.

Given as above.

434. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (17 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, f. 80r*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Voigt: Briefe, 324 (pp. 407-408 / 87-88); Weiss, 102.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 205, p. 391 (on the basis of W1).*

{80r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Procopio militi, inclyti regni Bohemiae cancellario, salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Electus Gurcensis[4] scribit serenissimo regi tuo in facto ecclesie Ruspacensis mittitque breve sanctissimi domini nostri ad rem ipsam. Cupio commendatam ejus causam habeas et amice promoveas. Nos hic expectamus episcopum Papiensem, apostolicae sedis legatum in negotio Turcorum. Fama est classem apostolicam 150 navigia captivasse illorum: nescimus veritatem. Pax Italie aegre tractatur: comes Franciscus Venetos urget. Ego tuum expecto responsum in his, quae novissime scripsi, quia Romanam curiam intra dies paucos petiturus hinc abibo.

Vale, et Nicolaum nostrum suscipe commendatum. Esset mihi carissimum in tuo regno te videre. Datum ut supra[5].

[1] DV, 165
[2] Autograph
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Cancellario. Magnifice miles amice honorande cod.
[4] *em.;* Curcensis cod.
[5] ~~tuus Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq*. cod

434. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (17 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *Ulrich Sonnenberger had received papal permission to receive the prebend of the parish of Russbach.*
Subject: *Piccolomini asks Rabenstein to support Sonnenberger's request, sends news from the imperial court, and presses for an answer to his previous offer of seeking a settlement of the Hussite schism.*[1]

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Knight Prokop, Chancellor of the Illustrious Kingdom of Bohemia.

[1] The Elect of Gurk[2] is writing to your Most Serene King[3] in the matter of the parish of Ruspach[4] and includes a letter from Our Most Holy Lord[5] on the same subject. I ask you to favour this request and to kindly support it. Here, we are expecting the Bishop of Pavia,[6] Legate of the Apostolic See in the matter of the Turks. Rumour has it that the apostolic[7] fleet has captured 150 Turkish ships, but we do not know if it is true. The negotiations about peace in Italy are proving difficult: Count Francesco[8] presses the Venetians. I am expecting your answer to my recent letter,[9] for I shall leave for the Roman Curia in a few days.

Farewell, and favour our Niccolò.[10] I should much have liked to visit you in your kingdom. Given as above.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: pp. 47.
[2] Ulrich Sonnenberger.
[3] Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[4] There is more than one Rußbach, but Piccolomini may be referring to the Parish of Russbach in the region of Korneuburg in Lower Austria, the duchy of King Ladislaus the Posthumous.
[5] Pope Nicolaus V.
[6] Giovanni da Castiglione.
[7] Papal.
[8] Duke Francesco I Sforza of Milan. Since he had not been recognised as duke by the empe-ror, Piccolomini refers to him by his title of count.
[9] Concerning a possible settlement of the Hussite schism.
[10] Niccolò Lisci.

435. Letter to János Vitéz (24 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: *W1, ff. 81r-81v*[1] [2] **.
Editions A: *Weiss, 102; Fraknoi, 2.*
Editions B: *WO, 3: 1, 206, pp. 391-394 (on the basis of W1).*

{81r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Johanni, episcopo Varadiensi, cancellario Hungariae salutem plurimam dicit[3].

[1] Regias litteras, reverendissime pater, in mei commendationem ad summum pontificem scriptas nobilis eques[4] Procopius, regni Bohemiae cancellarius, proximis diebus ad me direxit, emissas ex duplici cancellaria quibus, ut ex transumptis earum cognovi nihil aut ferventius aut limatius scribi potuit, his praesertim, quae tua ex cancellaria prodierunt. Intelligo me non esse Deo despectum, qui tanti principis gratiam merui. Quis enim non maximi faciat clarissimum {81v} inter Christianos ac potentissimum regem et sibi affectum esse et pro se scribere, quippe non minus est hujusmodi litteras quam rubeum pileum meruisse.

[2] Haec tamen ego non attribuo meis meritis, qui nosco inperfectum meum, et quam sit tenuis in me virtus. Nobilissima regis natura et beneficus animus est, qui servorum suorum, quamvis minimi sunt, non est oblitus. Deus illi[5] contra hostes victoriam, cum vicinis pacem, cum subditis quietem tribuat et prosperos in omni vita successus, qui mei memoriam non deposuit. Scio tamen multum me debere dignationi vestrae simulque domino meo Pataviensi atque Procopio, quorum verba regio culmini me commendarunt. Inspiciens insuper litterarum, quae pro me scribuntur[6], tenorem, sentio[7] tuum esse dictamen, sicut et pulpa et nervus et ornatus orationis ostendit. Egisti[8] amici causam[9], ut amici solent, quamvis non putem ego amicum sed servum me esse tuae dignationis neque, si tuum fuisset negotium, aut ardentius aut efficacius scribere potuisses. Nihil ad haec dicam. Recommittam Deo beneficia, quibus retribuere non possum. Ipse tuae dignationi merces erit, me mon dabo illi amplius, qui semel me dedi. Scis, ubi sum gentium, ibi me servum habere et uti pro arbitrio posse. Neque plura modo. Cupio semper in tua esse memoria, sic enim et in gratia magni regis futurum me minime dubito[10]. Apud nos est modo Papiensis episcopus.

Vale in Christo feliciter. Ex Nova Civitate, die vigiliae nativitatis 1453[11].

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[1] DV, 167-168
[2] *Autograph*
[3] Aeneas … dicit *corr. ex* Domino Johanni … Hungarie cod.
[4] ~~dominus~~ *seq.* cod.
[5] *corr. ex* det illi Deus cod.
[6] ~~tenorem~~ *seq.* cod.
[7] ~~dictamen esse / vestrum esse~~ *seq.* cod.
[8] *corr. ex* ostendisti cod.
[9] agere *seq.* cod.
[10] ~~Apud nos est modo Papiensis episcopus~~ *seq.* cod.
[11] ~~servitor vester Eneas episcopus Senensis~~ *seq.* cod

435. Letter to János Vitéz (24 December 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: *King Ladislaus the Posthumous had written to the pope and recommended his appointment as a cardinal. In his capacity as the king's Hungarian chancellor, János Vitez had contributed to the letter.*
Subject: *Piccolomini thanks Vitez profusely for his contribution to the royal letter of commendation.*[1]

Enea sends many greetings to His Lordship János, Bishop of Varad, Chancellor of the Kingdom of Hungary.

[1] Most Reverend Father, a short while ago, the noble Knight Prokop, Chancellor of the Kingdom of Bohemia, sent to me the king's letter[2] commending me to the Supreme Pontiff. It was issued by the double chancery,[3] and from the transcript, I see that it could not have been written with greater fervour and elegance, especially in the parts coming from your chancery. I see that I cannot be despised by God since I enjoy the favour of such a great prince. Who would not feel highly honoured to be esteemed by this mighty prince, among the noblest of the Christians, and have him write in one's support? Indeed, to merit such a letter means as much as the red hat itself.

[2] Yet, I do not ascribe this to my own merits, for I know I am imperfect and have little virtue. But the king's character is most noble, and his soul is kind since he does not forget even the humblest of his servants. May God grant victory over his enemies, peace with his neighbours, tranquil peace with his subjects, and success in all his life to him who has not forgotten me. However, I know how much I owe to Your Grace, to My Lord of Passau,[4] and to Prokop, who recommended me to His Royal Highness. Looking closer at the letter written in my support, I perceive that it was dictated by you, as shown by its content, vigour, and elegance. You have acted as a friend and as friends usually do though I do not consider myself a friend as much as a servant of Your Grace. You could not have written more urgently or effectfully if the affair had been your own. I shall say nothing more about this, but commit the benefits to God since I am unable to repay them myself. He will be your reward. Having already given myself to you entirely, I cannot give myself more. You know you have a servant whenever I am and can use me as you wish. No more for now. Please remember me always, for thus I will always enjoy the great king's favour. The Bishop of Pavia[5] is now with us.

Live happily in Christ. From Neustadt, the Vigil of The Nativity 1453.

[1] On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 47.
[2] King Ladislaus' letter of 12 September 1352 to Pope Nicolaus V, recommending Piccolomini's elevation to the cardinalate, is printed in WO, 3: 1, p. 392-393, n. a.
[3] The Chancery of Bohemia and the Chancery of Hungary.
[4] Ulrich von Nussdorf, Bishop-Elect of Passau.
[5] Giovanni da Castiglione, Papal Legate.

436. Letter to an unknown (bef. October 1453, no place).

Manuscripts: *M1, f. 56r*[1]
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 velitis 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] DV, 112

436. Letter to an unknown (Bef. October 1453, no place).

Context: *The emperor had issued a letter or primariae preces for a prebend to be given to Jakob (Widerl?).*
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] a 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 councillor, has spoken with Your Most Reverend Paternity on behalf of the Lord King. So, I trust 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 you to, 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] The emperor.
[2] Jakob Widerl?
[3] Silvester Pflieger. Died on 21 October 1453.