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Collected Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. Vol. 8: Letters 1455 - 1456 (nos. 581-685). Preliminary version

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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Vol. 8: Letters 1455 - 1456 (nos. 581-685).

Preliminary version

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Abstract

The present volume contains Enea Silvio Piccolomini's 104 personal letters from the years 1455 and 1456, i.e., his last half year at the Imperial Court in Austria and the year and a half when he was back in Italy before he was appointed a cardinal. Of these letters, 45 have never been published in print; 11 have only been published in incunabula editions and later in the Opera Omnia edition from 1551; and 48 have been published in modern critical editions (in RTA).

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Pope Pius II Piccolomini; Papst Pius II Piccolomini; Papa Pio II Piccolomini; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Pope Nicolaus V Parentucelli; Papa Niccolò V Parentucelli; Pope Nicholas V (Parentucelli); Renaissance. Letter collections.

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[A new version with the indices to the complete edition will be released in 2025].

¹ Excluding letters from the end of December 1456, after his appointment as a cardinal.

² Including letters from the end of December 1456, after his appointment as a cardinal.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

Piccolomini spent the first half of 1455 at the imperial court, busy with the Diet of Wiener Neustadt, whose major project, the preparation of a crusade against the Turks, came to a crashing halt when Pope Nicolaus V died. The emperor sent Piccolomini to Rome to present the imperial recognition (obedience) to the new pope, Callixtus V. Apart from a brief stay in Siena, Piccolomini spent almost half a year in Rome dealing with Jacopo Piccinino's attempt to conquer the city state of Siena, defended by the pope. In the spring of 1456, he obtained the pope's permission to go to Napoli to negotiate a peace between King Alfonso V and Siena. After his return, he stayed in Rome for some months before, finally, being appointed a cardinal in December 1456, the last step in his career before he was elected pope in 1458.

It is worth noting that from Piccolomini's definitive departure from the imperial court in June 1455 until his appointment as a cardinal in December 1456 there is, with the exception of his letters to the city government of Siena, only one letter extant, viz. a letter to Pietro da Noceto written in Naples on the 7th of May 1456. So, either he did not write letters during that period, or he did not keep a draft book of his letters (like the manuscript ÖNB / 3389 covering roughly the period from April 1453 to February 1454) or a file of copies. However, in the letter to Pietro da Noceto, he explicitly mentions two (non-extant) letters that he had sent to him after his return from Italy (see letter 684: 3). This issue merits further study.

2. Themes

The main theme of Piccolomini's letters before he left the imperial court is the Diet of Wiener Neustadt, and after he returned to Rome, Jacopo Piccinino's attempt to become lord of Siena.

2.1. External

2.1.1. Diet of Wiener Neustadt 1455¹

This diet had been summoned to implement the decisions on war against the Turks made at the previous diets of Regensburg and Frankfurt in 1455. The enthusiasms that Piccolomini's oratory had created at those two diets soon evaporated, and when the princes were summoned to the third diet, in Wiener Neustadt, they proved remarkably difficult to assemble, partly because of indifference to the crusade project and partly because many were involved in other conflicts.

¹ See Piccolomini's three orations at the Diet of Wiener Neustadt, the

"In hoc florentissimo", "Si mihi", and "Optasset" (COR, 5: 22-24).

A letter from to Cardinal Juan Carvajal of 12 March 1455 (letter 607) perfectly illustrates the difficulties.

[13] ... I shall write you an orderly account of what has happened in the diet until now and what is happening now. Then you will understand what to expect better than my letter can say. The first who came here was the ambassador of the King of Aragon. Since he could not reach Frankfurt during the diet there, he went to the emperor and stated here what he would have said there. The essence of his mission was this: his king, concerned about the protection of the Catholic Faith, would arm an immense army against the Turks and requested that a land army be raised as soon as possible. The ambassador has accepted to stay here, though somewhat unwillingly since he saw that the matter was taking too long and he could not otherwise hope for a happy outcome. Yesterday he came to the emperor to tell him that Italy now had peace and that his king during the coming spring would take a fleet into the sea. He insisted on being allowed to go home but was requested to stay for another 10 days to fully understand what happened here and return home better informed.

[14] After him, the Bishop of Pavia arrived, a grave and modest Father, zealous for the protection of the Faith. For a long time, he was sorry not to get letters from the curia, but finally he was consoled when the apostolic courier arrived with news from Italy, which he immediately reported to the emperor and others who had come to the diet. Then followed the Archbishop of Trier, a man of uncommon spirit and sagacity. When he heard that the emperor was absent (having gone to Graz), he awaited his return at the baths. When the emperor was at the point of returning here, the archbishop left to receive him with great honour. He was accompanied by legates from some cities and other princes. Shortly afterwards, the orators from the Duke of Burgundy and from the Archbishop of Salzburg arrived.

[15] Two legates from the kingdom of Hungary were sent here to request safe conducts for a major legation. They said that the Cardinal of Esztergom would come with two bishops, the Count of Celje, the Count of Bistruta, the Count Palatine, Voivode Miklas, and a fair number of barons, with 2,000 knights. They demanded that the safe conducts should be signed by the emperor in his own hand. They were promised the safe conducts but without the emperor's personal signature. Moreover, the Count of Celje was excluded, and only 500 knights were permitted. This answer was given in the presence of legates from the kingdom of Bohemia, who made excuses on behalf of their governor for now arriving on the promised day but stated that he would arrive shortly. When the Hungarian legates heard the answer, they left dissatisfied.

[16] Meanwhile, after the meeting in Wroclaw had ended, the Illustrious King Ladislaus returned to Vienna on the first Sunday of the quinquagesima. He was followed by Georg, Governor of Bohemia, and a fair number of barons. When he heard it, the [Archbishop] of Trier (with the legates of the prince electors with him) approached the emperor and told him that many and important affairs concerning the Empire had been entrusted to them which they wanted to communicate to the King of Bohemia in his capacity as prince elector. They said that they wanted to go to Vienna and learn what the king thought about these matters. Afterwards, they would return and inform His Imperial Highness of everything. The emperor answered that nobody should know about the affairs of the Empire before him; the king of Bohemia was a boy; he had councillors who were against him. Finally, he ordered them to inform him about

these affairs of the Empire. Then, if expedient, he would grant them liberty to go to Vienna. But they insisted, and a fierce discussion arose. The archbishop was determined to go to Vienna, and the legates of the four prince electors argued in the same vein. The emperor, seeing their determination, advised against the travel but did not forbid it. They did as they had decided, which gave rise to sinister suspicions. When King Ladislaus heard what the archbishop told him, he commended his mission but said that he was not well-informed about the affairs of the Empire and advised them to return to the emperor. He would send his legates with them. Whatever the emperor decided and which would benefit of the commonwealth he would accept gladly. ...

[19] The Hungarians, closest to the Turks, ought to have been the first to come to this diet but have been passive - I do not know why. They held a meeting in Buda, where they decreed to go to war against the Turks, decided on the individual contributions, and chose great men as legates to the emperor. Then some kind of conflict arose between them. Some cannot accept the governor's power. Sensing that something was in the offing, the governor began to fear for his position. When the cardinal, two bishops, two voivoide, and the Palatine Coun had already come to the king, only he remained in Buda. At first, he pretended to be ill, they say, but now he openly declares that he will only come if he can be completely safe. It is not yet certain that he can get the safe conduct he requests. Some say that the king will make all the concessions necessary to draw him to him, which might not be difficult since the count, who is a friend of the governor, could possibly persuade him. In my opinion, the king would be well advised to keep this man in favour, especially at this time, since we cannot hope that Hungary will dare anything against the Turks without this man. Only one thing makes me anxious: once suspicions have arisen between high-ranking men, they usually grow more easily than they are erased.

[20] When the king left Wroclaw, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg remained, struck down by illness. The physicians despaired of his health, but he recovered thanks to divine help. He has said that when he lay gravely ill and the physicians advised him to take care of his soul since they had seen manifest signs of death, he answered, "But I have another physician, who can save my life." Then he pointed to the crucifix and said, "This is my physician, to whom nothing is difficult. From him, I shall get life and health." And he was not disappointed, for a few days later, he recovered entirely and came to us where the emperor appointed him Hofmeister The Margrave of Baden also came to the emperor; he too is keen to fight the Turks.

[21] Before the [Archbishop] of Trier left here, the emperor ordered all the princes and legates present to join him to begin dealing with matter, because of which the diet was held. There, they long quarrelled about the seating and could not come to an agreement. The archbishop wanted the seat to the emperor's right, and the legates of the prince electors claimed the seats after his. Others said that the apostolic legate and the ambassador of the King of Aragon should be preferred to the legates of the [prince] electors. The archbishop declared that a prince elector who was present should not yield to a papal legate unless he were a cardinal or he had the cross carried before him. Many solutions were proposed, but none prevailed. It was mentioned that in the Roman Curia no honour was shown the prince electors, whom the cardinals barely deigned to place between them. It was also criticised that the [cardinal] vicechancellor presumed to sit before the King of the Romans, what had never been heard

before. And the King of Hungary who ranks as the fourth of all kings, sat on the last place among the cardinals. I shall tell you what objections were raised to this; in your wisdom you will know it.

[22] When the day had been spent on such disputes and it was late evening and all were standing, the emperor requested that someone speak in his name. This task fell to me, which was as difficult as it was unexpected, for it had previously been decided to have the oration in German and the task had been assigned to Ulrich Riederer. But since the decision was changed and I had to speak, I obeyed because I had to and not because I wished to. Improvising, I said that sensible men are usually drawn into war by four motives: acquiring profit, avoiding harm, avenging injuries, and gaining praise. I showed that the war against the Turks offers each of these. Then I told how greatly the emperor had been affected by the disaster in Constantinople and that he had, therefore, convoked the diets in Regensburg and Frankfurt to defend the Christian commonwealth. I mentioned what had been done in Frankfurt and the willingness of the princes and the legates there to protect the Catholic Faith. I showed that there were four possible objections: the shortness of time since some thought the army could not be gathered as soon as expedient; the insufficient aid promised since many said it was useless to mobilise such a small force against the immense multitude of the Turks; the conflicts in Germany that could not send an army abroad while fighting at home; and the uncertainty about the fleet since there was no news about the peace in Italy. Then I countered the objections and argued that the matter could be resolved sensibly and in time. I asked them to only be willing and told them that His Imperial Majesty would not omit anything that his office demanded.

[23] When I finished, the Bishop of Pavia said that since it was late at night, he would speak on the apostolic decree later when the Bohemians and Hungarians were present. The ambassador of the King of Aragon only summarised the king's intentions since he had explained them previously. The [Archbishop] of Trier and the legates of the prince electors declared that they would stay to fully participate in the discussions and later do as true Christians should. The Burgundians, who had exposed their prince's intentions a few days earlier, repeated them briefly, confirming that he would fight in person for the cause of Christ.

[24] This is what was done before the departure of the [Archbishop] of Trier. The cities said nothing on that day, but three days later, having been summoned to the emperor's presence, they fervently promised to cooperate as much as possible in this holy venture. 24 legates from the cities are here, and they claim to have mandates from five others. The dukes of Saxony, of whom one was to come here, are making their excuses, for they only have a brief truce with the Bohemians, and the present peace will not last beyond the Feast of Pentecost. Then they fear being attacked suddenly by the enemy. Their legates promise certain help against the Turks if only they can be freed of the war with the Bohemians. Now, we are waiting for the Governor of Bohemia, who is believed to arrive in two or three days. He will consult on a peace between the emperor and King Ladislaus. The whole essence of the war against the Turks depends on this. This matter and [the conflict] between the Bohemians and the Saxons are the only things that can impede the promised army. The Prussians and the Rhinish would not have great importance [in this context] since immense forces can be raised without them.

Piccolomini reports on the continuation of the diet in another letter to Carvajal 16 April 1455 (Letter 611):

[2] ... The diet before the emperor has gone on until now. The Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians attend. A decision was made to raise an army against the Turks, but in the end, it became clear that none of the decisions made in Frankfurt can be carried out this summer, for it will pass before the legates of the princes can reach home, gather the soldiers, and take the army to Hungary. In winter, it will be difficult to maintain a camp. Moreover, there is no certainty about a fleet from Italy, especially now that the pope is dead since he had charge of this matter. Any way, it is certain that the ships cannot enter the high sea while the cold winter reigns. A land army deprived of a fleet by winter would be senseless. This is the opinion of almost all the Burgundians and Germans. When the emperor heard it, he exhorted the prince electors to not fail in our determination to protect the Faith but to boldly keep our promises and do next year what could not be done this year. They should ask the Hungarians to accept a delay until next spring. In the meantime, the emperor would impose a two-year peace or a truce, as we commonly say, throughout Germany, appoint guardians [of the peace], and gather as great an army as previously promised. He would also ask the kings of France and England to lend their help, and he would send messages to the future pope, the King of Aragon, and the other Italian powers to get firm information about the fleet. Thus, it would be arranged that when the Germans and Hungarians attacked the Turks over land, the Italian ships would control the Hellespont and harass Greece on the one side and Asia [Minor] on the other.

[3] When I had said this on the emperor's behalf, in a meeting of prince electors or their legates on Saturday the 12th of April, they discussed the matter between and then gave their answer, which was not unanimous: the Archbishop of Trier agreed with and accepted the emperor's plan. The envoys of the [Archbishop] of Mainz praised it but could not approve it, for the matter must undoubtedly be referred to their lord, though he would undoubtedly agree with the emperor. The legate of [the Archbishop] of Cologne said he had no mandate concerning the decisions made in Frankfurt. Though his lord made splendid promises concerning the Turks, the Palatine envoy did not dare to accept the emperor's proposal without consulting him. The Saxon legates agreed with the emperor. When the envoy of Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg appeared to be in doubt, he was severely reprimanded by the margrave's brother Albrecht for not daring to declare the good intentions of his prince. The Bohemians had joined the Hungarians in seeking help, but though they commended the emperor's proposal, they wanted more firm promises. The other legates of the princes and cities said they would have to refer the matter to their lords, and their common unanimous advice was to summon another diet, in which the emperor should come to the Empire to hold a council with the prince electors. On the contrary, the emperor thought that this matter could be resolved without a [new] assembly. In the meantime, the [Archbishop] of Trier had left to go to King Ladislaus to return after a few days with the Governor of Bohemia and the Austrians, who are concerned about making peace in these regions. We cannot know nor even have an opinion about how these matters will turn out, but it is now clear that the Germans cannot raise an army this summer.

In reality, the German crusade against the Turks was dead, as Piccolomini clearly intimated in a letter to Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues of 5 May 1455 (letter 626):

[3] Our diet ended without results. The matters that had been promised for this summer have been postponed to the next, but with little hope that they will be achieved even then, as you will understand more fully from the response given to the Hungarians, a copy of which I am sending along with the present letter.

2.1.2. Jacopo Piccinino and Siena

On the 7th of March 1455, Jacobo Piccinino's contract as military commander with Venezia ended, and he began to look for new opportunities. He eventually settled on the project of becoming lord of Siena¹, as Francesco Sforza had previously become lord of Milan. Having formed an understanding with – or directly been invited by – a dissident political faction of Siena, the Novi, he entered Siense territory with his company on 19 June and seized Certona². Sometime later, he entered into contact with King Alfonso V the Magnanimous, who, as King of Naples³, had his own plans with regard to Tuscany. Having obtained the king's support, he, on 15 July, moved to Castiglione della Pescaia⁴, belonging to the Kingdom of Naples, and on 31 October he occupied the city of Orbetello in Siense territory⁵. In the meantime, the Siense appealed to Pope Callixtus III, who, as leader of the Italian League, mobilised help for the Siense, mostly from Milan and Florence, while the Venetians managed to stay apart from the conflict. Also, on 31 September, the city government of Siena executed its hired captain, Giberto da Corregio, for secret dealings with Piccinino⁶.

Already in August 1455, Piccolomini, in connection with his imperial embassy of obedience to the new pope, took the opportunity to plead Siena's cause with the pope. In a letter to the city government of 20 August (letter 643), he made this report:

[1] When I left Siena, Your Magnificences entrusted me with the task of - upon reaching the feet of our Lord, His Holiness [Callixtus III] - commending Your Magnificences and the entire people of Siena to His Holiness and thanking him for the immense favours granted to your republic. Additionally, I was, together with the Reverend Father, the Bishop of Chiusi, to report on the state of the war and demonstrate, to the best of my ability, how urgently necessary it is to defeat the enemy.

[2] I obeyed your command, and when I first approached Our Holy Lord, I touched on the commission that had been given to me as briefly as possible, stating that I would return at another time with the Bishop of Chiusi to more fully expose your instructions. His Holiness heard this gladly and spoke at length about his goodwill towards the city of Siena. Afterward, I was occupied with imperial business, and the festivities of the Most Blessed Mother of Our Lord intervened. Thus, the bishop and I were not able, as we had wished, to meet Our Holy Lord. Meanwhile, Ser Bindo arrived, and with him, we visited Our Holy Lord [the pope] twice.

¹ See Ferente, pp. 48-64; Banchi; Saviano

² Ferente, p. 46.

³ Ferente, p. 51.

⁴ Ferente, p. 51.

⁵ Ferente, p. 52.

⁶ Ferente, p. 51.

First, Ser Bindo, the Bishop of Chiusi, and I gave a summary of everything entrusted to us. Then Ser Bindo, being more knowledgeable about the situation and having departed from you more recently, gave a more detailed speech. I do not doubt that the response of Our Holy Lord will be relayed to Your Magnificences in great detail by the bishop and Ser Bindo. However, I will briefly summarise the pope's sentiment, which was as follows: Our Holy Lord responded that he is fully intent on the protection of your city and the elimination of the common enemy [Jacopo Piccinino], whom he called a "bandit." He said that he is entirely justified in doing this not only under the authority [proclaimed by] Pope Innocent but also by the report of a certain informer. Indeed, it is the Church's responsibility to care not only for its own subjects [in the church states] but also for its neighbours and foreigners. He also mentioned the many actions he had taken against Jacopo Piccinino, who had begun to call himself "Duke of Siena."

[3] Regarding the mercenary forces that have caused great harm in the Sieneese countryside and looted provisions, he said that this kind of man is harmful by nature, and many troubles must be endured to preserve the freedom that Saint Peter [the papacy] brought to our city. However, he said he did not doubt that the enemy would either die, be captured, or flee in the very near future. He mentioned that he had written to Venice, the King of Aragon [Alfonso V], and many others against him.

[4] Regarding the Count of Fondi, the pope had complained to the king that the count had been helping Jacopo Piccinino and would one day have to answer to the Church, which had granted his house its rise. Regarding the Count of Pitigliano and Montagutulo, he said he would act according to your wishes, but it seemed to him that the count offered only words and no action. He also complained about the Venetian ambassador, who, in your senate, had advocated for peace with the enemy. The Pope advised that you should not trust everyone but be confident that everything would turn out well. He also assured you that, although the King of Aragon might not want Jacopo completely destroyed, he certainly did not want him to become too powerful.

[5] Regarding the grain you had requested, he gave a most favourable response. ... He consents to your obtaining as much as you need. This, in essence, was his response, although he said many other things, which will be more fully reported to your senate by Ser Bindo. As you see, you have a pope who is very well disposed toward your republic. You should know how to make use of such a great Father. He has a great and upright spirit. Nothing is closer to his heart than justice.

Piccolomini took up residence in Rome in October 1455 and acted as one of the Sieneese representatives in the negotiations on this whole matter conducted by the pope and the representatives of the Italian. The Sieneese were constantly pressed by the pope to vigorously oppose Piccinino in order to obtain better terms of peace. Some excerpts from Piccolomini's letters show how difficult the whole situation was for a Sieneese, exhausted by a series of wars, internal divisions, and lack of grain.

In a letter to the City of Siena of 15 November 1455 (Letter 655), he reported from a meeting with the pope:

[1] ... When Jacopo Guidini [one of the Sieneſe envoys], gravely and wiſely explained his miſſion as cuſtom dictates, the pope appeared to liſten to his ſpeech with a pleaſant expreſſion. But when Guidini aſked him to uſe his wiſdom to ſettle the troubled affairs and ſpoke as if peace were being ſought and a miſſion to the king were being planned, the pope's expreſſion froze. Yet he thawed up again when Giudini ſpoke about Siena's determination and ſaid it would in no way deviate from the will of him [the pope], whom they acknowledged as the one who ensured its liberty and ſafety. In his answer, the pope ſaid ſeveral notable things.

[2] After recounting his favours to your republic, he ſaid that the Mighty King of Aragon had become your adverſary without cauſe, and the letter in which he declared war was ſent only to inſpire fear, to ſway your people to his ſide, and to turn the Sieneſe territory into a ſtable for his horſes. This would eaſily happen if your city, without its allied princes and peoples, were to accept [on its own] the king's peace. Therefore, the pope advised that you do nothing without your allies. He wanted a true peace, not a feigned and treacherous one. Peace was within reach, he ſaid, if the Sieneſe could, in their own territory, hold out againſt Jacopo [Piccinino] until ſpring. The king would promiſe that Jacopo did not inflict harm on the Sieneſe in the meantime. But he warned that this peace would be uncertain and fraught with danger - nothing would be ſafe unless the enemy withdrew. The Florentines and the Church, your neighbours, do not want him near, for who could guarantee that no diſturbance would occur at another time? The Sieneſe would be wiſe to guard againſt treachery and ſtay courageous and bold without abandoning their confederates who kept their pact. The Sieneſe ſhould not ſend an embaſſy to the king, he thought, for if it were a humble and pitiable embaſſy, it would be ridiculed, and it would have been better to ſend women to weep. And if the embaſſy were a threatening one, the Sieneſe were not in a poſition to frighten ſuch a great king. But if the Sieneſe ſought peace from the enemy, they ſhould conſider what ſort of peace was offered and whether it was right to ſeek it, abandoning thoſe who had helped them and turning their backs on the reſt of Italy, which could not be done without great danger to the Sieneſe themſelves. They ſhould wait to ſee what Mateu Jovan brought back from Naples. If it were peace, there would be no need for further embaſſies. But if it were mere words and threats of war, they ſhould go to the king with the reſt of their allies, and then their embaſſy would carry more weight.

[3] Afterwards the pope laid out plans for waging war and ſtrongly advised the Sieneſe to prepare everything neceſſary for the ſiege of Orbetello, urging them to haſten their preparations. For if we would act as men, we could eaſily drive the enemy out. Everything muſt be endured for the ſake of liberty. All of the Corregian cavalry ſtill preſent ſhould be hired.

[4] Regarding the grain ſupply, he gave good hope and urged you to ſpeedily provide the neceſſities for war, for he loves our city as if it were the apple of his eye and deſires it to be ſafe, caring for Siena no leſs than for Rome. To this, Jacopo reſponded as he thought uſeful and diſpelled all negative opinions. He alſo touched on my miſſion, which the Apoſtolic Holineſs liſtened to pleaſantly, remaining well-diſpoſed towards me, whereas in previous days, due to ſome reports given to him, he had been rather aloof. But truth conquers all; the foundations of lies are ſlippery.

In the meantime, the Sieneſe, papal, and Milanese troops were beſieging Piccinino in the city of Orbetello. However, the pope’s epiſcopal commissioners in the camp at Orbetello, wrote to the pope that the Sieneſe did not contribute ſeriously and vigorously to the ſiege. This was a recurrent theme in the diſcuſſions between the pope and the ambadors of Siena, Milan, and Florence. In a letter to Siena of 9 December 1455 (letter 667), Piccolomini reported:

[3] Letters from the biſhops have arrived from the camp, full of complaints that you are not acting as you ſhould. They accuſe you of many things, as uſual, and ſeem to doubt that you will provide the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſiege of Orbetello, attempting to ſhift all blame onto you. Therefore, every effort muſt be made to ensure that nothing can be blamed on you. Your ſtate is at ſtake. As you write, much can be done againſt the enemy in ten or fifteen days. This is the pope’s opinion. Take care, then, that it is not ſaid that you are neglecting ſuch a beneficial cauſe, which you yourſelves recommended, becauſe thoſe in the camp are more than happy to put the blame on you.

Later, the time came for real peace negotiations with King Alfonſo, and the pope agreed to ſending Piccolomini to Naples with a Sieneſe embaffy. In a letter to the city government of 17 February 1456 (letter 680), Piccolomini wrote:

[1] By the command of Your Lordſhips, your ambadors, Ser Galgano Borghese and Leonardo, have aſked me to accompany them to Naples to [meet] the king. I answered that I would do ſo, provided it was acceptable to Our Moſt Holy Lord [pope], for I wiſh to comply with your deſires and will never begrudge labouring day and night for your republic. The ambadors’ journey to the king was delayed by the pope’s order ſince he has decided to await certain reports from Naples, which did not turn out as we would have wiſhed. The Supreme Pontiff has now decided that the ambadors ſhould now proceed to the king. I am afflicted with gout and cannot riſe from bed, ſo I judge it wiſer that they go without me. They await your decision on what to do. The matter requires haſte, and a delay could harm your republic. Therefore, it ſeems to us that it would help the peace proceſſ if they proceed with the embaffy as ſwiftly as poſſible.

When Piccolomini had recovered from his attack of gout, he joined the other ambadors in Naples and, in a letter to the city government of Siena of 23 May 1456 (letter 685) he reported on the progreſſ of the peace negotiations:

[2] The peace negotiations here [in Naples] have been exceedingly difficult ſince nothing could be accompliſhed without the pope [in Rome]. However, he would not entruſt anything to us and would ſometimes be irritated at our efforts. Thus, we had to ſail againſt oppoſing winds in a troubled ſea, and the peace negotiation itſelf was ſometimes driven hither, ſometimes thither, and often ſuffered ſhipwreck. Now the Duke of Modena, now the Cardinal of San Marco would ſeize the helm to pull the ſhip into port. Many rowers, among them Brother Filippo, alſo joined the fray, but all their efforts were in vain. It was a waſte of time, and in the meantime, our city ſuffered.

[3] The matter has now, again, been referred to the king. He shows himself willing. He has full power to resolve the matter on behalf of the pope. Piccinino, whether he wants to or not, will be compelled to comply with the king's will, because if he is abandoned by the king, he has no refuge. We three are with the king daily, and Magister Juan Soler, the pope's ambassador, is present. We take care to negotiate diligently. His Royal Majesty says that we should take courage because he will certainly conclude the matter as quickly as possible. He states that he has sympathy with the people of Siena, whose sufferings are unmerited; that he wishes to please the pope, since he has shown confidence in him; and that he does not wish further problems for Italy but to now, at last, be able to proceed against the Turks. Therefore, to speak frankly, I hope that we shall, as soon as possible, accomplish one of two: either we shall obtain peace through the agency of the king and recover what has been lost - although not without some monetary compensation; or the king will, angered at Piccinino, withdraw his hand from him, nor will he allow anyone to assist his help Piccinino's men and clients.

[4] That these matters have taken so long is not the king's fault. The reason is, firstly, that I could not come when I was sent, and neither could Jacopo Guidini. And when afterwards we three came, the matter was taken out of our hands and, as has been said, treated differently. Now, with God's help, the ship is almost in port. I hope that you will, within a very few days, receive the desired consolation. And you will find this king to not be estranged from your republic, although some things have upset him. Therefore, you must care to preserve his goodwill and grace, for he has long arms, whether he wishes to help or to harm.

Some weeks later, the negotiations were concluded successfully, see. Piccolomini's oration "Modestius" held at the celebration on 6 July 1456¹

Other themes are:

2.1.3. Plot against János Hunyadi

János Hunyadi was the most powerful man in Hungary and, as such, a rival to Count Ulrich II of Celje, who wished that power for himself and probably also saw the count as a threat towards his nephew, King Ladislaus the Posthumous, the boy king of Hungary. So, apparently, the count plotted to capture and presumably execute Hunyadi. In a letter to Juan Carvajal of 5 May 1455 (letter 625), Piccolimini related this episode:

[1] The matter of the Governor of Hungary [János Hunyadi] unfolded in this way: he was persuaded with many words to come to [King Ladislaus in] Vienna, with a promise of safe conduct in the form he had requested. Trusting the promise, he came with 1,500 horsemen to a place called Fischamend, about four miles from Vienna. There, he waited for two days for the safe conduct. After this, a knight named Lamberger, a familiar of the Count of Celje, came to the governor and told him to quickly mount his horse because the king had come out to meet him and did not wish to wait in the field under the scorching heat. The governor complied and

¹ COR, 6: 27.

advanced for another two miles toward Vienna, but when he found no one coming to meet him, he withdrew to the nearest village, waiting either for the arrival of the king or the letter of safe conduct. Soon after, the Count of Celje arrived with forty horsemen and told the governor that the king was waiting for him near the city and urged him to hurry. When asked about the safe conduct, the count insisted that he would get it directly from the king. At this point, the governor realised he had been deceived. He became furious, reviled the count, and retreated indignant. This incident has greatly disturbed the minds of those who desire peace. Efforts are still being made to bring the governor back. Meanwhile, he is fortifying Buda and the other towns and castles he controls. Thus the leader of the Turks has many working for him, though it is not of his doing.

2.1.4. Death of Pope Nicolaus V

Piccolomini only mentioned the death of Pope Nicolaus V briefly, but significantly in some letters. To Cardinal Carvajal, he wrote on 16 April 1455 (letter 611):

[1] In my previous [non-extant] letter, I have already told you how much I regret the death of Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus. It will not help to reopen the wound. May God give us a successor who is similar to or even better than him, for unless we get a wise and holy pontiff, I fear that the Church will be ruined since the enemies of our Faith advance against us with united forces, and we ourselves do not unite to protect our religion.

In a letter to Pietro da Noceto of the same date (letter 612), Piccolomini criticises the pope for not having fulfilled his promises, i.e., of appointing him a cardinal:

[1] I know that you are shocked and grieved at the death of Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus, and my sorrow is as great as yours, though my less is lesser than yours, for while he was alive, your advantages were greater than mine. But we have both lost a father, guardian, protector, and lord who loved us fervently, though not in the same way. You have neglected, dear Pietro, a most beautiful thing¹, or perhaps it was he who neglected it, seeing that he did not fully benefit his friends and servants and went to his fathers full of [unfulfilled] promises.

He repeats this criticism in a letter to Heinrich Senftleben, of the same date (letter 613):

[1] Your letter informed me about the illness of Pontiff Nicolaus, and other letters told me that he was dead. May God have mercy upon him. He went to his fathers loaded with [unfulfilled] promises. May his successor not make promises that he does not intend to keep.

There can be little doubt about Piccolomini's resentment that Pope Nicolaus had not kept his promise of appointing him a cardinal.

In a letter to Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues of 5 May (letter 626), Piccolomini implicitly extends this criticism to Nicolaus passivity in the matter of the Turks:

¹ Friendship, probably.

[3] ... I hope that the newly elected Roman Pontiff who, they say, has already been crowned, will surpass his predecessor¹ in zeal for the defence of the faith. For if the spiritual leader is lukewarm, we cannot expect great deeds from the secular princes.

2.1.5. German complaints (Gravamina) against the papacy

The pope's death initiated a discussion of the German complaints against the papacy. In a letter to Cardinal Carvajal of 12 March 1455 (letter 607), Piccolomini wrote about these complaints, largely ignored in Rome:

[2] I had written to Your Grace from Frankfurt about the great animosity in this nation against the Roman Curia. You answered copiously and subtly destroyed the [German] arguments. The Bishop of Pavia [the papal legate] and I diligently do the same and make use of your arguments, but we have been unable to convince the discontented. They stick to their views and maintain their position. You ask me, who has shown the wound, what medicine I advise, but I am not a suitable physician for such illnesses.

One of these complaints concerned the curial practice of selling reservations for the same ecclesiastical benefices to several men, and then, when the benefice became vacant, to grant it to whoever the curia preferred - according to arcane and changing rules - which meant that the other men, who had bought a reservation, had spent their money in vain. In a letter to Cardinal Carvajal of 20 February 1455 (letter 598), Piccolomini wrote:

[4] Your fervent defence of the justifiable use of preferential treatment in the case of reservations and expectative graces is criticised by many and especially by those who, having spent considerable sums [to obtain a reservation or expectative grace], find themselves deceived. It does not seem to be a godly practice to snatch away the grace you have already sold to someone, as it happens in the case of such preferential treatment. You say it is legitimate to prefer the more worthy to the less worthy. This I would consider true if the two were to be promoted on the same terms. But if we talk of the justice of the matter, I do not know how equity could dictate that a less worthy person who had [previously] bought [the right of appointment] could justly be deprived of this right, unless we follow the opinion of that philosopher who maintained that a good man can eat a less good man if he has nothing else to put in his stomach. The Archbishop of Trier complains that some barber was preferred to his noble and esteemed brother. I know that you will not lack an answer to this, so I pass on to other things. I just say this: if we were not protected by the emperor's constancy, Germany would become similar to France.

In the abovementioned letter of 12 March, Piccolomini returned to the matter of papal provisions:

¹ Pope Nicolaus V.

[3] I do not approve, my Father, that new chancery rules are made daily and so obscure and ambiguous that they could not barely be understood by Oedipus, had he still lived. The decrees of the Apostolic See should be clear and firm so that he who obtains letters [of reservations] based upon them will know what to hope for in the end. A not-noble person should know that a noble would be preferred to him; an unlearned person that a learned man would be preferred; a private man absent from the curia that a man present there would be preferred, and so on and so forth. I concede that it is legitimate for the Roman Pontiff to prefer men of higher rank, but these things must be administered in such a way that they do not cause harm. If anyone, be he a doctor or a noble, has obtained and paid for a letter to obtain the collation of a desired benefice, it is, in my opinion, unjust if somebody else of similar or lower rank is preferred to him. Moreover, I do not think that anyone present at the curia should be preferred to anyone who is absent. And I do not think that the cardinals' or even the pope's familiars should be preferred except to persons of similar rank, or that a cardinal's cook or a muleteer from the apostolic stable should be preferred to great nobles or distinguished doctors. But often letters are issued by the curia with precisely such content. Your sharp intellect will see how reasonable that is! Such goings-on alienate many, since nobody has been provided with so strong a bull [decree] that he will not find somebody else having a stronger one.

The German frustrations were so great that an attempt was made at the imperial court, among others by the influential Archbishop of Trier, Jacob von Sierck, to use the change of popes to free Germany from papal dominance (as had previously happened in France with the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438) by refusing or limiting the traditional declaration of obedience. In a letter to Cardinal Carvajal of 16 May 1455 (letter 638), Piccolomini wrote:

[5] Though neglected, not to say scorned, he [the emperor] has nonetheless decided to send your Enea, who, according to hallowed custom and in the name of the Holy Roman Empire, will reverently honour the new Vicar of Christ, who is, as we believe, divinely appointed. Many approaches were made to the emperor, and various means attempted to somehow prevent my mission, as I will explain more fully to Your Grace in person. For some in this German nation roar like wild animals, and they now recall all the wounds suffered in past times, confidently believing that time has come for them to reclaim their liberty. But the emperor stands in the way of their efforts and, with unwavering loyalty, defends the status and honour of the Holy See.

2.1.6. Accession of Pope Callixtus III

On the new pope, Piccolomini wrote in the letter of 16 May to Cardinal Carvajal (letter 638):

[3] The situation is bad, but expectations are much worse, unless the skills of the present pope heal our ailments. Your Grace praises his holiness, and the entire Church approves of his morals and way of life. His reputation for integrity is outstanding; they say he will lead a life of purity, is highly skilled in both laws¹, has deeply knows how to live virtuously, and is fervently committed to protecting the Church. His desire for this cause was magnificently expressed in

¹ Canon and civil law.

the vow he made upon his election. Perhaps he will be the one to remedy our present troubles, and under his rule, the Church of Christ will reclaim its former glory.

And on 1 June 1455 (letter 641), Piccolomini wrote to the new pope himself:

[1] Just as the death of the late Pope Nicolaus V of holy memory greatly afflicted me, so too your elevation to the summit of the Supreme Pontificate has filled me with joy. Then, I grieved that the Church was deprived of a good shepherd, but now I rejoice that the Bark of St. Peter has been entrusted to a worthy captain. I hope that under your leadership, our religion can be magnificently defended against the attacks of the Turks, and indeed all of Christendom believes this to be true. As I faithfully served your predecessor, so too do I offer you my loyal and willing service, ready to obey your commands for as long as I live.

2.1.7. Hussites

Piccolomini met Georg Podiebrad, Governor of Bohemia, now ruled by the boy king Ladislaus the Posthumous, at a meeting in Benesov in 1451 and recently at the Diet of Wiener Neustadt. Podiebrad wanted Piccolomini's aid in obtaining a papal confirmation of the Bohemian practice of communion under both species and of Jan Rokycana as Archbishop of Prague. Piccolomini agreed to present the matter to the new pope. He personally supported a confirmation of the communion under both species but not the confirmation of Rokycana.

The matter of communion under both species was supported both by King Ladislaus and the emperor since a settlement would greatly favour the Habsburg family's rule in Bohemia. However, it was such a delicate affair that Piccolomini, in his letters, only referred to it in veiled terms, as he did in a letter to Prokop von Rabenstein of 10 May 1455 (letter 631):

[1] I have the matters to be raised in Rome on behalf of the illustrious Kingdom of Bohemia at heart as much as you do. I will apply all the energy, effort, and care I can muster to ensure the noble governor's will is carried out, if only I have the benevolent ear of the Supreme Pontiff.

In spite of the confidentiality surrounding this matter, the Franciscan preacher, Giovanni di Capistrano, picked up rumours about it and wrote two letters to Piccolomini to warn him. This first is a letter of 28 February 1455 (letter 603):

[2] It will be appropriate to inform you about a detestable matter, abhorrent to all good men: some Bohemians are endeavouring to urgently request the Holy Emperor for his favour and grace in order to obtain that he sends insistent letters to Our Most Holy Lord [the pope] with petitions for the confirmation of that unspeakable heresiarch Rokycana as Archbishop of Prague, and thus to achieve the union of the Church. My dear Father, with your singular sense of justice and wisdom, you can yourself judge how justly, well, rightly, and piously they intend to proceed. I, for my part, cannot stand this great indignity. I urge you to let me know what I should do about this affair.

The second is a letter of 8 April 1456 (letter 683):

[1] The Bohemian heretics have spread this rumour, but when they boast that they have you as their promotor with Our Most Holy Lord with a view to obtain [papal] confirmation of Compacts¹, I am not inclined to lend an ear to this. For they say and proclaim that you have been elevated to the rank of cardinal and have taken on the task to restore the Compacts, and that you are striving to obtain the confirmation of the perfidious heresiarch Rokycana as Archbishop of Prague, and furthermore that you are promising to obtain his elevation to the cardinalate. I cannot be brought to believe this, nor can I believe that the Catholic faith could be undermined by Your Most Reverend Grace; on the contrary, it will be continuously strengthened by you. We have not heard of worse things in our time than what is currently being done by heretics, even in the kingdom of Hungary. But you, Most Reverend Father, in your charity, strive to ensure that such a disgrace be far removed from you by the arrows of truth, etc.

Undaunted, Piccolomini proceeded with the matter of communion under both species and prepared a memorandum/oration on the matter, the “*Res Bohemicas*”², that he intended to present to the pope when he came to Rome.

2.1.8. Printing press

By a curious coincidence, Piccolomini became one of the first prelates to witness the birth of the printing press. In the letter to Cardinal Carvajal of 12 March 1455 (letter 607), he wrote:

[8] Concerning the amazing man I visited in Frankurt [in connection with iet of Frankfurt in the autumn of 1454], it was not false what had been written to me. I did not see complete Bibles but only quinternions from different books. The letters were clear and correct, nowhere faulty, which Your Grace could read easily and without glasses. From some witnesses, I heard that 158 volumes have now been finished, but others said it was 180. I am not quite sure about the number. [At any rate,] if people can be trusted, I do not doubt that those volumes have been produced. If I had known your wish, I would certainly have bought a volume. Some quinternions have now been brought to the emperor. If possible, I shall endeavour to have a bible for sale brought here and buy it for your sake, but I fear it is not possible both because of the long distance and because they say that buyers stand ready before the volumes are finished. But I presume that Your Grace much desired to have certain information about this matter, since you informed me by a messenger faster than Pegasus! But enough joking!

¹ The Hussite compacts, an agreement between the Bohemians and the Council of Basel that allowed

them, among other things and on certain conditions, communion under both species.

² COR, 6: 28.

2.1.9. Franciscan troubles

In a conflict between two branches of the Franciscan Order, the Observantists and the Conventuals, Pope Nicolaus V had made a decision favouring the Conventuals. At the instigation of Giovanni di Capistrano, who belonged to the Observantists, Piccolomini intervened in the matter through an imperial letter to the pope and through a personal letter to the influential Cardinal Capranica in Rome of 10 January 1455 (letter 583):

[1] Since the emperor is writing to commend the affairs of the Observantist Brothers of Saint Francis, it might be more modest of me to remain silent. However, because of the memory of my fellow countryman, Saint Bernardino, I am greatly devoted to this [religious] family and therefore unable to contain myself. So, I simply must come to the aid of this holy family and cannot deny them my protection, for they aid not only me but all Christians with their prayers and pious works. I wish I had abundant means to help them and that my patronage would count for something. Indeed, I would not deny anything to these servants of God, for though I am a sinner and surrounded by iniquity, I love those whom I see to be living chaste and pure lives. And the less virtue there is in me, the more fervently I should help those whose probity is evident so that, if I cannot please God by my own acts, I can at least become acceptable to Him through their commendations. Just as weak and pusillanimous secular soldiers are saved in battle by the virtue of strong men, thus, in the Bark of Saint Peter, the wise and courageous seamen preserve the weak and cowardly. This is what the Observantist Order of Saint Francis does. Like a select troop of soldiers, it illuminates the whole Christian army. It protects now this part, now another; it prevents ambushes, breaks the attacks of the enemies, and is always armed, always vigilant, and always occupied in getting us peace. We know how much this order profited the Catholic Church under Bernardino of Siena and how much the Church has now benefitted under Brother Giovanni Capistrano.

[2] And what does this Order do but what we know the Gospel to command? It weeds thorns and spiny plants from the Lord's field, it sows the good seed, it cuts away cockle and weeds with the hoe of truth, it eliminates greed, expels lust, fulminates against alluring pleasures, smothers ambitions, drives enmities away, acts like a spur on cowardice and foolishness, every day opens its mouth in the church, urges repentance, and teaches the way of the Lord in truth. These are the works of the brothers called Observantist. I do not know whom they could displease. I believe that their conduct must please all except those who are completely cut off from the Church, and I do not doubt that the Apostolic See is devoted to these soldiers of Christ since the Roman bishops have granted this family many privileges to preserve it unharmed by enemy attacks.

[3] However, quite recently, I heard that Our Most Holy Lord Pope Nicolaus V has received some [unfortunate] recommendations against this holy and sacred congregation. It is being said that His Holiness has either revoked or annulled the letters that his predecessor Eugenius issued in favour of the Observantist Brothers, something he would only have done if, as they say, he had received malevolent reports about their conduct. The lying and deceitful tongue is

a pernicious thing that often causes great harm to the community. But great is the power of truth that easily and of itself emerges against all intrigues. The life of the brothers is well-known: A city seated on a mountain cannot be hid. This family is like a lamp shining on the candlestick that illuminates the Lord's dwelling, the Church, with marvellous splendour. The prince of this world moves against it but can do nothing. That house is founded on a solid rock, and the northern winds have no power over it.

[4] It is believed to be sustained by the hand of the Heavenly Emperor and not need to fear the cunning attacks of snakes. Still, it wishes to be protected by the one who holds the place of the Great God on Earth, for though that house cannot be overthrown and the bark of Saint Francis cannot sink, many can, however, be imperilled by tenants or seamen, and the house is not completely safe unless it is protected by the Apostolic See. It is not up to me to assess the high judgement of the sacred Senate [the College of Cardinals] or say anything about the First See, whose acts no man on Earth can judge. But I do not believe I err if I bare the secret of my soul to Your Grace and tell you what I consider to be appropriate in this matter, for I remember that I swore to do that when I was consecrated bishop. To speak openly with Your Grace, I vehemently fear that this new measure will cause a scandal if the Observantist Brothers are allowed to pass over to the Conventuals. This is what I especially do not understand is allowed. Vow ye, and pay we know it is written. We must preserve what adults of a sane mind promise. The gate leading to death must be closed, and the gate leading to life must be opened.

[5] Moreover, there are reportedly more than 20,000 Observantist Brothers. The whole of Christianity is full of them. It is not a light matter to offend such a multitude. It is unwise to fight them. If it is said that the Conventual Brothers are many more, that their teaching appears keener, and that their preaching is heard in all cities, it does not impress me. A sermon has little value if it is contradicted by the life behind it, and there is no benefit in knowledge without wisdom. What we see is that the convents of the Conventual [Brothers] are withering while the convents of the Observantists are flourishing. They are heeded by the princes and not opposed by bishops and other prelates. They do not in the slightest infringe upon the rights of parish priests. They do not unduly burden the people for their subsistence. The Conventuals, however, now seize the offering gifts and now fight about burial rights. Therefore, the Observantists are more popular than the Conventuals. I pass over the different forms of life indicated by the two names.

[6] So, indeed, it seems to me inexpedient for the Roman Pontiff to cause pain to this family, and since I know that Your Grace favours truth and usually strives to avert scandal, I have dared to write this to you. You will see what the emperor thinks about this matter from his letter. I think it would be expedient to heed him. Brother Giovanni is a man of God. The people of Germany consider him like a prophet. He could, if he wanted to, cause a great disturbance just by lifting his finger. I hear from his companions that he is pained by what is said concerning the bull of Eugenius, but like a wise man, he does not show it and keeps his intense sorrow in his heart. I know that his constancy is solid and that you need not fear his tongue, which always proclaimed the dignity and preeminence of the Apostolic See. Still, the Supreme Pontiff should,

in his wisdom, benefit and comfort those who are well merited of the Roman Church, such as Giovanni and his fellow brothers, which no one who knows them will deny. I have said this with the best of intentions. I hope that Your Grace will accept with good grace what I have said freely, to whom I commend myself as usual.

2.2. Personal

2.2.1. Towards the cardinalate

In spite of many declarations of humility and undeservedness, there can be no doubt that Piccolomini worked to become appointed a cardinal, which he actually quite deserved. The emperor supported this ambition since it would be greatly advantageous to him to have a cardinal who had risen through in his service. Piccolomini also managed to get a recommendation from King Ladislaus the Posthumous, both as Bohemian and as Hungarian king. The matter was delicate, though, and is sometimes only mentioned in his letters in veiled terms.

In a letter of 10 January 1455 to Heinrich Senfleben, the emperor's procurator at the papal curia (letter 584), he wrote about the prospects of Pope Nicolaus appointing new cardinals:

[2] ... Some believe that the status of your curia will not change as long as Nicolaus lives. Your Senate [College of Cardinals] is big and does not wish to grow, and though the prince [the pope] is high-minded and knows everything of himself, he does heed the Senate and does not want to sadden even the most insignificant of those who hold the first place with him. So, I believe, as I have for long, that the pope will be deaf to all entreaties. If anybody speaks to Nicolaus about a new Senate, he plugs his ears with wax fetched from the ship which escaped from the songs of Sicily thanks to its deaf crew. You know what the emperor has done until now and what King Ladislaus of Hungary wrote. Those great names achieved nothing. Why strive further? These are the works of God, not of man. May His will be done. The pope's heart is in the hand of God: whithersoever He shall turn it.

And in a letter to his friend, Pietro da Noceto, the pope's principal secretary, of 20 February 1455 (letter 599), he recommended the appointment of new cardinals, both for the sake of the pope, the papal curia, and Pietro da Noceto – but, of course not!, of himself.

[2] I believe you remember that we talked about the promotion of a new apostolic senate when I was in Rome [spring 1452]. Nothing has been done about it later. The matter has been suspended to this day. This is due to the cardinals, who do not want their number to be increased. They have their own agendas and now turn their minds towards certain persons, in case Our Lord dies. If their senate grew in number, their plans would be in vain. Lest that happen, they strive with all their might to prevent the [appointment of new] colleagues, even if that is harmful to the commonwealth. But as they only care for their own affairs, you too should

look to what is in your own interest. Until now you have had the first place with our pontiff (as your qualities demanded!), but all power is subject to great jealousy. You should indeed endeavour to have friends in the Sacred College, so that if Our Lord dies they know that they owe their promotion to you, for those who are there now think they owe you nothing, and some even detest your power.

[3] I am speaking as a friend to a friend. Do not think that I am saying this for my own sake, for though my promotion [to the cardinalate] was promised, I do not insist upon it, and I consider that I gained enough honour when I became bishop of my own city thanks to your efforts. But I am thinking of my friend, and I am thinking of the commonwealth, for what - by the immortal heavenly beings - is, at this time, more expedient than to make friends? The kings and greatest princes are asking for the appointment of some cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. If their requests were heard, the Holy Apostolic See could have supporters in various parts and thus dispose of ecclesiastical benefices more freely. And this is indeed the situation today, that there should be many princes supporting the Roman Church unless we want to lose obedience. But enough of that.

In another letter to Heinrich Senftleben of 1 April 1455 (letter 609), he asked him to use King Ladislaus' letter of recommendation as he thought fit:

[2] ... Concerning King Ladislaus' letter to his ambassadors [in Rome], do as you think fit. You have full discretion in the matter. I really have little hope, for the one who should act [the pope] is timid, and the opponents [the cardinals] are very bold.

Finally, in a large letter to Pietro da Noceto of 7 May 1456 (letter 684), Piccolomini comments openly on Pietro's cardinalial ambitions on Piccolomini's behalf:

[7] And when I thought I had been sufficiently - and even more than sufficiently - elevated by Pope Nicolaus and desired nothing further, no honour conferred upon me seemed enough to you. Although I had been made a bishop by him and sat among the princes of the Church, you began to seek the cardinalate for me, which I neither claimed for myself nor desired. I believe that as you were bound by marriage and could not yourself attain that honour, I was the only one beloved by you who would be advanced to that position, to which your own virtue would have elevated you, had you not contracted marriage. Therefore, you would think, I sense, that the honour accruing to me [if I were appointed a cardinal] would be yours, too, and that you yourself would be called a cardinal if your Enea were given the red hat. Thus, it came to pass, through your efforts, that Nicolaus promised the emperor (who also wanted me to be promoted) that Enea would be included in the first promotion of cardinals. Nicolaus himself told this to the emperor, and two very reliable witnesses, the cardinals of San Pietro and Sant'Angelo, confirmed it to me in signed letters to the emperor that the emperor himself showed me. But Nicolaus died full of promises. He believed he would live longer, but, as the poets say,

[Lachesis¹] did not extend his lifethread. The pious and best father did not deceive the emperor, for I am sure that, because of his integrity, he has now joined the choirs of the inhabitants of Heaven and rejoices not with that Jupiter whom blind Antiquity called the Highest, but with Christ, the Greatest and One God, in his Father's kingdom, and that he will, with the twelve apostles, sit in judgement over the twelve tribes of Israel.

Piccolomini believes that he has little or no chance of being appointed a cardinal by Pope Nicolaus successor and he has no ambition for it, as he said later in the same letter:

[19] I now come to the other parts of your letter. You say you think that what was begun with Pope Nicolaus regarding me ought to be completed with Callixtus, that is, I should be received into the order of cardinals, and because you hope this will happen, you rejoice and ask me, after it has been done, to admit one of your relations as a chaplain. Perhaps everything you write means that you wish to please a friend, and because you do not have your former power, you write much to obtain a little. For you think that what you would formerly have obtained with one word, you can now scarcely obtain with several. This perhaps happens with others, but with me, your authority is as great as always. However, I will reply to these things.

[20] I neither seek nor expect the cardinalate, although the emperor is anxious for my sake. If, however, this honour were conferred upon me (which I do not expect at all), you will not have to ask for this or that: my house will obey you no less than me. But, in my opinion, when you think that an edifice may be raised on the foundations laid by Nicolaus, you are mistaken, for past events teach us otherwise. As the proverb goes, a new king issues a new law, and rare is the successor who loves the friends of his predecessor. Indeed, we so hate our predecessors that this reasoning is quite sound: "The pontiff who lived before loved this man. Therefore, the one who lives now hates him." If a pope would have created someone a cardinal, that man will certainly not be among those to be created by his successor. But if there was a reason for me to be admitted to the order of cardinals, it is now a sufficient reason not to be admitted, for I was among those whom people thought that Nicolaus would raise to a higher rank. But I do not doubt that you wish a greater honour for me, for what friend does not want glory for his friend?

[21] But I, my Pietro, I would be insane to expect this promotion, for that would be to desire burdens to be placed upon my shoulders that are too heavy for them. Moreover, I would be ungrateful, I do not say toward Fortune, but toward the beneficence of the great God, for though I had been honoured far more than is fitting, I would not be satisfied. Indeed, Pietro, I ask, by the heavenly beings (to not speak of the Greatest God, from whom comes every best gift, every perfect gift, what complaints I could possibly have about the law of Fortune or the fates? For since I left home, whom has Fortune favoured with a better wind than me?

He even claims to be unworthy of, which is, of course, the traditional protestation of humility, and he might even have felt that way:

¹ Lachesis: (myth.) the second of the three Fates, measurer of the

thread on her sister's spindle. Lachesis was the apportioner, deciding how much time for life

was to be allowed for each person or being. See EPI, 5: 227, 4.

[29] Having been shown such great mercy, shall we, then, anxiously await the cardinalate and presume that this honour, too, is due to us? I only wish that we might be found worthy of the dignity we have attained until now and live the rest of our life in such a way that we may not be blamed for ingratitude. Moreover, we consider the high office of the cardinalate to be too weighty to be placed on our shoulders. I wish that this dignity be entrusted to those who can bring glory to it and not just receive it. We know that we do not belong to those.

2.2.2. Fall of Pietro da Noceto

Piccolomini's relationship with Pietro da Noceto was complex. Pietro was undoubtedly the friend whom Piccolomini loved and admired the most. He probably felt that Pietro could have done more for him during his year as a powerful collaborator of Pope Nicolaus V. An echo of such a sentiment is seen in his letter to Pietro of 16 April 1455 (letter 612), after the pope's death:

[1] I know that you are shocked and grieved at the death of Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus, and my sorrow is as great as yours, though my less is lesser than yours, for while he was alive, your advantages were greater than mine. But we have both lost a father, guardian, protector, and lord who loved us fervently, though not in the same way. You have neglected, dear Pietro, a most beautiful thing [their friendship or the cardinalial project], or perhaps it was he [the pope] who neglected it, seeing that he did not fully benefit his friends and servants and went to his fathers full of [unfulfilled] promises.

But in retrospect, Piccolomini only expressed the warmest feelings for Pietro and gave a touching description of their youth together:

[12] I see before me all the comforts of our old companionship. I still remember that voyage when, sailing from Piombino, we circled Corsica and a storm almost wrecked us on the African coast. I still recall the unpleasantness we endured among sailors at Spezia and in Portovenere, where the bilgewater smelt so badly that we preferred to sleep under the open sky rather than under a roof, although the harsh winter raged. We saw Genoa together, the capital of the Ligurians. We travelled over the Apennines and crossed the Po. We reached the Illustrious Duke of the Lombards, Filippo, in Milan. We traversed the Alps, neighbours to heaven, and the formidable Höllbrücke, the Luzern lake, and the lands of the Helvetii. We arrived in Basel, and as employees of Cardinal Domenico [Capranica], who then carried the title of Santa Maria Inviolata, and now the title of Santa Croce, we attended the great council [of Basel]. How sweet was our conversation, how pleasant was our companionship under all circumstances. Nothing seemed burdensome to me in your company. I remember, Pietro, I still remember when we slept in the same chamber and I was awake until late at night reading now one, now another poet, how often you would smile and say to me, "Why do you so exert yourself, Enea? Fortune helps both the learned and the unlearned."

[13] *Domenico was kind and a most excellent Father, but since he was then burdened by poverty, we could not remain with him. So, we became separated for some years, but fortune reunited us in the household of Niccolò [Albergati], Cardinal of Santa Croce, a venerable and – in the opinion of all – a most holy Father, with whom we set out again from Florence to Milan. After crossing Mount Jupiter, we arrived by Lake Lemman at Tonon and visited that memorable hermitage at Ripaille, where Duke Amédée of Savoy was living in seclusion, like a holy man and attired as such, resembling a hermit. He had seven knights for companions, who, renouncing the world, preferred the long beard, the rough pallium, and the bended staff to mundane wealth. From there, we returned to Basel and, having entered the Rhine River, we reached Cologne and continued through Belgium to Arras, where that great assembly was held, in which the peace of France was established, and Philippe, Duke of Burgundy, defected from the Britons, who are now called English, to the King of France. We lived there, as elsewhere, in complete harmony, and the desire for gain did not separate us, although we pursued the same office and the same gain.*

[14] *From there, I was sent to the farthest Britain, which is now called Scotland. On the journey, I endured many dangerous situations. Sailing for twelve days on the high seas with no land visible, the ship was forced by the storm to northern Norway. Finally, through God's goodness, I could reach my destination. But nothing seemed worse to me than lacking you, on whose consolation I was accustomed to rely in every adversity. Upon returning from Britain, I met you in Basel, but we did not stay there long. We returned through Swabia, Rhaetia, Lake Bregenz, and the Trentino Alps, following our cardinal, who was to negotiate peace in Italy between the Venetian Senate and the Duke of Milan.*

[15] *There we were separated for the third time: you followed the Roman Curia, while I returned to Basel and remained there at the council for several years. And although there were serious conflicts and malign disputes between the Roman pontiff and the synod of Basel, and you followed the pontiff and I the synod, yet our friendship suffered in no way. We let the public controversy be and remained private friends: let the letters sent between us be our witnesses that testify to our love. Thus, I do not doubt that you will admit that while we were both nothing and poor, our friendship stood unshaken. For the poor easily accept each other, nor does misery inspire envy.*

He consoled Pietro for his changed circumstances in the following terms:

[30] *Finally, there remains to say something about consolation, as you show yourself in need of it. Your letter says that two things have disturbed you: your poor health and the death of Pope Nicolaus. When he fell, not one of your friends was there to support you in your misfortune. I am not surprised that your bodily ailment was a very heavy and most troubling burden for you, for hardly anyone can be found who does not succumb to illness and is not overcome by pain. Indeed, many offer good counsel to the sick, when they themselves are well, but when they are in pain, they almost lose their minds. Thus, has nature disposed. Many are philosophers in words but few in reality. However it may be, it is not reasonable to wish for a long life unless we also accept old age.*

[31] *With old age, however, we are surrounded by a host of all kinds of diseases. We must be prepared for this and expect now pains in the loins, now headaches, and arm ourselves against all the evils that we see afflict our fellow men. If it does not get so bad, then let it be counted as gain. When we ourselves and not our friends suffer pain, then let us seek consolation. What is in another's power is never certain. What is in our own power always depends on ourselves alone. Therefore, when you are sick, you should both take counsel from yourself and seek assistance [from others], which I see you have not neglected, as you say that God was with you as a comforter. ...*

[39] *You knew all this very well, Pietro, so you ought neither grieve nor wonder that Fortune has treated you as she usually does, exercising her ancient rights, prescribed for all ages. She has taken nothing from you that was yours; she has reclaimed what was hers. The power she granted you for a time, she withdrew from you at the time she had set. Why, I ask, do you complain about Fortune? How did she treat you harshly? She took the life of Pope Nicolaus, but you knew that he was going to die long before. With his death, your power also died. But you knew that when Nicolaus fell, you knew you could not stand. Nothing adverse happened to you that you did not foresee. Besides, if you see it correctly, not a few goods have been left to you by Fortune, or, to speak better, by divine mercy. You have left the palace safely. You have gathered your belongings. You were not deprived of the gains that the office of secretary brought you. You have been dismissed with your wife and children without harassment. You do not consider this benefit, which is so much greater as it happens so rarely.*

[40] *Indeed, how many are recorded, who, powerful in the palace, have not suffered the greatest misfortunes after the death of the pontiff? Our age saw the nephew of Bonifatius begging for bread, whom, when he was born, they presented to his uncle in a basket of roses. But let us not seek distant examples; after Martin V had passed away, others who were powerful with him were stripped of all their properties; some were seized and thrown into prison, some were sent into exile, some were crucified, and others were killed in other ways; but I do not believe that all those who pleased Martin were worthy of punishment. But this custom has grown: whoever has been accepted by a predecessor is hateful to the successor.*

[41] *But you were preserved by the clemency of Callixtus, who would not believe anything ill of you, even though there were many adversaries, your enemies, who accused you. This is indeed your crown, Pietro, that you were considered honest and left untouched. You will be almost alone in passing this praise to posterity, and your children will inherit an excellent reputation from you. For you alone from the pope's palace were deemed worthy to leave safely. I admit that your gains will not be as great as they were while Nicolaus was alive, nor will men rise up for you wherever you go, but I think there is enough wealth for you if you wish to lead your life according to truth, not opinion.*

[42] *For common mortals, the pursuit of wealth never ends. Your love of money grows as much as the money itself grows. If we wish to be rich, we must not increase wealth but diminish desire. We must say with the prophet, "Give me neither beggary, nor riches: give me only the necessaries of life". You do not have the wealth of Cosimo, but that of Martelli. You will not be the first in Florence, but you can be it in Lucca or Siena and say with Horace, "Grant, o son of*

Latona, that I may enjoy what I possess, in good health, I pray you, and with full mental vigour. And may I have an old age that is not lacking in dignity or bereft of music” But you will not lose honour, for the crowd bared their heads not to you but to your extraordinary power. Your hand was often kissed by men who really wanted to cut it off. He who hastened forward with Fortune and not with virtue was but smoke and wind. Come, what was more miserable than that power of yours, which you lament having lost? Consider, I beg you, the place you have fallen from. You did not descend from the paradise of delights with the first parent into a wretched land, but rather you have sailed from a stormy sea into a tranquil harbour.

[43] For what is the Roman Curia to those who hold the highest offices but a turbulent sea agitated from all sides by winds and terrible storms? The gale of greed and envy rarely leaves anyone untouched. They praise in your face, but behind your back, they pummel you like a stork. Who can count the weapons that are thrown against the powerful? So many snares were set for you, my Pietro, so many ambushes were laid that after the death of Nicolaus, you could rightly say, “The snare is broken, and we are delivered.” At his death, you emerged from prison. You did not leave the curia but misery. You did not put away power but servitude. You did not escape glory but war. You did not [leave] peace [but strife]. There, you were the slave of Nicolaus. You had no set time for eating or sleeping. You could not speak with companions, nor could you go out into the light. You stayed hidden in foul air, in dust, in filth, in stench. Though you did not want to get freedom, you now live as you yourself will.

3. Text

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² <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00040473?page=,1>

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5. Sigla and abbreviations

F1 = Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana /Plut. 54.19

T1 = Trieste / Biblioteca civica Attilio Hortis / Enea Silvio Piccolomini e Famiglia Piccolomini / Picc. II 44

V1 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1787

V5 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 12504

V6 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ott. lat. 347

V7 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Urb. lat. 401

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].¹

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]. [ISTC ip00717000, ip00719000; ip00720000]. (**KO**)

Abbreviations

Works

AAS = Siena / Archivio statale

AC = Acta Cusana

APD = Acta pontificum danica

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.

¹ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00040473?page=,1>

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.

EPI = Collected Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. 10 vols. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2022-2026.

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

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

GER = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Germania*. 1458.

- Aenas Silvius Piccolomini: *Germania*. Edit. A. Schmidt. 1962.
- Aenas Silvius Piccolomini: *Deutschland*. Transl. A. Schmidt. 1962.

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

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

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

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].

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. Isbicki. Washington, 2006.

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

SRD = Scriptores rerum danicarum.

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

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

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

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

Others

** Lead manuscript.

BC = Christian Era

BCE = Before Christian Era

DV = digital version.

IPE = Index of Persons

IPL = Index of Places

ISO = Index of Sources

ISU = Index of subjects

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

581. Letter to the City of Siena (1 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: T1, 4r^l **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{11} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Comparuit his diebus coram majestate Caesarea procurator cujusdam Jodoci Hampas, mercator de Rabenspurk, qui litem jam pluribus annis agitat in civitate vestra adversus haeredes Cechithomasi et Mini de Thomasinis, et conquestus est graviter, quod ex vestro senatu aut ex officialibus vestris nequiverit obtinere justitiae complementum. Caesar super eo negotio ad magistratum vestrum litteras dat. Credo laudabile esse ac decorum rei publicae vestrae aequa lance omnibus administrari justitiam sive cives sive exteri jus petant. Eapropter, quamvis non egent monitis magnificentiae vestrae, suadeo tamen ita rem hanc amplecti velitis, ut et in conspectu Caesaris et apud omnes gentes vestra civitas aequitatis et justitiae cultrix existimetur eo modo et vestri cives, qui diversis in regionibus negotiantur, tuti erunt et nomen vestrum omnibus in terris honoratum.

Datum in Novacivitate Austriae die prima Januarii 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis et apostolicae sedis legatus.

¹ DV, 11

581. Letter to the City of Siena (1 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: A German merchant had complained of unfair treatment at the hands of the Sienese government.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the city that the emperor is intervening in the matter and exhorts it to administer equal justice to its own citizens and foreigners.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Worshipful Lords.

[1] Recently, the procurator of a certain Jodocus Hampas, merchant from Ravensburg, appeared before the emperor. He has for several years pursued the heirs of Cechitomaso and Mini dei Tommasini in court and complained bitterly that he had not been able to get justice from your Senate and officials. The emperor is issuing a letter to your magistrate. I consider it laudable and honourable for your republic to administer equal justice to all, whether it is your own citizens or foreigners who seek justice. Therefore, though Your Magnificences do not need my admonitions, I do urge you to take up this matter so that the emperor and all others will esteem your city for its dedication to justice and equity, and your own citizens who trade in various regions will be safe, and your name honoured in the whole world.

Given in Neustadt in Austria, 1 January 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena and Legate of the Apostolic See.

582. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (10 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: Capistrano / Biblioteca di San Giovanni da Capistrano / cod. XXXIII, f. 237r¹ (C1)

Editions A: Wadding, 12: p. 303 (262), nr. 36 (WA)

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 756-757.

Reverende in Christo pater ac praeceptor honorande.

[1] Facitis, quod boni viri est: ante receptum obsequium gratias agitis, et quae parva sunt, magni penditis. Allocutus sum Caesarem de re vestra, quemadmodum frater Philippus ex me vestrae dignationi retulit. Confeci notulas ad Romanum pontificem et ad cardinales duos Firmanum ac sancti Angeli. Hodie scriptae sunt litterae, ac per Caesarem ipsum secretatae. Cras, ut arbitror, easdem sigillatas habebō easque paternitatem vestram per primum, qui occurrerit, nuntium simul cum exemplaribus destinabo. Haec cum perfecta erunt, existimabo me nonnihil debiti mei persolvisse, neque me dignum esse, cui gratiae referantur.

[2] Papiensis episcopus nondum ad nos venit, neque nomine ducis Burgundiae quisquam adhuc² Caesarem adiit. Transivit tamen hac monachus quidam, qui ad perscrutandos Hungarorum animos nomine ducis profectus est. Papiensis quoque pontifex unum ex suis pro capienda domo huc direxit. Sunt hic oratores comitis Ciliae, cum quibus de concordia³ die nocteque tractamus. Alia, quae nunc scribam, non occurrunt.

Fratrem Philippum jubeo salvere, cui cum aliis litteris respondebo. Valet in Christo optime. Ex Novacivitate, die 10. Januarii 1455. Vester Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, etc.

¹ Reproduced after RTA.

² omit. C1

³ de concordia omit. C1

582. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (10 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: Some problems for the Observantist Franciscans had been related to Piccolomini, and Capistrano had asked for Piccolomini's help in the matter

Subject: Piccolomini informs Capistrano that the emperor will write to the pope and two cardinals in support of the Observants.¹

Reverend Father in Christ and Honourable Teacher.

[1] You do as a good man should: you give thanks before receiving the favour and greatly appreciate what is not much. I have spoken with the emperor about your matter that Brother Filippo² related to me. I have written drafts for letters to the Roman Pontiff³ and the two cardinals of Fermo⁴ and Sant' Angelo.⁵ The letters were written today and passed on to the secretariat by the emperor himself.⁶ I think I shall get them tomorrow, sealed, and then I will send them with copies to Your Paternity with the first messengers available. When that has been done, I shall consider myself to have repaid only a small part of the debt I owe you and not to have merited your thanks.

[2] The Bishop of Pavia⁷ has not yet come, and nobody has as yet appeared in the name of the Duke of Burgundy.⁸ However, a certain monk⁹ has passed through who went on to enquire about the Hungarian intentions on behalf of the duke. The Bishop of Pavia sent one of his men here to arrange for lodgings. Also, envoys of the Count of Celje¹⁰ are here with whom we are negotiating about concord day and night. There is nothing more to write about.

Please greet Brother Filippo. I will answer him in another letter.¹¹ Live well in Christ. From Neustadt, 10 January 1455. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena etc.

¹ See Müller: *Kreuzungspläne*, p. 80, n. 63; Nowak, p. 189, n. 91.

² Filippo Massano, laybrother of the Franciscan Order.

³ EPI, 10: *138.

⁴ Domenico Capranica. Letter not extant, but see Piccolomini's own letter to Capranica (letter 583).

⁵ Juan Carvajal. Letter not extant.

⁶ "secretatae": ?

⁷ Castiglione, Giovanni di (1420-1460): Bishop of Coutances, 1444. Transferred to the See of Pavia on 3 October 1453. Cardinal 1456.

⁸ Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to his death.

⁹ Nicolas Jacquier (see RTA, 1/3, p. 757, n. 6).

¹⁰ Ulrich II

¹¹ Letter 586.

583. Letter to Domenico Capranica (10 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 18v-19v¹; V5, ff. 23v-26r **; V6, ff. 31v-33v²; V7, ff. 39v-42r.

Editions A: HO, ff. 101r-102v³; KO, 429⁴.

Editions B: None.

{23v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Dominico, Cardinali Firmano, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quamvis scribente Caesare ac⁵ negotia fratrum beati Francisci de observantia commendante, modestius fuerit me silere, quia tamen ob⁶ memoriam divi Bernardini, conterranei mei, huic familiae singulariter afficio, nequeo me comprimere: cogor {24r} assistere sanctae familiae neque patrocinia mea his negare possum, qui non me solum, sed omnes Christifideles suis orationibus ac piis operibus adiutant. Utinam esset in me auxilii copia, et aliquid posset patrocinium meum. Profecto nihil iis⁷ Dei⁸ servis denegarem, nam etsi sum ipse peccator et iniquitate circumdatus, diligo tamen eos, quorum vitam castam mundamque video, quia quanto minus est in me virtutis, tanto eos juvare attentius debeo, quorum probitas in aperto est, ut si nequeam meis actibus Deo placere, horum saltem commendationibus reddar acceptus. Sicut enim pavidi ac pusillanimes in proelio saeculari milites fortium virorum virtute salvantur, ita in beati Petri navicula prudentes et animosi nautae vecordes atque ignavos servant remiges. Facit hoc religio beati Francisci, quae apud observantes habetur. Haec enim veluti lectissima militum manus undique Christianorum lustrat exercitum. Nunc istam, nunc illam partem tuetur, arcet insidias, impetum frangit hostium, semper armata, semper in vigilia, semper in negotio nobis ut otium pariat. Scimus, quantum sub Bernardino Senensi, jam supernae Jerusalem cive, haec religio ecclesiae Catholicae profuerit, quantum⁹ modo sub fratre Johanne Capistrano utilitatis attulerit.

[2] Et quid haec religio aliud agit quam, quae jubere novimus evangelium, sentes ac tribulos ex agro dominico divellit, semen bonum seminat, zizaniam ac¹⁰ lolium sarculo veritatis praecidit, {24v} exterminat avaritiam, pellit libidines, fulminat illecebras voluptates, strangulat ambitiones et odia fugat, ignaviae ac secordiae stimulum adigit, et, aperiens in ecclesia diebus singulis os suum, poenitentiam suadet et viam domini in veritate docet. Haec sunt opera fratrum, qui de observantia nuncupantur. Nescio, cui haec non placeant. Credo, quae non sunt omnino praecisa ab ecclesia membra, omnibus horum gratam esse conversationem, nec me dubium habet, quin¹¹ sancta sedes apostolica iis¹² Christi militibus afficiatur, nam et Romani praesules quamplurima huic familiae privilegia contulerunt, quibus ab infestationibus hostium praeservaretur illaesa.

¹ DV, 42-44

² DV, ff. 33v-35v

³ DV, 209-212

⁴ DV, 322r

⁵ ad KO

⁶ ad HO

⁷ his HO, KO

⁸ de KO

⁹ quantum V5

¹⁰ et KO

¹¹ quoniam HO

¹² his V6, V7, HO, KO

583. Letter to Domenico Capranica (10 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: See the preceding letter.

Subject: In a conflict between the Observantist and the Conventual branches of the Franciscan Order, Piccolomini presents a strong defence of the Observantists.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Domenico, Cardinal of Fermo.

[1] Since the emperor is writing to commend the affairs of the Observantist Brothers of Saint Francis,¹ it might be more modest of me to remain silent. However, because of the memory of my fellow countryman, Saint Bernardino,² I am greatly devoted to this [religious] family and therefore unable to contain myself. So, I simply must come to the aid of this holy family and cannot deny them my protection, for they aid not only me but all Christians with their prayers and pious works. I wish I had abundant means to help them and that my patronage would count for something. Indeed, I would not deny anything to these servants of God, for though I am a sinner and surrounded by iniquity, I love those whom I see to be living chaste and pure lives. And the less virtue there is in me, the more fervently I should help those whose probity is evident so that, if I cannot please God by my own acts, I can at least become acceptable to Him through their commendations. Just as weak and pusillanimous secular soldiers are saved in battle by the virtue of strong men, thus, in the Bark of Saint Peter, the wise and courageous seamen preserve the weak and cowardly. This is what the Observantist Order of Saint Francis does. Like a select troop of soldiers, it illuminates the whole Christian army. It protects now this part, now another; it prevents ambushes, breaks the attacks of the enemies, and is always armed, always vigilant, and always occupied in getting us peace. We know how much this order profited the Catholic Church under Bernardino of Siena and how much the Church has now benefitted under Brother Giovanni Capistrano.

[2] And what does this Order do but what we know the Gospel to command? It weeds thorns and spiny plants from the Lord's field, it sows the good seed, it cuts away cockle and weeds with the hoe of truth, it eliminates greed, expels lust, fulminates against alluring pleasures, smothers ambitions, drives enmities away, acts like a spur on cowardice and foolishness, every day opens its mouth in the church, urges repentance, and teaches the way of the Lord in truth. These are the works of the brothers called Observantist. I do not know whom they could displease. I believe that their conduct must please all except those who are completely cut off from the Church, and I do not doubt that the Apostolic See is devoted to these soldiers of Christ since the Roman bishops have granted this family many privileges to preserve it unharmed by enemy attacks.

¹ Observantists: A branch of the Franciscan Order that follows the rule of Saint Francis closely. <https://www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/O/observantists.html>

² 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).

[3] Sed audio novissimis diebus nonnihil suggestum esse beatissimo patri nostro papae¹ Nicolao Quinto adversus hujusmodi sanctam sacramque congregationem. Fertur enim sanctitatem suam litteras Eugenii, praedecessoris sui, quae in favorem horum de observantia fratrum emanaverant, seu revocasse seu suspendisse, quod minime fecisset, nisi, ut ajunt, sinistre de conversationibus horum fratrum fuisset instructus. Perniciosa res est lingua fallax et subdola multumque damni saepe in communi affert. Sed magna vis veritatis, quae contra omnium insidias facile per² seipsam³ emergit. Vita horum fratrum in aperto est: *non potest abscondi civitas supra montem posita*. Est haec familia quasi *lucerna ardens supra candelabrum*, quae domum⁴ domini, hoc est ecclesiam, miro splendore irradiat. Venit adversus eam princeps hujus mundi {25r} et nihil habet in illa. Fundata est domus super firmam petram: nihil est, quod in eam valeant aquilones.

[4] At quamvis creditur haec caelestis imperatoris sustentata manu neque timeat versutias serpentinas, cupit tamen ejus auxilio⁵ confoveri, qui locum magni Dei tenet in terris, nam etsi domus ipsa dirui, si demergi beati Francisci navicula nequeat, possunt tamen ex inquilinis⁶ sive ex nautis nonnulli periclitari, neque omnino tuta est, nisi apostolicae sedis praesidio muniatur. Meum nihil est de alto iudicio sacri senatus censere aut de prima sede quidquam dicere, cujus opera iudicare in terris mortalium nemo potest. Non tamen errare me putaverim, si apud dignationem⁷ tuam animi mei secretum⁸ aperuerim, et quod ex usu crediderim, sapientiae tuae palam fecerim, nam et hoc jurasse memini me facturum, cum sacris pontificalibus initiarer. Ego, ut aperte loquar⁹ cum¹⁰ tua dignatione¹¹, vehementer timeo, ne novitas haec scandalum pariat, si fratres de observantia ad conventuales migrare permittantur. Hoc enim imprimis non intelligo licitum esse. *Vovete¹² et reddite*, scriptum scimus. Servanda sunt, quae sanae mentis promittunt puberes. Claudenda est porta, quae ducit ad interitum; aperienda, quae monstrat viam.

[5] Sunt praeterea, ut fama est, supra viginti milia fratrum, qui de observantia dicuntur: tota Christianitas his plena est. Non¹³ est leve tantam offendere multitudinem. Incautum est cum his contendere¹⁴. Quod si dicatur multo plures esse conventuales doctrinamque¹⁵ horum {25v} perspicaciorem videri, praedicationes quoque in omnibus urbibus audiri, nihil moveor. Parum prodest sermo, cui vita contraria est, neque scientia sine sapientia proficit. Monasteria conventualium comminui ac ruere cernimus, observantium augentur et florent. His principum¹⁶ aures patent, neque pontifices aut alii praelati his adversantur. Nihil enim ab his parochialium jura laeduntur. Subsidio plebanis non oneri sunt. Conventuales autem nunc¹⁷ offertoria rapiunt¹⁸, nunc de jure sepulchrali contendunt. Ob quas res acceptiores omni populo sunt observantes quam conventuales. Taceo de vita dispari, quae ipso nomine designatur.

¹ *omit.* HO, KO

² *omit.* KO

³ *ipsam* KO

⁴ *demum* HO

⁵ *consilio* KO

⁶ *inquiliniis* V7

⁷ *indignationem* HO

⁸ *secreta* KO

⁹ *loquor* HO

¹⁰ *omit.* KO

¹¹ *dignitate* V6, V7, KO

¹² *rouete* HO

¹³ *omit.* HO

¹⁴ *contemnere* V7

¹⁵ *doctrinam* KO

¹⁶ *principium* V7

¹⁷ *tunc* KO

¹⁸ *recipiunt* KO

[3] However, quite recently, I heard that Our Most Holy Lord Pope Nicolaus V has received some [unfortunate] recommendations against this holy and sacred congregation. It is being said that His Holiness has either revoked or annulled the letters that his predecessor Eugenius¹ issued in favour of the Observantist Brothers, something he would only have done if, as they say, he had received malevolent reports about their conduct. The lying and deceitful tongue is a pernicious thing that often causes great harm to the community. But great is the power of truth that easily and of itself emerges against all intrigues. The life of the brothers is well-known: *A city seated on a mountain cannot be hid.*² This family is like *a lamp shining on the candlestick,*³ that illuminates the Lord's dwelling, the Church, with marvellous splendour. The prince of this world⁴ moves against it but can do nothing. That house is *founded on a solid rock,*⁵ and the northern winds have no power over it.

[4] It is believed to be sustained by the hand of the Heavenly Emperor and not need to fear the cunning attacks of snakes. Still, it wishes to be protected by the one who holds the place of the Great God on Earth,⁶ for though that house cannot be overthrown and the bark of Saint Francis cannot sink, many can, however, be imperilled by tenants or seamen, and the house is not completely safe unless it is protected by the Apostolic See. It is not up to me to assess the high judgement of the sacred Senate⁷ or say anything about the First See, whose acts no man on Earth can judge. But I do not believe I err if I bare the secret of my soul to Your Grace and tell you what I consider to be appropriate in this matter, for I remember that I swore to do that when I was consecrated bishop. To speak openly with Your Grace, I vehemently fear that this new measure will cause a scandal if the Observantist Brothers are allowed to pass over to the Conventuals.⁸ This is what I especially do not understand is allowed. *Vow ye, and pay,*⁹ we know it is written. We must preserve what adults of a sane mind promise. The gate leading to death must be closed, and the gate leading to life must be opened.

[5] Moreover, there are reportedly more than 20,000 Observantist Brothers. The whole of Christianity is full of them. It is not a light matter to offend such a multitude. It is unwise to fight them. If it is said that the Conventual Brothers are many more, that their teaching appears keener, and that their preaching is heard in all cities, it does not impress me. A sermon has little value if it is contradicted by the life behind it, and there is no benefit in knowledge without wisdom. What we see is that the convents of the Conventual [Brothers] are withering while the convents of the Observantists are flourishing. They are heeded by the princes and not opposed by bishops and other prelates. They do not in the slightest infringe upon the rights of parish priests. They do not unduly burden the people¹⁰ for their subsistence. The Conventuals, however, now seize the offering gifts and now fight about burial rights. Therefore, the Observantists are more popular than the Conventuals. I pass over the different forms of life indicated by the two names.

¹ Pope Eugenius III.

² Matthew, 5: 14.

³ Ecclesiasticus, 26: 22.

⁴ The Devil.

⁵ Ecclesiasticus, 26: 24.

⁶ The pope.

⁷ The college of cardinals.

⁸ Another branch of the Franciscan Order.

⁹ Psalms, 75: 12.

¹⁰ Plebani = plebes (Du Cange).

[6] Mihi profecto non videtur expediens Romanum pontificem hanc familiam contristari debere, et quoniam tua dignatio veritati favere ac divertere scandala pro sua virili consuevit, praesumpsi haec tibi scribere. Intelliges ex litteris Caesaris animum ejus, utile censeo provideri. Frater Johannes homo Dei est. Populi Germaniae quasi prophetam eum habent. Posset, cum vellet, elevato digito magnam turbam facere. Sentio ex his, qui penes eum sunt, aegre sibi esse, quod de bulla Eugenii fertur, sed homo sapiens spem vultu simulat; premit altum corde dolorem. Quamvis scio constantiam ejus immobilem neque timendam esse, quae semper apostolicae sedis dignitatem ac eminentiam praedicavit, retrocedere linguam, decet tamen summi pontificis providentiam his benefacere eosque consolari, qui de Romana ecclesia sunt bene meriti, {26r} qualem esse hunc Johannem cum suis fratribus nemo, qui sapiat, inficias ibit. Haec bona venia dixisse voluerim. Tua dignatio, quae libera voce dico, in partem recipiat meliorem meque suo more commendatum habeat.

Ex Novacivitate, die decima¹ Januarii.

¹ XI. KO

[6] So, indeed, it seems to me inexpedient for the Roman Pontiff to cause pain to this family, and since I know that Your Grace favours truth and usually strives to avert scandal, I have dared to write this to you. You will see what the emperor thinks about this matter from his letter. I think it would be expedient to heed him. Brother Giovanni is a man of God. The people of Germany consider him like a prophet. He could, if he wanted to, cause a great disturbance just by lifting his finger. I hear from his companions that he is pained by what is said concerning the bull of Eugenius, but like a wise man, he does not show it and keeps his intense sorrow in his heart. I know that his constancy is solid and that you need not fear his tongue, which always proclaimed the dignity and preeminence of the Apostolic See. Still, the Supreme Pontiff should, in his wisdom, benefit and comfort those who are well merited of the Roman Church, such as Giovanni and his fellow brothers, which no one who knows them will deny. I have said this with the best of intentions. I hope that Your Grace will accept with good grace what I have said freely, to whom I commend myself as usual.

From Neustadt, 10 January.

584. Letter to Heinrich Senfleben (10 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 17v-18r¹; V5, ff. 22r-23v **; V6, ff. 30v-32v²; V7, ff. 38r-39v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 100r-101r³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 79-84.

{22r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, venerabili viro domino Henrico Senfleben, imperiali consiliario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Teneo memoriae, quae ad me scripsisti, non multi sunt dies. Videbaris opinari meum reditum cito futurum eumque felicem, nam et Romanae curiae aliquam fieri mutationem putabas. Erit, ut arbitror, meus reditus minime tardior. Expecto enim conventum, qui coram Caesare futurus est. Eo dissoluto, studebo domum repetere, et si nequibo perpetuam, temporaneam saltem absentiam⁴ obtinere⁵ conabor.

[2] De rebus vestrae⁶ curiae, nescio, quid dicam. Ubique sunt angustiae, quocumque me verto, querelas {22v} invenio. Sunt, qui existimant statum vestrae curiae, dum vixerit Nicolaus, haudquaquam mutatum iri⁷. Senatus ejus grandis est neque augeri vult, et quamvis sit princeps alti consilii⁸ ac⁹ suo¹⁰ iudicio nihil ignoret, senatui tamen auscultat neque minimum ex iis¹¹ audet contristari, qui primum apud se ordinem tenent. Mihi ergo ea opinio est, quae dudum fuit, incassum pulsantur aures apostolicae. Si quis de novo senatu apud Nicolaum verba facit, affigit mox ille in *auribus suis ceras*¹² *illa de nave petitas, quae Siculos cantus effugit remige surdo*. Scis, quid hactenus imperator in hac re sit operatus, quidve rex Hungariae Ladislaus scripserit. Nihil tanta nomina profuerunt. Quid igitur ultra nitare? Dei sunt haec, non hominis opera. Fiet, quod ille voluerit. *Cor papae in manu Dei est, et quocumque voluerit*¹³, *inclinabit illud*.

¹ DV, 40-41

² DV, ff. 32v-33v

³ DV, 207-208

⁴ licentiam V6, V7, HO

⁵ *omit.* HO

⁶ nostrae V7

⁷ mutatum iri : mutatus rei V7

⁸ concilii F1

⁹ et F1

¹⁰ suapte V6, V7, HO

¹¹ his V6, V7

¹² seras HO

¹³ cor papae ... voluerit *omit.* HO

584. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (10 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: Senftleben had written to Piccolomini about the prospects for a new promotion of cardinals.

Subject: Piccolomini expresses his scepticism concerning Pope Nicolaus' will to appoint new cardinals and his own chances. He adds news from the imperial court, including about the approaching Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Venerable Herr Heinrich Senftleben,¹ Imperial Councillor.

[1] I remember what you wrote to me not many days ago. You seemed to think that my return to the City would happen soon and be happy, for you believed that there would be some change at the Roman Curia.² I myself think that my return will be a little later, for I await the diet to be held before the emperor. When it ends, I shall endeavour to return home, and if I cannot obtain a permanent leave of absence, then I shall at least try to get a temporary one.

[2] Concerning affairs at your curia, I do not know what to say. There are problems everywhere, and I find complaints wherever I turn. Some believe that the status of your curia will not change as long as Nicolaus³ lives. Your Senate⁴ is big and does not wish to grow, and though the prince⁵ is high-minded and knows everything of himself, he does heed the Senate and does not want to sadden even the most insignificant of those who hold the first place with him.⁶ So, I believe, as I have for long, that the pope will be deaf to all entreaties.⁷ If anybody speaks to Nicolaus about a new Senate, he *plugs his ears with wax fetched from the ship which escaped from the songs of Sicily thanks to its deaf crew*.⁸ You know what the emperor has done until now and what King Ladislaus of Hungary⁹ wrote.¹⁰ Those great names achieved nothing. Why strive further? These are the works of God, not of man. May His will be done. *The pope's heart is in the hand of God: whithersoever He shall turn it.*¹¹

¹ Senftleben, Heinrich (Teufel) (-1466). Imperial procurator in Rome and apostolic scribe. Dean of the Chapter of Wroclaw (Breslau). See RTA, 19/3, pp. 79-80

² A promotion of new cardinals.

³ Pope Nicolaus V.

⁴ College of cardinals.

⁵ The pope.

⁶ The cardinals.

⁷ For appointment of cardinals.

⁸ Juvenalis, 9: 149-150; Homeros: *Odysseus*, 12: 165-183.

⁹ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹⁰ The emperor and the king had written to the pope requesting that Piccolomini be appointed a cardinal.

¹¹ Proverbs, 21: 1: *cor regis in manu domini sunt ...*

[3] Rex tamen haudquaquam silendum putat. Scit¹ arborem uno securis ictu non cadere. Perseverantibus omnia tribui putat. *Labor improbus omnia vincit*. Omnia² diligentiae cedunt. Eam ob causam cum³ mittat is modo ad Romanam curiam ex Hungaria praestantes legatos, quos puto quam celerrime futuros Romae, iussit eos de re illa summo pontifici verba facere, de qua prius scripserat. Litteras autem mandati hujus ad me misit, qui eas ulterius dirigerem. Non potuit commissio verbis fieri, quia non ex curia regis jam Vratislaviae morantis, sed ex Hungaria legati missi sunt. Habebis⁴ igitur cum praesentibus regias litteras easque legatis quam primum restitues. Tenorem ipsarum {23r} ex⁵ exemplari perdisces⁶, quam tibi edo. Scribit et magnificus Bohemiae cancellarius, nescio quid, legatis regis. Reddito eis, oro, quaecumque his missa sunt. Cetera pro tua prudentia dirige: sive instandum est sive tacendum, utere arbitrio tuo. Ego, cui magis quam tibi confidam illa in curia, habeo neminem. Ex te hujus negotii coepit origo; ex te quoque pendebit exitus. Illud tantum volo, ut clam fiant, quaecumque mei causa in hac parte gerantur. Neque plura in his.

[4] De novitatibus haec habeto: In conventu Vratislaviensi fuerunt rex Hungariae, dux Bavariae Ludovicus, Albertus, marchio Brandenburgensis, Georgius, Bohemiae gubernator. Rex Poloniae ac Saxoniae duces legatos misere, sed cum ipsi personaliter eos se conferre nequiverint, nihil est de pace transactum. Nescio, an indutiae longiores fieri poterunt, quae bellum inter Saxones ac⁷ Bohemos impediunt. In Prusia, quemadmodum scribit Albertus marchio, alterum proelium commissum est. Pugnatum est⁸ summa contentione quinque horis Marte dubio. Nox proelium⁹ diremit. Superiores tamen¹⁰ religiosi occisis ex Polonis quamplurimis ducentos ac mille captivos abduxere. Castella ex his, quae rebellaverant, octo in potestatem receperunt. Haec ex litteris marchionis habentur, qui se mox ad Caesarem venturum scribit.

[5] Litterae regis Hungariae heri Caesareae majestati redditae sunt, quae promittunt regem ipsum quam celerrime Viennam esse venturum missurumque huc Bohemiae gubernatorem, qui de pace plenaque {23v} concordia transigat. Gubernator Hungariae infra decennium¹¹ regnicolarum concilium¹² apud Budam habiturus est ibique bellum contra Turcos indicturus¹³ atque conscripturus exercitum. Deinde ad Caesarem cum pluribus praelatis ac baronibus sese conferet. Ita nudius tertius ex scriptis ejus didicimus.

¹ si V7

² omit. V7

³ quam V7

⁴ habetis V7; habemus HO

⁵ omit. V5

⁶ perdiscas HO

⁷ et F1

⁸ del. F1; *spatium* V5

⁹ premium V7

¹⁰ del. F1; *spatium* V5

¹¹ decennium V7

¹² consilium HO

¹³ inducturus HO

[3] The king, however, will not remain silent, for he knows that the tree does not fall at the first strike of the ax. He thinks that those who persevere will be given everything. *Unrelenting toil triumphs over every obstacle.*¹ Everything yields to diligence. For this reason he has ordered the eminent legates whom he is now sending to the Roman Curia from Hungary and who will, I think, soon reach Rome to speak to the pope about this matter, concerning which he had written previously. He sent the letter with the message to me to forward them. I could not talk with [those legates] about the mission, for they were not sent from the king's court, now staying in Wroclaw,² but from Hungary. With the present letter, you will receive the king's letter and give it to [his] legates³ as soon as possible. You will learn its contents from the attached copy. Also, His Magnificence, the Chancellor of Bohemia,⁴ writes to the king's legates, but I do not know what. Please give them the letters addressed to them. Manage the rest as your prudence dictates, and use your own judgement whether to insist or be silent. I have nobody at the curia whom I trust more than you. You began this matter, and its result will depend on you. I only want that what is done there on my behalf is done confidentially. No more about this.

[4] This is the news from here: the meeting in Wroclaw⁵ was attended by the King of Hungary, Duke Ludwig of Bavaria,⁶ Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg,⁷ and Governor Georg of Bohemia.⁸ The King of Poland⁹ and the dukes of Saxony¹⁰ sent legates, but since they could not come in person, nothing could be achieved concerning peace. I do not know whether the truce will be prolonged that keeps off the war between the Bohemians and the Saxons. Margrave Albrecht writes that another battle has been fought.¹¹ They fought bitterly for five hours with the outcome in doubt. Night stopped the battle, but when many Poles had been killed, the commanders of the Order carried off 1,200 captives. Of the castles that had rebelled against them, they have taken back eight. This according to the letter of the margrave, who writes that he will soon come to the emperor.

[5] Yesterday, the emperor received a letter from the King of Hungary with a promise that the king himself would very soon come to Vienna and send the Governor of Bohemia¹² here to negotiate peace and complete concord. Before ten days, the Governor of Hungary¹³ will hold an assembly for the Hungarian estates in Buda¹⁴ and there declare war against Turkey and conscript an army. Then he will come to the emperor with many prelates and barons. This we learnt two days ago from a letter from him.

¹ Vergilius: *Georgica*, 1: 146.

² Breslauer Fürstentag.

³ When they arrive in Rome.

⁴ Prokop von Rabenstein.

⁵ Breslauer Fürstentag.

⁶ Ludwig IX der Reiche (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).

⁷ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁸ Georg Podiebrad.

⁹ Kazimierz IV.

¹⁰ Wilhelm III and Friedrich II.

¹¹ Between the Teutonic Order and a Polish army.

¹² Georg Podiebrad.

¹³ János Hunyadi.

¹⁴ 20 January 1455.

[6] Grandis hic conventus erit. Nescio, quid acturi sunt¹ principes electores. Nos interea impositiones copiarum equestrum ac pedestrium facimus scribimusque principibus ac civitatibus milites suos uti praesto habeant, ne sint in² mora, cum fuerint evocati³. Spero hac vice Germaniam suo debito facturam satis, nisi me principes electores fallant, aut quae contentio Bohemos ac Saxones exagitat, datum praepediat ordinem. Nam ceteri principes huic operi voluntarii sunt, neque civitates onus recusant. Utinam et nostra Italia concurrere velit, quae cum nihil agat, aliorum⁴ tamen inertiam accusare praesumit. Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die decima Januarii 1454.

¹ sint V6, V7

² *omit.* HO

³ fuerint vocati : euocati fuerint
HO

⁴ *omit.* HO

[6] The diet here will be a large one. I do not know what the prince electors will do. In the meantime, we shall mobilise troops of cavalry and infantry and write to the princes and cities to have their soldiers ready lest they come late when summoned. I hope that this time Germany will do as it should, unless the prince electors deceive me or the conflict between the Bohemians and the Saxons proves an obstacle to the venture decided upon. The other princes willingly support this endeavour, and the cities do not reject the burden. Hopefully, our Italy will join up, who, while doing nothing herself, accuses the others of passivity. Farewell. From Neustadt, 10 January 1454.

585. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (12 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: F1, f. 20v¹; V5, ff. 27r-27v **; V6, f. 34v; V7, f. 43v.

Editions A: HO, f. 103r²; KO, 418³.

Editions B: None

{27r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni Capistrano, ordinis minorum professori, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Nicolaus, capellanus meus, litteras tibi restituet, quas Caesar Romano pontifici ac duobus cardinalibus et magistri Henrico Senfleben, procuratori suo in Romana curia, scribit. Ego quoque {27v} eisdem cardinalibus litteras dedo, quemadmodum frater Philippus expostulavit, quarum exemplaria simul recipies, intelligesque et quomodo ab imperatore et quomodo a meipso scriptum sit. Tuum erit scripta haec quantocius ad Romanam curiam dirigere ac⁴ curare, ut magistro Henrico consignentur, qui ea apostolicae sedi offerat⁵ ac responsum exigat. Si qua deinceps vel pro dignatione tua vel pro fratribus curare me volueris, quoad facultas fuerit, non deerit voluntas.

Vale in Christo optime in orationibus tuis mei memor. Ex Novacivitate, die 12. Januarii 1455.

¹ DV, 46
² DV, 215

³ DV, 308v
⁴ et F1

⁵ afferat F1

585. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (12 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: As letter 582.

Subject: Picciolomini sends the letters written by the emperor and himself to the pope and some cardinals in favour of the Observantist Franciscans to Capistrano.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Giovanni da Capistrano,¹ Professed [Monk] of the Order of [Friars] Minor.

[1] My chaplain, Nikolaus,² will give you the letters that the emperor has written to the Roman Pontiff,³ two cardinals,⁴ and Magister Heinrich Senftleben, his procurator at the Roman Curia. I have also written to the same cardinals, as Brother Filippo⁵ requested; you will receive copies of these letters together with the others. Thus, you will see what the emperor⁶ and I myself have written. It will be up to you to send these letters to the Roman Curia as soon as possible and have them delivered to Magister Heinrich, who will present them to the Roman Curia and require an answer. If, later, you wish me to do anything for Your Grace or your fellow brothers, I shall do so if possible.

Live well in Christ and remember me in your prayers. From Neustadt, 12 January 1455.

¹ Capistrano, Giovanni da (1386-1453): Franciscan friar and preacher. Saint. Died at the battle of Belgrade, 1456.

² Nikolaus Kreul.

³ Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Master of

Cardinal Albergati's household. Bishop of Bologna 1444, cardinal 1446. Pope from 1447 to his death.

⁴ Domenico Capranica (see letter 583) and Domenico Carvajal.

⁵ Filippo Massano.

⁶ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (Styria). Elected emperor in 1440 and crowned in Rome in 1452.

586. Letter to Filippo Massano (12 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 19v-20v¹; V5, ff. 26r-27r **; V6, ff. 33v-34v²; V7, ff. 42r-43v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 103r-103v³.

Editions B: None.

{26r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Philippo Massano, ordinis minorum professori, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Ardet epistola tua, quam proximis diebus accepi. Nihil est ea concitatus. Ex ferventi pectore missam se docet. Sunt tibi cordi, quae scribis, et quod tuae menti sedet, factu facile credis. Quae nimium homines volunt, ea levia credunt. Mihi, etsi bona videntur, etsi justa, quae postulas, non tamen facilia. Non dico de litteris ad Romanum pontificem impetrandis: hoc est enim absolutum⁴ ⁵ factumque puto in hac parte tuo desiderio satis. Sed de reformandis conventibus loquor. Hic opus, hic labor est. Pauci, quos aequus amat Deus, idem, quod tu⁶, sentiunt. Non ita bene actum est cum genere humano, ut quae meliora sunt, plures velint. Tentavi tamen⁷ ego, quod suasisti, et apud Caesarem et apud barbatum illum hominem, quem protectorem monasterii hujus urbis⁸ putant. Hic non est alienus a tua sententia; non tamen fervidus est, calcari ad cursum indiget. Caesar vero multa super hoc negotio mente revolvit, nam etsi cupit sui territorii conventus probos esse vitamque ducere regulae suae conformem, grande tamen opus existimat {26v} conventualium mores corrigere, neque ego hoc suum esse arbitror.

[2] Sunt, qui metum incutiunt, qui dicunt infinitum esse conventualium numerum, non sine periculo canes excitari dormientes. Ajunt conventuales ipsos et doctrina et numero praestare; procuratores habere in Romana curia, viros industrios ac disertos; cardinalium majorem partem iis⁹ esse affectam; durum esse adversus tantam¹⁰ plebem bellum suscipere; imperatorem nihil inchoare debere, quod perficere nequeat; melius esse non incipere, quam ab incoeptis turpiter desistere.

¹ DV, 44-46

² DV, 35v-36v

³ DV, 213-214

⁴ absolute HO

⁵ est enim absolutum : enim absolutum est V6

⁶ tui HO

⁷ ~~tamen~~ seq. F1; *spatium* V5;

⁸ monasterii hujus urbis : huius urbis monasterii HO

⁹ his V6, V7, HO

¹⁰ totam F1

586. Letter to Filippo Massano (12 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: As letter 582.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Massano that his wish for the emperor to force through a reform of the Conventual Franciscans in his lands meets with serious opposition. He also informs him that the letters to the pope in favour of the Observantist Franciscans have been sent to Giovanni da Capistrano.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Filippo Massano, Professed [Monk] of the Order of Friars [Minor].

[1] I received your ardent letter some days ago. Nothing could be more passionate. It shows that it was sent with a fervent heart. What you have at heart, you write, and what you have in mind, you think is easy to do. What men passionately desire, they think are simple. To me, what you request is good and just, but not easy. I am not talking about getting letters for the Roman Pontiff; that is already done, and I believe that in this regard, your wish has been fulfilled. No, I am speaking about reforming convents. This is a serious task and labour. Only a few, whom just God loves, think as you. Unfortunately, the human race is not so disposed that many want what is for the best. I have endeavoured to do, as you urged, both with the emperor and that bearded man, whom they consider the protector of the monastery in this city. He is no stranger to your views, but he is not fervent, and he needs to be spurred to run. The emperor ponders this matter, but though he wishes the convents in his lands to be good and proper and to live according to their rule, he believes it will be a major task to reform the conduct of the Conventual [Franciscans], and I do not think that it is really his task.

[2] Some are struck by fear and say that the number of Conventuals is infinite and that it is dangerous to wake sleeping dogs. They say that the conventuals excel in learning and number; that they have industrious and well-spoken procurators in Rome; that the majority of the cardinals support them; that it is hard to fight so many; that the emperor should not undertake what he cannot bring to an end; and that it is better not to begin something than shamefully to stop doing something you have begun.

[3] Scio te multa habere, quae adversus haec dicere possis, nec me latet haec omnia confutanda esse, si¹ sit benevolus auditor, si, quae dicas², mentem capacem inveniant. Sed quid tu agas, ubi affirmatus est animus, ubi suscipiendae formae inepta est materia. Neque curat medicus omni tempore neque semper persuadet³ orator. Implet officium medicus, si apte medetur ad sanitatem. Satis est oratori ad persuadendum apte dixisse. Quid ille faciat, cui nervi desunt oratorii? Mihi certe nequaquam tanta vis est, quantam in hoc negotio necessarium existimaverim⁴. Feci tamen⁵, quod potui, neque perfeci. De cetero nihil est, quod imputari mihi possit ad negligentiam. Veniet paterfamiliae tuae praeceptor meus - si modo discipuli nomen mereor - frater Johannes, venietis⁶ et vos, ejus comites: aggrediemini hoc proelium, scalas muris ammovebitis⁷, aditus omnes tentabitis. Nec ego pro mea parvitate vobis deero. Si poterit desiderio tuo mos geri, non minor mihi quam tibi voluptas {27r} erit. Ac tantum de reformatione conventuum⁸ sit dictum.

¹ *omit.* V7

² *dicam* V7

³ *inepta est ... persuadet omit.* HO

⁴ *estimaverim* HO

⁵ ~~tamen~~ *seq.* F1; *spatium* V5

⁶ *Venetus* HO

⁷ *amovebitis* HO

⁸ *contentum* HO

[3] I know that you have much you can say against this, and I am aware that all this would be disproven with a benevolent listener, and if the things you say find a mind that can hold them. But what will you do if you meet someone who is convinced he is right and where the matter is incapable of taking the form [you wish to impress upon it]? The physician does not always succeed in healing, and the orator does not always succeed in persuading.¹ The physician fulfils his office if he takes care of his patient's health skilfully. And it is enough for the orator to have spoken persuasively. What should one do if one lacks oratorical skills? I myself certainly do not possess the great [oratorical] power that I think to be necessary in this matter. However, I did what I could but without success, and you cannot rebuke me for any negligence. Brother Giovanni, the father of your family, my teacher - if I merit the name of disciple - will come as you, his companions, will come. Enter this battle; move the ladders to the walls; try all approaches. My humble self will not desert you. If your wish could be fulfilled, my pleasure would be as great as yours. So much concerning the reforms of the convents.

¹ As Piccolomini would know from personal experience, see,

e.g., the oration *Si ea quae justa* (COR, 2: 4).

[4] Litteras ad Romanum pontificem, quemadmodum mihi videtur, me hortante, pro tua voluntate Caesar scribit, quas per Nicolaum, capellanum meum tibi non ignotum, una cum exemplaribus ad fratrem Johannem mitto. Tuum erit curare, ut quam primum Romam deferantur.

[5] Intellexi praeterea quosdam monachos tui ordinis ex conventualibus tamen¹ ad praesentiam ministri provincialis per² fratrem Johannem vocatos esse, quos, quantum fert aequitas atque ordinis censura, commendatos haberi cupio. Inter hos est frater Claudius, natione Gallicus, qui adversus episcopum Tullensem, magnum et praestabilem praelatum, coram imperatore civitati Tullensi jam triennio patrocিনatus est. Si quid hoc ei obest, velim tuo patrocinio tutus evadat, neque enim mala mente hoc eum egisse crediderim. Edoctus pii patris admonitionibus cautior posthac erit, nam et doctus est et³ mentis ad suscipiendam reformationem, nisi fallor.

Bene vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 12. Januarii 1455⁴.

¹ ~~tamen~~ seq. F1; irradiated V5

² ad V7

³ omit. F1, V5

⁴ 1454 HO

[4] At my request, the emperor has written as I consider appropriate and as you wish to the Roman Pontiff. I am sending them with copies to Brother Giovanni through my chaplain Nikolaus, whom you know.¹ It will be up to you to arrange that they are brought to Rome as soon as possible.

[5] I have heard that Brother Giovanni has summoned some monks of your Order, of the Conventual branch, to the presence of the provincial. I wish to recommend these monks as much as equity and your Order's discipline allow. Among them is a Brother Claude of the French nation, who has now for three years represented the City of Toul before the emperor and against the Bishop of Toul,² an eminent prelate. If this counts against him, I wish that you will help him to get out of this situation safely, for I believe that he has not acted out of ill will. Instructed by the admonitions of the pious father, he will be more cautious in the future, for he is a leaned man and, unless I am mistaken, ready to reform his views.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 12 January 1455.

¹ Nikolaus Kreul.

² Fillastre, Guillaume (the Younger) (-1473): Burgundian prelate

and statesman. Ducal councillor.
Bishop of Toul, 1448-1460.

He had a conflict with the city of Toul, see EPI, 6: 361.

587. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (18 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 21v-22r¹; V5, ff. 29r-40r **; V6, ff. 36r-37r²; V7, ff. 45v-46v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 105v-106r³

Editions B: AC, vol. 2/3, nr. 4212; RTA, 19/3, pp. 84-86; *Nikolaus von Kues. Briefe (Baum/Senoner)*, 2, pp. 228-231.

Translations: *Nikolaus von Kues. Briefe (Baum/Senoner)*, 2, pp. 228-231.

{29r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino Nicolao, cardinali Sancti Petri et episcopo Brixinensi, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quae reverendo patri episcopo Gurcensi, magnifico viro Johanni Ungnad {29v} et mihi scripsisti, accepimus simul, et rem discussam ad imperatoriam majestatem detulimus. Quae sit mens Caesaris, scribimus in communi dignationi tuae, non est cur illa repetam. Difficile mihi hoc negotium de duce Sigismundo videtur, neque omnes intelligere volunt, quae sibi ad salutem sunt. Quantum ego capio, non est imperator patrueli suo inimicus, neque persequetur eum, sicut existimo. Vellet tamen⁴, quod juris est, feudum ab illo recipi. De pecunia, quae certe⁵ grandis est atque nummos auri supra⁶ centum milia importat, sperarem nonnihil posse imminui; remitti totam non arbitror, neque ita Caesaris animo persuaderi posse confido. Nimium dilecta res homini pecunia est. Sanguinem prius elicias, quam aurum. Dices, “Atqui pecuniam in loco negligere consilii est, dum meliora consequare.” Verum id quidem est, sed nesciunt omnes inescare⁷ homines. Quidam⁸ adeo ignari sunt, ut neque spe modica carere pro maxima queant. Credo, tenes, quae dicere velim. Apertius scribere periculosum est.

[2] Mihi verum videtur, quod Titus, Vespasiani filius, inquit “*Principatum*” scilicet “*fato dari.*” Addo “et gubernari”, nam parum⁹ est, quod mortalium curae relictum sit. Fatum autem pro divina ordinatione recipio, quae summa et infima disponit. Ea cum voluerit non modo Sigismundum Caesari, sed omnes inter se reges principesque componet. In ea quoque repositum est, an Turci nostris exercitibus delendi sint, an contra Christianas vires Maumethus opprimat.

¹ DV, 48-49

² DV, 38r-39r

³ DV, 218-219

⁴ del. F1; *spatium* V5

⁵ que certe : certe quae V5

⁶ omit. F1, V5

⁷ niescare F1

⁸ quidem V7

⁹ paruum V7

587. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (18 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: The cardinal had written to three influential imperial courtiers on some issue involving a payment, the Duke Siegmund of Austria, and the emperor.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the cardinal about the emperor's stance in the matter. He sends news from the court and expresses the wish for the cardinal's participation in the Diet of Regensburg.

To the Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Nikolaus,¹ Cardinal of San Pietro and Bishop of Brixen, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings.

[1] We have received the letters² you sent to the Reverend Father of Gurk,³ His Magnificence Hans Ungnad,⁴ and me, and after discussing the matter, we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. We jointly write to Your Grace what the emperor thinks of it, so there is no reason to repeat it here. The matter regarding Duke Siegmund⁵ seems difficult, and not all will see what is best for them. As far as I understand, the emperor is not hostile towards his cousin, the duke, and I believe he will not trouble him. But he wants, as is right, that the duke should receive his feudal possessions from him. Concerning the money, the sum is certainly great and amounts to more than 100,000 ducats. I hope it can be reduced, but I do not think that it can be completely cancelled and am sure that the emperor will not be persuaded to do that. The man is too fond of money. You will draw blood from him before you get money! You will say, "It is only sensible to neglect the money offered you if you want a better offer." That is quite true, but not all know how to tempt men. And some are so senseless that they would rather be satisfied with something [now] than hope for much [in the future]. I think you take my meaning. Writing more openly would be perilous.

[2] I believe Titus,⁶ son of Vespasian,⁷ was right when he said that "imperial power is the gift of fate." I add "and reigning", for little is left to the care of mortals. I understand fate as divine ordination that determines both great and small matters. If it wills, it will not only reconcile Siegmund with the emperor but all kings and princes with each other. And on it depends whether the Turks will be destroyed by our armies or, on the contrary, Mehmed⁸ will defeat the Christian forces.

¹ Kues, Nikolaus of (1401-1464): Cardinal 1448. Prince-bishop of Brixen 1450. Friend of Piccolomini.

² Not extant.

³ Sonnenberger, Ulrich (d. 1469): Secretary of Friedrich III: Bishop of Gurk 1453-1469 (papal appointment of 5. November 1453). Colleague and friend of Picco-

lomini. See RTA, 19/2: Heinig, *ad Indicem*.

⁴ Ungnad, Hans [Johann] (bef. 1429-1461): Kammermeister and councillor of Friedrich III.

⁵ Siegmund (1427-1496): Duke of Tyrol. See EUR (Bisa ha/Brown), p. 196.

⁶ Titus Flavius Vespasianus (39-81): Roman emperor from 79 to his death.

⁷ Vespasianus, Titus Flavius (9-79): Roman emperor from 69 to his death.

⁸ Mehmed II (1432-1481): Sultan of the Turks 1444-1446, 1451-1481. Conquered Constantinople in 1453.

[3] Nescio, qualis erit hic conventus noster¹. Gubernatores Hungariae ac Bohemiae huc venturi sunt, {40r²} si litteris regiis credendum est. De Germanis proceribus nihil adhuc sentio. Timeo, ne promissi eos poeniteat. Marchio tamen³ Brandenburgensis non deerit. De Italia nihil intelligo, quod solidum sit. Conventus Vratislaviensis sine fructu dissipatus est. Omnia in favorem Turci diriguntur. Pruteni cum rege Poloniae multa proelia commisere. Novissime duodeviginti milia hostium interemisse dicuntur, ex suis sex milibus caesis. Sed puto rem aliquanto minorem quam fama feratur. Ad impediendum tamen⁴ commune bonum nimis magna est. Optassem dignationem tuam in futuro conventu nostro praesentem esse, quae desides Germanorum animos ac dormientes excitasset. Nec plura modo.

Facio me commendatum dignationi tuae, cui parere praesto sum. Ex Novacivitate, 18. Januarii 1455.

¹ *del. F1; omit. V5*

² *The numbering of the folios in the manuscript V5 jumps directly from 29v to 40r.*

³ *del. F1; spatium V5*

⁴ *del. F1; spatium V5*

[3] I do not know what will happen with our diet.¹ If the king's letter can be believed, the governors of Hungary² and Bohemia³ will come. I have not yet heard about the German princes. I fear they have regretted their promise, but the Margrave of Brandenburg⁴ will not fail to attend. I have no solid information about Italy. The meeting in Wroclaw ended without a result.⁵ Everything favours Mehmed.⁶ The Prussians⁷ have fought many battles with the King of Poland.⁸ Recently, it was reported that 18,000 of his enemies had fallen and that he himself had lost 6,000,⁹ but I think that the real figures are smaller than rumoured. In any case, the losses are too great for the common good.¹⁰ I wish that Your Grace would attend the coming diet to stir up the passive and sleepy Germans. No more for now.

I commend myself to Your Grace, whom I am always ready to obey. From Neustadt, 18 January 1455.

¹ The Diet of Regensburg, April / May 1454. See RTA, 19/2.

² Hunyadi, János [Hunyad] (c. 1406-1456): Hungarian statesman and general. 1456- Governor of Hungary.

³ Georg Podiebrad.

⁴ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁵ Breslauer Fürstentag, December 1454 / January 1455 (see RTA 19/3, pp. 692-694 and RTA, 19/2, pp. 875-890)

⁶ Mehmed II.

⁷ The German Order.

⁸ Kazimierz IV.

⁹ See letter 589.

¹⁰ I.e., the defence of Europe against the Turks.

588. Letter from Nicolaus V (23 January 1455, Rome)

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 48v-49r¹; V5, 84r-85r; V6, ff. 72r-72v²; V7, ff. 92v-93v

Editions A: HO, ff. 138v³;

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 181-183.

{84r} Nicolaus, papa quintus, Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Ex litteris tuis, quas proximis diebus accepimus, et etiam ex avisamentis et litteris venerabilis fratris nostri episcopi Papiensis intelleximus, quae gesta fuerunt⁴ in Frankfordiensi dieta, et quid agendum sit⁵ in congregatione in Civitate Nova⁶ apud imperatoriam majestatem de proximo celebranda, omnia diligenter intelleximus et matura deliberatione pensavimus. {84v} Respondemus cumulate per litteras nostras, quas etiam fraternitas tua videbit, eidem episcopo Papiensi, oratori nostro, qui omnia tecum communicabit et consiliis tuis saluberrimis in his gravibus rebus⁷ conficiendis semper utetur.

[2] Sicque nil aliud videtur esse ad te scribendum, nisi quod hortamur atque rogamus fraternitatem tuam - licet minime necessarium putemus - ut perseveret in consueta fide et devotione⁸ sua erga nos et sedem apostolicam et istarum rerum, de quibus tractari⁹ debet, eam curam suscipiat, quam semper in ceteris¹⁰ rebus susceperat. Diligentiae enim et operae tuae multis jam annis in omnibus negotiis sedis apostolicae tales fuerunt, ut fateamur nos et praefatam sedem apostolicam tibi plurimum debere teque gratiam nostram et ipsius sedis fuisse omni ex parte consecutum. Sed de his alias.

[3] Volumus, quod, si casu aliquo praefatus episcopus Papiensis, orator noster, huic futurae dietae interesse non posset, fraternitas tua litteras nostras ad eum directas aperiat et videat omniaque nostro nomine exequatur, quae praefatus episcopus executurus esset, super quibus omnibus plenam et omnimodam concedimus tenore praesentium fraternitati tuae facultatem, confidentes, quod in omnibus concludendis tali sapientia uteris, quod venies apud nos et sedem apostolicam merito commendandus¹¹. Volumus praeterea, et ita tibi committimus, quod imperatoriae {85r} majestati nostro nomine salutem et benedictionem dicas sibi, in quo singularem confidentiam habemus, honorem nostrum et negotia dictae sedis omni affectione commendes.

[4] Ecclesiam parrochiam in Hirnung per promotionem electi Pataviensis pridie¹² vacantem, de qua alias ad nos scripseras, fraternitati tuae commendavimus¹³, licet res haec perexigua sit respectu laborum tuorum et optimae voluntatis nostrae erga te.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die 23. Januarii 1454, pontificatus nostri anno 8.¹⁴

¹ DV, 102-104

² DV, 74r-74v

³ DV, 284

⁴ fuerant F1

⁵ omit. V7

⁶ Nova Civitate F1

⁷ omit. V7

⁸ de natione V7

⁹ tractare F1

¹⁰ certis V7

¹¹ confidentes quod ... commendandus omit. F1

¹² pridem corr. ex pridie V5

¹³ commendamus V7

¹⁴ Pontificatus ... 8. omit. F1, V5

588. Letter from Nicolaus V (23 January 1455, Rome)

Context: Piccolomini had informed the pope about the past Diet of Frankfurt and the future Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Subject : The pope asks Piccolomini to coordinate his participation in the diet with Giovanni Castiglione and, in the case of Castiglione's absence, to fully represent the pope. He also informs him that he has been granted the parish of Irnding.

Pope Nicolaus V sends many greetings to Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] From your letter¹ that we recently received and from the report and letter of Our Venerable Brother, the Bishop of Pavia,² we have been informed about what was done at the Diet of Frankfurt and what is to be done at the Diet in Wiener Neustadt to be held before His Imperial Majesty. We have diligently considered it all and pondered it carefully. We respond to it in the letter to Our orator, the Bishop of Pavia, which Your Fraternity will see, too, for he will share all with you and always use your salutary advice in these important matters.

[2] Nothing remains to write to you except exhorting and asking Your Fraternity (though we do not think it necessary) to always persevere in your customary loyalty and devotion towards Us and the Apostolic See and to apply the careful diligence that you always use in other matters to the matters to be dealt with at the diet. Your diligence and efforts in all the affairs of the Apostolic See have always been such that the aforesaid Apostolic See owes you a great debt, and you have completely earned ours and that see's favour. But more about this elsewhere.

[3] In case the aforesaid Bishop of Pavia, our orator, is unable to participate in the future diet, Your Fraternity should open Our letters to him and see to it that all is done in Our name that the aforesaid bishop was to do. On all these matters, We - by the present letter - grant Your Fraternity full and complete powers, trusting that you will use such wisdom in all decisions that you will merit to return highly commended to Us and the Apostolic See. Moreover, We wish and ask you to greet and bless His Imperial Majesty in Our name and, with all affection, commend Our honour and the affairs of the said see to him, in whom we have singular confidence.

[4] We have granted you *in commendam* the parish church of Irnding, vacant due to the promotion of the Elect of Passau,³ and about which you have otherwise written to Us.] Considering your labours and Our very good will towards you, it is only a small [favour].

Given in Rome at Saint Peter's under the ring of the Fisherman on 23 January 1454⁴, in the eighth year of Our Pontificate.

¹ Not extant

² Giovanni da Castiglione.

³ Ulrich von Nussdorf, finally appointed Bishop of Passau.

⁴ Vatican dating system, i.e., 1455.

589. Letter to Goro Lolli (24 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 22r-22v¹; V5, ff. 40r-40v **; V6, ff. 37r-37v²; V7, ff. 46v-47r.

Editions A: HO, f. 106r³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 88-90.

{40r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Gregorio Lollio, fratri suo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Vocas me frequentibus litteris neque ab re. Scio enim me domi necessarium esse. Eam⁴ ob causam redissem jam diu non vocatus, nisi me Caesar retinisset invitum. Mansi his in regionibus, quemadmodum Caesari placuit actum est et adhuc agitur de tuenda religione nostra contra Turcos. Conventus hoc in loco futurus est, ut quae Frankfordiae praemeditata sunt, executioni mandentur. Expectamus Hungariae ac Bohemiae (40v) gubernatores, de Germania quoque nonnullos principes. Faxit Deus, res ecclesiae bonum ut exitum habeant⁵. Finito concilio est animus meus domum repetere.

[2] Intellexi, quae de vicario novo quaeve de praeterito scripsisti. Sequor in utroque tuum iudicium: novum uti⁶ rebus meis bene consulat rogatum facito. Quia me puto cito venturum, non sum longior. Scio te omnia curare me absente, quae putas ex usu fore.

[3] Nova, quae significare dominio possis, ex partibus istis, haec habeto: magnum proelium his diebus inter Prutenos et Polonos commissum est. Ex Prutenis sex milia, ex Polonis decem et octo milia, ut ajunt,⁷ ceciderunt⁸. Sunt, et qui regem Poloniae in hoc⁹ bello periclitatum dicant atque occisum. Res tamen¹⁰ adhuc in obscuro est. Johannes, comes Bistricensis, ante tres menses cum Turcis confligit ac superior factus duces hostium captivos abduxit. Turcorum imperator inde irritatus ingentes copias congregavit, quibus aestate futura Hungariam populetur, neque Hungari tantas vires perferre¹¹ poterunt, nisi reliquorum Christianorum auxiliis protegantur. Res tota ex conventu pendet, qui apud nos futurus est.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate die 24. Januarii 1455.

¹ DV, 49-50

² DV, 39r-40r

³ DV, 219

⁴ eamque F1

⁵ ut *add.* V7

⁶ ut V7

⁷ ut ajunt *omit.* V5

⁸ cecidere V6, V7

⁹ *omit.* V7

¹⁰ *del.* F1; *spatium* V5

¹¹ *preferre* V7

589. Letter to Goro Lolli (24 January 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Lolli frequently urged Piccolomini to return home.

Subject: Piccolomini explains the reason for the latest delay, assures Lolli that he will return after the Diet of Neustadt, and sends news from the imperial court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to his brother, Goro Lolli.¹

[1] You call me back with frequent letters and for good reason. I know that my presence at home is necessary, and even uncalled, I would have returned a long time ago unless the emperor had kept me against my will. I have stayed in these parts, and what the emperor wanted has been done. We are still occupied with the defence of our religion against the Turks. A diet will be held here, and the decisions considered in Frankfurt will be implemented. We are expecting the governors of Hungary² and Bohemia³ and several princes from Germany. May God give a good result in the church affair⁴. After the diet, I intend to return home.

[2] I have seen what you wrote about the new⁵ and the former⁶ vicar. I follow your judgement in each case. Please ask the new one to take good care of my affairs. I shall not say more since I believe that I shall soon be there. I know that in my absence you will take care of everything you consider necessary.

[3] Here follow news from these parts that you may communicate to their lordships⁷: these days, a great battle has been fought between the Prussians⁸ and the Poles. Reportedly, 6,000 Prussians and 18,000 Poles fell. Some say that the King of Poland⁹ did something risky and was killed, but all that is still uncertain. Three months ago, Count János of Bistrita fought the Turks¹⁰ and, as victor, carried off the enemy commanders as captives. This exasperated the sultan,^{11 12} who has gathered large forces with which to waste Hungary next summer. The Hungarians cannot resist such large forces unless they are protected by troops from the other Christians. The whole matter depends on the diet to be held here.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 24 January 1455.

¹ 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.

² János Hunyadi.

³ Georg Podiebrad.

⁴ The crusade against the Turks.

⁵ Francesco Agnifili (-1478): Doctor of Canon Law. Referendary at the Signatura in Rome. Later Bishop of Aquila.

⁶ Rafaele Primadizi.

⁷ The city government of Siena.

⁸ The Teutonic Order.

⁹ Kazimierz IV.

¹⁰ Battle of Krusevac, September / October 1454.

¹¹ "imperator"

¹² Mehmed II.

590. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (24 January 1455, WienerNeustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, f. 22v¹; V5, ff. 40v-41r **: V6, ff. 37v²; V7, ff. 47r-47v.

Editions A: HO, f. 106v³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 87-88

{40v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis⁴, Henrico Senftleben salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Scripsi⁵ novissime, quaecumque⁶ apud nos gerebantur⁷. Nihil postea novi secutum est, nisi quia fama succrevit regem Poloniae in ultimo proelio contra Prutenos {41r} habito mortem obiisse. Nullae⁸ tamen litterae sunt; rumor incertus apud me fidem non habet. Illud autem constat, quia superiores in bello Pruteni sunt. Nos in expectatione conventus sumus inter spem ac⁹ metum dubii. Vereor, ne res pulchre coeptas male prosequamur. Causa ipsa Dei est: quemadmodum ille volet, ita fiat¹⁰. Rex Ladislaus in dies Viennae praestolatur.

Vale, ac reverendissimo domino Sancti Angeli et domino Petro Noxetano commendatum me facito litterasque cum praesentibus alligatas Senas mitte, ac vale optime. Ex Novacivitate, die 24. Januarii 1455.¹¹

¹ DV, 50

² DV, 39v

³ DV, 220. *Not collated*

⁴ *omit.* V7

⁵ scripsisti V7

⁶ que F1

⁷ agebantur V6, V7

⁸ mille V7

⁹ et F1

¹⁰ *corr. ex fiet* F1; fiet V5

¹¹ die ... 1455 : ut supra V5

590. Letter to Heinrich Senftleben (24 January 1455, WienerNeustadt).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: News from the imperial court.¹

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Heinrich Senftleben.

[1] I wrote to you recently about events here. Nothing new has happened later except that there arose a rumour that the King of Poland² died in the last battle³ against the Prussians.⁴ However, there are no letters [confirming it], and I do not trust uncertain rumours. It is clear, however, that the Prussians had the upper hand in the war. We are awaiting the diet⁵ between hope and doubt. I fear that we shall give a bad ending to the things that were begun well. But it is God's own cause; it will be as He wishes. King Ladislaus⁶ is expected any day in Vienna.

Farewell, and commend me to His Most Reverend Lordship of Sant'Angelo⁷ and Ser Pietro da Noceto,⁸ and send the attached letters to Siena. Live well. From Neustadt, 21. January 1455.

¹ On this letter, see Müller: *Kreuzungspläne*, p. 77, n. 57.

² Kazimierz IV.

³ Battle of Krusevac, September / October 1454.

⁴ The Teutonic Order.

⁵ The Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

⁶ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁷ Carvajal, Juan (ca. 1400-1469): Spanish papal official and diplomat. Appointed a cardinal in 1446. See VO, 1: 2, p. 299-300.

⁸ Noceto, Pietro da

Pietro da Noceto (1397-1467): Master of the papal household un-

der Pope Nicolaus V. One time fellow secretary and close friend of young Piccolomini. See article in DBI; VO, 2, pp. 296-297.

591. Letter to Juan Carvajal (1 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 23r-24v¹; V5, ff. 41r-42r **; V6, ff. 37v-38v²; V7, ff. 47v-48v.

Editions A: HO, f. 106v-107v³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 90-96.

{41r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni⁴, cardinali Sancti Angeli⁵, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quamvis heri ad te litteras dederim, cogor tamen et hodie scribere, quia nonnulla emersere, quae scitu digna existimo. Sunt enim omnia certa, quae nunc significabo. In dieta Vratislaviensi haec acta sunt: Religiosi ex Prussia querelas proposuere adversus Poloniae regem. Legati regis, inter quos fuit archiepiscopus Gneznensis, interesse noluerunt⁶, neque de concordia inter illas potentias quidquam perfici potuit. Fridericus tamen⁷, marchio Brandenburgensis, princeps elector, circa festa Paschatis Prussiam ingressurum se obtulit pacemque regionis summo studio quaesiturum. Inter Bohemos ac Saxones propter absentiam regis Poloniae, qui unus ex arbitris nominatus erat, concordia perfici non potuit. Suspensae sunt tamen⁸ lites {41v} usque ad festum Pentecostes, non quod medio tempore treugae factae sint⁹, sed illud solummodo cautum est, ne pars partem sine sollempni diffidatione praesumat invadere.

[2] Rex Ladislaus circa diem cineris apud Viennenses expectatur¹⁰. Marchio Brandenburgensis per idem tempus ad Caesarem venturum se ait. Scribit etiam se rogasse Ludovicum, Bavariae ducem, uti secum ad conventum de republica Christiana gerendum proficisceretur. Illum vero, quoniam in hastiludiis vulnus in manu recepisset, noluisse¹¹ adventum promittere. Quia tamen dux Saxoniae circa medium quadragesimae ad imperatorem venturus sit de re Bohemica tractaturus (nam Saxones stare juri coram Caesare Bohemis offerunt) satis est¹² verisimile Ludovicum cum duce Saxoniae simul huc iter habere; interea vulnus curatum erit.

¹ DV, 51-52

² DV, 39v-40v

³ DV, 220-222. *Not collated.*

⁴ Nicolao F1, V5, V7; corr. ex Johanni [*in another hand*] V6

⁵ *em.*; Petri ad vincula *add.* F1; Petri V5, V6, V7

⁶ uoluerunt V7

⁷ *del.* F1; *spatium* V5

⁸ *del.* F1; *spatium* V5

⁹ sunt V7

¹⁰ expectantur V7

¹¹ uoluisse V7

¹² esse F1, V6, V7

591. Letter to Juan Carvajal (1 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The preceding letters.

Subject: News from the imperial court.

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

[1] Though I sent a letter to you yesterday, I have to write today, too, for some things happened that I think are worth knowing. All that I report now is certain. This was done in the meeting in Wroclaw¹: The monks from Prussia² made complaints against the King of Poland.³ The king's legates, and among them the Archbishop of Gniezno,⁴ would not participate so nothing could be achieved concerning concord between these powers. However, Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg,⁵ prince elector, offered to go to Prussia at the Easter Feast⁶ and, with all his might, work for peace in the region. Concerning concord between the Bohemians and the Saxons, nothing could be achieved, either, because of the absence of the King of Poland, who had been appointed one of the arbiters. However, the conflict was suspended until the Feast of Pentecost⁷ (without a truce in the meantime) and it was only stipulated that none of the parties might invade the other without a formal challenge.

[2] King Ladislaus⁸ is expected in Vienna around the Ash Day.⁹ In the meantime, the margrave of Brandenburg says he will come to the emperor. He writes that he has also asked Duke Ludwig¹⁰ of Bavaria to go with him to the diet to deal with the Christian commonwealth. The duke, however, would not promise to come because he had wounded his hand in a joust. But since the Duke of Saxony¹¹ will come to the emperor towards the middle of Lent¹² to discuss the Bohemian matter (for the Saxons offer the Bohemians a trial before the emperor),¹³ it is rather likely that Ludwig will come here together with the Duke of Saxony (in the meantime his wound will be healed).

¹ Breslauer Fürstentag.

² The Teutonic Order.

³ Kazimierz IV.

⁴ Sprowski, Jan [Johannes de Sprowa] (-1464): Archbishop of Gniezno 1453-1464.

⁵ Friedrich II der Eiserne (1413-1471). Prince elector of Brandenburg from 1440 to his abdication in 1440.

⁶ 6 April 1455.

⁷ 25 May 1455.

⁸ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁹ 19 February 1455.

¹⁰ Ludwig IX der Reiche.

¹¹ Wilhelm III.

¹² 16 March 1455.

¹³ RTA, 19/3, p. 95, n. 20.

[3] Oratores regis Ladislai Viennae sunt. Forsitan et cras huc se conferent. Quantum intelligere possumus eorum legatio¹ est gubernatorem regni Bohemiae non posse jam in festo purificationis, quod cras erit, comparere, sed venturum esse circa dominicam Laetare, quae res timeo ne magnum rebus agendis impedimentum praebeat. Nam Treverensis heri ad me litteras dedit Ratisponae scriptas, ex quibus intelligo ante quatrimum eum hic² futurum cum pluribus aliorum principum legationibus. Ipse in comitatu suo centum et³ et triginta equites adducit. Nescio an expectare Bohemos poterit⁴. In eo magna⁵ vis est, qui vices {42r} quattuor electorum gerit. Legati quoque ducis Burgundiae Viennae sunt, inter quos est Tullensis episcopus. Hungari Budae⁶ congregati feruntur de parando exercitu contra Turcos solliciti. Venient et ipsi ad Caesarem. Utinam legationes simul conveniant, neque fiat, quod vereor, ut illis intransibilibus, alii recedant. Imperator usque in⁷ Gretz profectus est, infra decendium rediturus. Haec apud nos aguntur.

[4] Ex vobis nihil audimus. Nescio, quae mens vestra est. Vos autem illud exploratum habere potestis, nisi valida classis contra Turcos ex Italia promittatur, non est, quod de terrestri exercitu quidquam sperandum sit. Id si accidat, Hungaros Turcis proculdubio foederatos videbimus⁸⁹. Quod utrum sit in rem Christianam, ipsi videbitis.

Vale optime, atque ista, si placet, sanctitati domini nostri redde nota. Ex Novacivitate, die prima Februarii 1455.

¹ legatione V7

² hoc V7

³ ac V6, V7

⁴ omit. V7

⁵ magis V7

⁶ Budam V6, V7

⁷ omit. V7

⁸ Videbitis F1

⁹ foederatos videbimus : fedebimus V7

[3] King Ladislaus' ambassadors are in Vienna. Maybe they will come here tomorrow. As far as I know, their mission is [to inform us] that the Governor of Bohemia¹ cannot come at the Feast of Purification, which is tomorrow, but will be here around Laetare Sunday.² I fear that this will prove a major impediment to the agenda here. Yesterday, I received a letter from the [Archbishop] of Trier³ written in Regensburg, which lets me know that he will arrive before four days together with several princely embassies. He himself will be accompanied by 130 knights. I do not know if he can wait for the Bohemians. He is very important since he represents four [prince] electors. Also the legates of the Duke of Burgundy⁴ are here and among them the Bishop of Toul.⁵ The Hungarians are said to be assembled in Buda⁶ to deliberate on the mobilisation of army against the Turks. They will also come to the emperor. I hope the embassies will be here at the same time. Otherwise, I fear that some will leave as others arrive. The emperor has gone to Graz and will return before 10 days. This is what is happening here.

[4] We are hearing nothing from you. I do not know your plans, but you may hold it certain that unless there be a promise of a strong fleet from Italy against the Turks, there is no hope of a land army. If that happens, the Hungarians will undoubtedly ally themselves with the Turks. Then you will seem if that is an advantage for the Christian cause.

Live well, and inform His Holiness⁷ about these matters if you so wish. From Neustadt, 1 February 1455.

¹ Georg Podiebrad.

² 16 March 1455.

³ Jakob von Sierck.

⁴ Philippe III le Bon.

⁵ Guillaume Fillastre (the Younger).

⁶

⁶ Diet of Buda, January 1454.

⁷ Pope Nicolaus V.

592. Letter to Goro Lolli (1 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 30, ff. 23v-24r¹; V5, ff. 42v-43r **: V6, f. 39r²; V7, f. 52r.

Editions A: HO, 223³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 99-100.

{42r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Gregorio Lollio salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Ut intelligas, quae gerantur apud nos, nec⁴ te multis morer, mitto tibi exemplar litterarum mearum, quas cardinali Sancti Angeli scribo. Ex eo cognosces concilium de rebus publicis hoc in loco gerendum in tempus proferri, idque magnificis dominis nostris notum efficies meque illis commendabis, qui, peracto conventu, ad vos quantocius redire conabor. Intellexi desponsatam⁵ esse tibi virginem nobilem, bonis prognatam⁶ parentibus. Laudo ac probō virumque te fieri gaudeo. Nisi nuptias maturaveris, illas⁷ tibi veniens benedicam. Vicarium, quem adduxisti, commendatum tibi efficio⁸. Litem, quae est inter capitulum⁹ et ipsum, cupio, nisi honori meo deroget, ad meum suspendi reditum.

{43r} Vale optime cum nostris omnibus¹⁰. Ex Novacivitate, die prima Februarii 1455.¹¹

¹ DV, 52-53

² DV, ff. 41r

³ DV, 108. *Not collated*

⁴ ne V7

⁵ disponsatam V7

⁶ *corr. ex* prognatam V6; prognatam V7

⁷ illam V6, V7

⁸ officio V7

⁹ capitulum F1, V6; capitulum V7

¹⁰ cum nostris omnibus *omit.* F1

¹¹ etc. F1, V5

592. Letter to Goro Lolli (1 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The Diet of Neustadt had been postponed.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Lolli about the postponement and congratulates him on his marriage.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Goro Lolli.

[1] So that you may know what happens here and I do not waste your time, I am sending you a copy of a letter I have written to the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo.¹ From that, you will see that the diet to be held here concerning the public has been postponed. Please tell this to Our Magnificent Lords² and recommend me to them. Right after the diet, I shall endeavour to quickly return to you. I heard that you have become betrothed to a noble virgin, born of good parents. I praise and approve it and rejoice that you are now becoming a man. Unless you hasten [to enter] the marriage, I shall bless it when I return. I commend the vicar you brought to you. I wish that his conflict with the chapter be suspended until my return, unless that would be to my dishonour.

Live well with all our people. From Neustadt, 1 February 1455.

¹ Juan Carvajal. Letter 587.

² The priors of Siena.

593. Letter to Heinrich Senfleben (1 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 30, f. 23v¹; V5, 30, ff. 42r-42v **; V6, 30, ff. 38v-39r²; V7, 30, ff. 48v-49r.

Editions A: HO, 107v³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 97-98.

{42r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Henrico Senfleben salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quamvis heri ad te⁴ scripserim, hodie tamen, pauca subjungam, necesse est, ut scias, quomodo res apud nos aguntur. Lis inter Saxones et Bohemos apud⁵ Vratislaviam terminari non potuit, sed suspensa est usque ad festum Pentecostes. Dux Saxoniae ob eam causam circa medium quadragesimae ad imperatoriam majestatem venturus est ducemque Bavariae Ludovicum adducturus secum creditur, sicut marchio Albertus scribit. Propter hoc gubernator Bohemiae, qui crastina die (42v) hoc in loco futurus erat, suum adventum distulit, ut cum Saxonibus assit, et ita res in longum protrahitur. Treverensis cum centum et triginta equitibus infra quatrimum hic aderit, quemadmodum ex litteris ejus ex Ratispona mihi directis accepi. Cum eo sunt legati plurium principum. Vereor, ne taedeat eos⁶ diutius expectare. Rex Ladislaus propediem Viennaee futurus creditur. Hungari de bello contra Turcos gerendo solliciti concilium⁷ apud Budam habent. Inde huc legatos mittent⁸. Haec magnifico domino Petro⁹ Noxetano meo nomine communicare velis meque sibi commendatum facere.

Ex Novacivitate, die prima Februarii 1455.

¹ DV, 52

² DV, ff. 40v-41r

³ DV, 222

⁴ vos F1; *corr. ex vos* V6

⁵ aguntur ... apud *omit.* V7

⁶ *omit.* V5

⁷ consilium V5

⁸ *omit.* V7

⁹ de *seq.* V6

593. Letter to Heinrich Senfleben (1 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Several key persons were delaying their arrival at the Diet of Neustadt.

Subject: News from the imperial court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Heinrich Senfleben.

[1] Though I wrote to you only yesterday, I must now add a few things to let you know what happens here. The conflict between the Saxons and Bohemians could not be settled in Wroclaw¹ but has been suspended until the Feast of Pentecost.² Therefore, the Duke of Saxony³ will come to His Imperial Majesty around the middle of Lent,⁴ and it is believed he will bring Duke Ludwig⁵ with him, as Margrave Albrecht⁶ writes. Therefore, the Governor of Bohemia,⁷ who was expected to arrive here tomorrow, has postponed his arrival in order to be with the Saxons, and thus the affair⁸ is being drawn out. The [Archbishop]⁹ of Trier will arrive before four days with 130 knights, as he has written in a letter sent to me from Regensburg. He will be accompanied by legates from many princes. I fear that it will prove tedious for them to wait [for the others]. King Ladislaus is expected in Vienna any day. The Hungarians are anxious to make war against the Turks and are holding a diet in Buda. From there, they will send legates here. Please inform Ser Pietro da Noceto about this and recommend me to him.

From Neustadt, 1 February 1455.

¹ Breslauer Fürstentag.

² 25 May 1455.

³ Wilhelm III.

⁴ 16 March 1455.

⁵ Ludwig 9 der Reiche.

⁶ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁷ Georg Podiebrad.

⁸ The Diet of Neustadt.

⁹ Jakob von Sierck.

594. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (5 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 33, ff. 25v-26v¹; V5, 33, ff. 45v-47r **; V6, 33, ff. 41v-42v²; V7, 33, ff. 52r-54r.

Editions A: HO, 110r³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 101-105.

{45v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Jacobo, Treverensi archiepiscopo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Gratissimae fuerunt mihi litterae tuae, quibus adventum ad Caesaream majestatem tuam cognovi, neque enim dubito, quin fructum pariat praesentia tua. Nam quem libentius audiat Caesar quam dignationem tuam, scio neminem. Quod autem balnea petieris, dum Caesar abest, non improbo. Corpora nostra post labores quietem exigunt, atque ideo provida rerum natura noctes distinxit et dies, ut, quod⁴ diei⁵ labor extenuasset, noctis refoveret quies. Scio dignationem tuam non sine molestia longum iter peregrisse et hoc potissime hiemis tempore, quando ventis et imbribus ac⁶ frigore cuncta rigescunt. Consulto igitur ad termas divertisti, quod tamen minime fecisses, ut audio, si Caesar apud nos fuisset. Numquam enim tua dignatio otium negotio antepone consuevit. Spero autem cito huc venies, nam et Caesaris reditum non jam dietim, sed horatim praestolamur. Ivit ille, non ut refugeret conventum, qui futurus est hic, quemadmodum aliqui murmurant, sed ut monimenta quaedam susciperet ad res idoneas, quae hic gerendae⁷ sunt, neque illa per alium afferri poterant. Scriptum est ei de tuo adventu, nec dubitamus {46r} majestatem suam laetam inde atque hilarem reddi.

[2] Ego vero, ut tuae dignationi cuncta efficiam manifesta, quae mente gero, quamvis laudo celerem ac tempestivum accessum tuum exactamque diligentiam apud omnes dignam commendatione non dubito, maluissem tamen hoc tempore aliquibus diebus dignationem tuam remoratam fuisse. Vereor enim, ne res aliquantulum protrahantur, et quod modo fiendum erat, ultra medium quadragesimae tractetur. Scribit enim marchio Brandeburgensis ducem Saxoniae Wilhelmum circa dominicam Laetare ad Caesarem esse venturum secumque adducturum, ut ipse arbitrat, Ludovicum, Bavariae ducem. Causam hujus adventus esse dicit, quia in⁸ Vratislavia lites Bohemorum ac Saxonum propter absentiae regis Poloniae, qui unus ex arbitris erat, componi nequiverint⁹. Duces autem Saxoniae viam juris obtulerint¹⁰ coram Caesare. Conabuntur ergo illi causam hujuscemodi ad imperiale tribunal devolvere. Bohemi quoque negotia sua¹¹ non negligent, et licet gubernator eorum in hoc tempore debuerit hic¹² esse, creditur tamen non ante venturus quam dux Saxoniae. Fortasse et gubernator Hungariae idem aget. Expedi enim, ne alter sine altero veniat.

¹ DV, 56-58

² DV, 43v-44v

³ DV, 227-229. *Not collated.*

⁴ et *add.* V6, V7

⁵ dies F1

⁶ et V7

⁷ gerenda F1, V5

⁸ *omit.* V7

⁹ nequiverunt F1

¹⁰ obtulerunt V7

¹¹ *omit.* F1

¹² debuerit hic : hic debuerit V5

594. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (5 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The approaching Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the archbishop that if he comes early to the diet, he will have to wait for the other important participants. He also sends news of the peace negotiations in Italy.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Lord Jakob,¹ Archbishop of Trier.

[1] I was delighted by the letter in which I heard of your coming to His Imperial Majesty, and I do not doubt that your presence will be fruitful, for I know of no one whom the emperor would rather hear than Your Grace. I do not blame you for taking the baths in the emperor's absence. After labours, our bodies require rest, and that is why provident nature has separated days and nights so that the night's quiet can restore what the day's labour of day has exhausted. I know that Your Grace has had a long and tiresome journey, especially in this winter time, when winds, rain, and frost harden everything. It is therefore sensible that you have gone to the hot baths,² which you would not have done, as I hear, if the emperor had been here, for Your Grace never used to put rest before business. But I hope that you will come soon, now, for the emperor is expected back not just any day but any hour. He did not leave to avoid the diet to be held here, as some are murmuring, but to retrieve some documents relevant to the affairs to be conducted here that could not be brought by anybody else.³ But letters have been sent to him concerning your arrival, and we do not doubt that they have pleased and gladdened the emperor.

[2] But to make plain my thinking to Your Grace, though I praise your swift and timely arrival and your diligence that undoubtedly deserves to be commended by all, I should prefer Your Grace to have delayed some days more. Indeed, I fear that that matter will be drawn out somewhat and that what should be done now will first be done after the middle of Lent. The Margrave of Brandenburg⁴ writes that Duke Wilhelm⁵ of Saxony will come to the emperor around Laetare Sunday and will, as he believes, bring along with him Duke Ludwig⁶ of Bavaria. He says that the reason for this arrival is that in Wroclaw⁷ they could not settle the conflict between the Bohemians and the Saxons because of the absence of the King of Poland,⁸ who was one of the [appointed] arbiters. But the dukes of Saxony have offered [the Bohemians] a lawsuit before the emperor and will, therefore, endeavour to have the matter brought before the imperial tribunal. Neither do the Bohemians neglect their own affairs, and though their governor⁹ ought to be here now, he is not believed to arrive before the Duke of Saxony. Maybe the Governor of Hungary¹⁰ will do the same, for it is inexpedient that one should come without the other.

¹ Jakob von Sierck.

² In Baden bei Wien.

³ This reason sounds somewhat farfetched.

⁴ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁵ Wilhelm III.

⁶ Ludwig IX der Reiche.

⁷ Breslauer Fürstentag, December 1454 - January 1455.

⁸ Kazimierz IV.

⁹ Georg Podiebrad.

¹⁰ János Hunyadi.

[3] In Vienna sunt oratores regis Ladislai, qui redeunte Caesare, huic se conferent. Nescimus, quae sit eorum legatio. Credimus tamen¹ eos de re Saxonica locuturos et aliquas praesenturos excusationes, cur Georgius ad diem dictam² non venerit. Hinc ergo tuum adventum aliquanto tardiolem desiderassem. Timeo namque, {46v} ne tuae dignationi grave sit illos expectare, nec video, quod tua dignatio sine illis aut illi sine tua³ dignatione rebus agendis finem imponere possint. Sed habent⁴ magna negotia semper impedimenta. In magno mari maximae⁵ tempestates insurgunt. Fortis ac providus nauta inter adversos probatur ventos. Tua reverendissima paternitas, quae cum gravi labore magnoque sumptu in Christi negotio ad nos descendit, adversa cuncta vincere conabitur, ut cum gloria domum redeat. Gloria vero tua haec erit, ut ea compleantur, propter quae dies constituta est. Nec ulli rei bene gestae laus magis imputari poterit quam prudentiae ac diligentiae tuae, nec dubito, quin rumor ille in omnes gentes divulgetur, idcirco decretum esse contra Turcos bellum, quia Treverensis antistes ex Rheni partibus in Austriam migraverit. Sed de⁶ hoc alias.

[4] Nunc ex Italia quae novitates habeantur, paucis absolvam. Cardinalis Firmanus ad regem Aragonum profectus est. Ibi et Venetorum et Mediolanensium et Genuensium et Florentinorum legationes sunt ac de communi pace totius Italia tractant. Spes concordiae magna est, quae si sequetur, non est dubium, quin maxima et potentissima classis ex Italia contra Turcos armetur. Sin perduraverint divisiones, nihil est quod inde sperem. Romanus pontifex nihil adhuc ad⁷ ea respondit, quae sibi scripsimus ex Frankfordia. Credo, expectat finem Neapolitani concilii, nam inde plurimum pendet. Haec habui, quae nunc dignationi tuae {47a} tuae significarem legenda. Post lotionem venissem ad praesentiam tuam lavissemque semel et iterum, nisi timuissem, quod saepe accidit, inter equitandum latrones offendere, nam etsi modo nihil hujuscemodi audiatur, nolo tamen primus esse, de quo alii audiant. Satis erit hic temporis, in quo simul fabulemur⁸.

Recommendo⁹ me denique reverendissimae tuae paternitati, cui et complacere et famulari praesto sum. Ex Novacivitate, die 5. Februarii 1455¹⁰.

¹ *spatium* V5

² diem dictam : dietam V5

³ *omit.* V7

⁴ *omit.* F1

⁵ magne F1

⁶ *omit.* V7

⁷ ex F1

⁸ famulemur V7

⁹ commendo V5

¹⁰ etc. *add.* F1

[3] The ambassadors of King Ladislaus¹ are in Vienna and will come here when the emperor returns. We do not know what their mission is, but we think that they will talk about the Saxon matter and present some excuses why Georg² has not arrived on the appointed day. Therefore, I should have wished that your arrival would be delayed a little, for I fear that Your Grace will find it frustrating to wait for them, and I do not see what conclusion to the matters at hand Your Grace can achieve without them or they without Your Grace. But great affairs always have great barriers. On the high sea, violent storms arise. The strong and provident seaman is proven by contrary winds. Your Most Reverend Paternity, who has come to us with great labour and at great cost in Christ's matter, will try to overcome all difficulties and return home with glory. But this will be your glory that those things are achieved because of which the diet was summoned. Praise for a good result will not be attributed to anything more justly than to your wisdom and diligence. Undoubtedly, all peoples will hear that war was decreed against the Turks only because the Archbishop of Trier came to Austria from the Rhineland. But more about this elsewhere.

[4] Now I shall briefly report the news from Italy. The Cardinal of Fermo³ has gone to the King of Aragon.⁴ Also, embassies from Venice, Milan, Genova, and Florence are there to negotiate a general peace for all of Italy. There is great hope for concord,⁵ and if it is achieved, a great and powerful fleet from Italy against the Turks will undoubtedly be prepared. But if the divisions continue, I can hope for nothing. The Roman Pontiff⁶ has not yet replied to what we wrote to him from Frankfurt. I think he waits for the end of the meeting in Napoli, for much depends on that. This is what I had to report to Your Grace for now. After washing,⁷ I would have visited you and taken the baths once or twice if I had not feared to fall among robbers while riding, which often happens, for though such things are not heard about now, I do not wish to be the first that others hear about. [But when you come here] there will be enough time for us to talk together.

Finally, I recommend myself to Your Most Reverend Paternity, whom I am ready to please and serve. From Neustadt, 5 February 1455.

¹ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

² Georg Podiebrad.

³ Domenico Capranica.

⁴ Alfonso V (Aragon) (1396-1458): King of Aragon from 1416, Count of Barcelona.

King of Naples from 1442 to his death.

⁵ The negotiations actually led to the final Italic League, solemnly proclaimed in Rome on 2 March 1455.

⁶ Pope Nicolaus V.

⁷ ?

595. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (8 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: Archivio del Convento Franciscano in Capistrano (L'Aquila) / carta nr. 201.

Editions A: Wadding: *Annales*, 12: pp. 277 ff.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 758-759.¹

Reverendo in Christo patri, fratri Johanni de Capistrano, ordinis fratrum minorum commissario generali, haereticae pravitatis inquisitori, patri et praeceptori suo optimo etc. Reverende in Christo pater ac praeceptor honorande.

[1] Quia non dubito vobis cordi esse, quae hic gerantur, cognoscere ac de conventu futuro aliquid persentire, scribam pauca de successu rerum; proinde quid agere debeatis circa vestrum adventum, plenius intelligetis. Dominus Treverensis cum plerisque oratoribus principum est in Balneis expectans reditum Caesaris, qui hodie venturus creditur ex Gretz. Marchio Albertus in Vratislavia aegrotus decumbit, quae res magno impedimento est negotiis fidei, cum ipse unus sit ad illa defendenda promptissimus. Gubernator Hungariae cum plerisque praelatis ac baronibus infra decem aut duodecim dies huc venturus speratur. De adventu gubernatoris Bohemiae nondum certi sumus. Dux Saxoniae ad medium quadragesimae aditurus Caesarem affirmatur. Ante primam dominicam Quadragesimae parum spero hic fieri posse. De Italia mirum silentium est. Nescio, quid dicam. Timeo, ne omnia negligantur, quando nec minimum responsum datum est ad litteras ex Francofordia summo pontifici scriptas. Alia non occurrunt.

Commendo me vestris orationibus. Ex Novacivitate, die 8. Februarii 1455. Vester Aeneas episcopus Senensis.

¹ *Reproduced after Wadding.*

595. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (8 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: The approaching Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Subject: As the preceding letters.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Brother Giovanni da Capistrano, Commissar General of the Order of Brothers Minor, Inquisitor of Perverse Heresy, his father and teacher etc. Reverend Father and Honourable Teacher in Christ.

[1] Since I do not doubt that you urgently wish to know what happens here and to hear about the future diet, I will write a few words about how the matter develops. Thus, you will know better what to do concerning your arrival. His Lordship of Trier¹ is in Baden with many princely ambassadors, awaiting the return of the emperor, who is believed to return today from Graz. Margrave Albrecht² is laying ill in Wroclaw, which is a great obstacle to the affairs of the Faith, since he is its only fervent defender. The Governor of Hungary³ is hoped to come here with many prelates and barons before 10 or 12 days. We are still uncertain about the arrival of the Governor of Bohemia.⁴ The Duke of Saxony⁵ will reportedly come to the emperor at mid-Lent.⁶ I have little hope that this will happen before the first Sunday of Lent.⁷ From Italy there is an astonishing silence. I do not know what to say. I fear that everything is being neglected since there has not been the smallest answer to the letter⁸ written to the Supreme Pontiff⁹ from Frankfurt. There is nothing else to write about.

I commend myself for your prayers. From Neustadt, 8 February 1455. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Jakob von Sierck.

² Albrecht III Achilles.

³ János Hunyadi.

⁴ Georg Podiebrad.

⁵ Wilhelm III.

⁶ 16 March 1455.

⁷ 23 February 1455.

⁸ A proper report on the Diet of Frankfurt? Not extant.

⁹ Pope Nicolaus V.

596. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (8 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 34, ff. 26v-27r¹; V5, 54, ff. 47r-48r **; V6, 54, ff. 42v-43v²; V7, 54, ff. 54r-55v.

Editions: HO, ff. 111v-112r.³

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 106-109.

{47r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Jacobo, Treverensi archiepiscopo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Bene suum⁴ diligentiae morem tua dignatio tenuit, quae dictam diem non neglexit. Illorum non admiranda solum, verum etiam detestanda negligentia est, qui cum⁵ plus indigeant, minus curare videntur: Hungaros dico et nostros Italos, quibus prae ceteris Turcorum potentia formidanda est. Spero tamen Hungariae proceres celerius huc venturos, quam nuper dignationi tuae rescripserim. Venit enim ad me postmodum ex Vratislavia cancellarius Friderici, marchionis Brandeburgensis, principis electoris, ex quo nonnulla didici, quae nunc dignationi tuae nota efficiam. Ait enim gubernatorem Hungariae scripsisse Marchioni Alberto, ut se quantocius conferret ad Caesarem ea prosecuturus, quae Frankfordiae inchoasset. Nam {47v} et ipse cum plerisque praelatis ac⁶ baronibus regni Hungariae quintedecima die post festum Purificationis praesentiam Caesaris aditurus esset, et ad id temporis⁷ Bohemiae quoque gubernator concurreret, quod, si ita est⁸, infra octendium plenam congregationem habebimus. Ego tamen⁹ iterum¹⁰ octo dies addo propter impedimenta, quae res utiles retardare consueverunt. Circa dominicam *Invocavit*, nisi fallor, plenior erit conventus, nec tua dignitas, ut opinabar, nimium retinebitur. Wilhelmus tamen¹¹, Saxoniae dux, et Ludovicus, Bavariae, ante medium quadragesimae non aderunt, quorum praesentia rebus agendis accomodatissima fuisset.

[2] Terret me quoque valetudo non bona marchionis Alberti, quem apud Vratislaviam aegrotare ferunt. Timeo namque, ne longior aegritudo sit, quae nobis illum principem solertem ac magnanimum auferat, quae res non parum nocumenti afferret desideriis nostris. Sed quis est, qui sanitatem retinere possit, ubi nunc hastiludio sive saltatione corpus defatiges, nunc de republica consulendo mentem affligas, ac deinde cenam dubiam usque ad noctis medium producas, neque reliquam partem cum quiete peragas? Difficile est cum iis¹² moribus non aegrotare. Sed reddat illum Deus incolumem suae causae.

¹ DV, 58-59

² DV, ff. 46v-47v

³ DV, 230-231

⁴ suae V7

⁵ qui cum : quicumque V7

⁶ et F1

⁷ tempus F1

⁸ esset F1

⁹ spatium V5

¹⁰ infra V7

¹¹ spatium V5

¹² his V6, V7

596. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (8 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The approaching Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Subject: The participants in the diet.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to His Lordship Jakob, Archbishop of Trier.

[1] It was good of Your Grace to maintain your diligence and not neglect the appointed day [for the diet]. Indeed, the negligence of those who seem to care less about it the more they need it is not only astonishing but deplorable. I am talking about the Hungarians and our Italians, who have more to fear than the others from the powerful Turks. But I hope that the Hungarian nobles will arrive sooner than I recently wrote to Your Grace, for afterwards the chancellor¹ of Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg,² the Prince Elector, came to me from Wroclaw and told me several things about which I shall now inform Your Grace. He says that the Governor of Hungary³ has written to Margrave Albrecht⁴ that he was going to the emperor as soon as possible to pursue what he had begun in Frankfurt. He would arrive with many prelates and barons from the kingdom of Hungary at the imperial court on the fifteenth day⁵ after the Feast of Purification, and the Governor of Bohemia⁶ would arrive at the same time. If this is so, we shall have a full assembly before eight days. I add another eight days because of the obstacles that usually delay useful things. So, unless I am mistaken, the assembly will be quite full around *Invocavit* Sunday,⁷ and Your Grace will then not be too much delayed. But Duke Wilhelm of Saxony⁸ and Ludwig⁹ of Bavaria will not arrive before mid-Lent, though their presence [before then] would have greatly benefitted the affairs at hand.

[2] I am also anxious about the ill health of Margrave Albrecht, who they say is ill in Wroclaw. I fear that the illness will be long and deprive us of a dexterous and magnanimous prince, which will considerably harm [the fulfilment of] our wishes. But who can maintain his health when he now fatigues his body with jousting and dancing and now exhausts his mind in taking care of public matters, and then proceeds to dine extravagantly until midnight and does not spend the rest of the night tranquilly?¹⁰ If you live like this, it is difficult not to fall ill. But may God restore him safe and sound to our cause.

¹ Friedrich Sesselmann (-1483): Doctor utriusque juris. Councillor and chancellor of Friedrich II of Brandenburg. Later, Bishop of Lebus.

² Friedrich II.

³ János Hunyadi.

⁴ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁵ 17 February 1455.

⁶ Georg Podiebrad.

⁷ 23 February 1455.

⁸ Wilhelm III.

⁹ Ludwig IX der Reiche.

¹⁰ Possibly, a veiled reference to sexual activities.

[3] Marchio Fridericus, quantum intelligo, in Prussiam profectus est, acturus de pace consentientibus Polonis. Fratres ordinis, quamvis bello superiores sint, magna tamen egestate premuntur, nec minus a suis militibus, {48r} quibus stipendia solvere nequeunt, quam ab hostibus vexantur. Utile fuerit litem illam extinguere. Rex Ladislaus Viennam repetiturus affirmatur, et asserit hic cancellarius Friderici eum ad Caesarem esse venturum petiturumque contra Turcos auxilia, quod mihi non videtur verisimile, nisi prius discordiarum reliquiae, quae hinc¹ atque inde supersunt, omnino tollantur. De Italia nihil adhuc habemus nisi mirum silentium. Timeo, ne verum sit, quod nonnulli astruunt Romanum pontificem, plus solito aegrotare, quod isto tempore potissime² noxium esset.

[6] Haec volui rescribere dignationi tuae, quae suis litteris ex me quaecumque sint³ apud nos novitates exigit. Si qua occurrent deinceps, non reticebo. Caesaris reditum mox audies. Res suae de Gretz allatae sunt. Ipse Cellas peregrinatim⁴ ivit, nec morari diu in asperrimis montibus poterit. Ea, quae dignatio tua circa res imperii hactenus agitavit, cum⁵ audisset sua majestas, magnopere commendavit et - nisi me fallit - bono animo eadem complectetur. Ego, etsi minimum est, quod possum, nihilominus tamen⁶ quasi catellus latrabo, ubi Molossos sive Alanos audiam neque a consilio tuo discedam pareboque pro mea virili semper dignationi tuae, cui me iterum et⁷ iterum⁸ dedo atque commendo.

Ex Novacivitate, die octava Februarii 1455.

¹ huic V7

² potissimum V7

³ sunt F1

⁴ peregrinatum V6, V7

⁵ nunc V7

⁶ spatium V5

⁷ atque F1

⁸ et iterum *omit.* V5

[3] As far as I know, Margrave Friedrich has, with the consent of Poles, gone to Prussia to negotiate a peace.¹ Though the brothers of the Order² have the upper hand in the war, they are burdened by great poverty, and they are harassed just as much by their own soldiers whom they cannot pay as by the enemy. It would be highly advantageous if this conflict could be settled. King Ladislaus³ is said to be on his return to Vienna, and [Margrave] Friedrich's chancellor affirms that he will come to the emperor and ask for help against the Turks. This does not seem probable to me unless the remaining issues of conflict are completely resolved. From Italy, we get nothing except an astonishing silence. I fear it is true what some say that the Roman Pontiff is more ill than usual, which would, at this point, be extremely damaging.

[4] This is what I wanted to write to Your Grace since, in your letters, you require me to send the news from here. If something happens later, I shall not be silent. You will soon hear about the emperor's return. His things have been returned from Graz, but he himself went on a pilgrimage to Zell am See,⁴ and could not stay long in the harsh mountains. When His Majesty heard what you have been doing until now concerning the matters of the empire, he praised it highly and – unless I am mistaken – has accepted it benevolently. And, though I can really do very little, I will bark like a dog if I hear the Molossans or the Alans!⁵ I shall never turn away from your counsel but shall obey you to the best of my ability. I devote and commend myself to you again and again.

From Neustadt, 8 February 1455.

¹ Between the Teutonic Order and Poland.

² The Teutonic Order.

³ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁴ ?

⁵ See RTA, 19/3, p. 109, n. 13.

597. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (12 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: Archivio del Convento Franciscano in Capistrano (L'Aquila) / carta nr. 202.¹

Editions A: Wadding: *Annales*, XII, S. 278 (240) nr. III.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 760.

Reverende in Christo pater ac praeceptor honorande.

[1] Litteras vestras, quas heri ad me misistis, ostendi Caesareae majestati praesente archiepiscopo Treverensi, ac de vestro adventu, quid suae majestati placeret, interrogavi. Responsum est omni tempore gratam esse praesentiam vestram. Quia tamen adhuc pauci convenerunt, suadet imperatoria sublimitas, ut cum primum Bohemi venerint, hoc est gubernator regni, et, qui cum eo fuerint, huc gressus vestros dirigatis ac sermonibus vestris principes et plebes ad ea, quae Dei sunt, instruatis ...

Valete in Christo, in orationibus vestris mei memores. Ex Novacivitate, die 12. Februarii 1455. Vester Aeneas episcopus Senensis.

¹ Reproduced after Wadding.

597. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (12 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt)

Context: The approaching Diet of Wiener Neustadt

Subject: Piccolomini exhorts Capistrano to come to Wiener Neustadt when the Governor of Bohemia arrives.

Reverend Father in Christ and Honourable Teacher.

[1] I have shown your letter that I received yesterday to the emperor in the presence of the Archbishop of Trier¹ and asked him what he wanted concerning your coming here. He answered that your presence is always welcome here. However, since only a few have arrived until now, His Imperial Highness advises that you should come when the Bohemians, viz. the Governor of that kingdom² and those with him, have arrived, and then in your sermons ... instruct the princes and people on what is God's with your sermons ...

Farewell in Christ, and remember me in your prayers. From Neustadt, 12 February 1455. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Jakob von Sierck.

² Georg Podiebrad.

598. Letter to Juan Carvajal (20 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 36, ff. 27v-29r¹; V5, 36, ff. 49r-51r **; V6, 36, ff. 44r-46r²; V7, 36, ff. 56r-58v.

Editions A: HO, 120, ff. 112v-114v³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 110-115.

{49r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, cardinali Sancti Angeli salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Cursor Hispanus tuas ad me litteras dedit, quae licet meum nomen in fronte praescriptum ferrent, interius tamen Papiensi episcopo sonare videbantur, quamvis aliqua me concernerent. Communicavimus omnia simul et gavisi sumus⁴, quia tandem post tres menses rescribere cogitasti. Nam antea in expectatione constituti⁵ miro modo tabescebamus, nec deerant, qui sanctissimum dominum nostrum accusantes nullam ei de tutanda fide curam esse dicerent. Sed agimus gratias Deo, quia tandem arma nobis dedisti, quibus apostolicae sedis honorem tueri magnifice valeamus, quando et armandae classis non spem solum, sed etiam certitudinem pollicemini, et quae fuerunt⁶ expedienda juxta sententiam et desiderium Germanorum remittis absoluta.

[2] Unum illud, ut de meipso loquar, demiror, {49v} quod indulgentias noluitis reformare, namque licet Hispanis aliquid denegatum sit, non propterea ex consequentia Germanis obesse debet. Neque me illa ratio movet, quia possit aliquis paucis nummulis in hebdomadam vivere, quasi per hunc modum indulgentiae vilescant, namque hoc est, quod plebes detestantur, cum divitibus indulgentiarum thesaurus aperiatur, pauperibus claudatur, cum tamen constet non esse personarum acceptorem Deum. Praeterea, cum opus sit⁷ magna pecunia in re Turcorum, existimatum est multo plus auri colligi posse⁸ per hunc modum, si pauperes etiam contribuant, quam si soli divites indulgentias comparent. Sed ista dimittimus, quae jam reparari non possunt.

[3] De primariis precibus exposuimus Caesari, quae scripsisti. Idem antea Senftleben significaverat. Sed cum res tam diu differatur, timet Caesar verba dari sibi. Expediret confectas litteras suae majestati quantocius mitti.

¹ DV, 60-63

² DV, 46r-48r

³ DV, 233-236. *Not collated*

⁴ et *add.* V7

⁵ constituisti V7

⁶ fuerint F1

⁷ *omit.* F1; *supralin.* V5

⁸ *omit.* V7

598. Letter to Juan Carvajal (20 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The approaching Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Subject: Piccolomini criticises the papal curia's practice concerning the provision of ecclesiastical benefices and warns the cardinal that Roman practice is greatly offensive to Germany. He also sends news about the Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Cardinal of Sant' Angelo.¹

[1] A Spanish courier delivered your letter to me. Though my name was written on the cover, inside it appeared to be addressed to the Bishop of Pavia,² though some things concerned me directly. But we shared all and rejoiced that you have finally, after three months, thought of writing back to us. While we were waiting, we were [so to speak] dwindling away, and there were some who accused Our Most Holy Lord³ of having no concern for the protection of the Faith. But we give thanks to God, who finally gave us the arms to magnificently defend the honour of the Apostolic See, when you not only give hope but certainty that a fleet will be equipped and that a number of matters have been expedited according to the intention and desire of the Germans.

[2] But, to speak for myself, I am wondering why you have declined to make changes to the indulgences, for that something has been denied the to Spaniards should not, in consequence, be an impediment for the Germans. I am not moved by the argument that it would somehow lessen the value of an indulgence if it could be bought for a few coins that anybody could live for during a week. The common people hate that the treasure chest of indulgences is opened to the rich and closed to the poor, when we otherwise know that God does not accept the distinction of persons. Moreover, the Turkish matter⁴ requires a great sum of money, and it is thought that much more money could be gathered if poor people contribute too, than if only the rich can afford to buy the indulgences. But no more of this, since it cannot be remedied.

[3] Concerning the first petitions⁵ we have told the emperor what you wrote. Senfleben had previously reported the same. Since the matter has been drawn out for so long, the emperor fears that he is being strung along with words. It would help if the letters that have been drawn up would be sent to His Majesty as soon as possible.

¹ Juan Carvajal.

² Giovanni di Castiglione, Papal Legate.

³ Pope Nicolaus V.

⁴ The projected crusade against the Turks.

⁵ *Primarii preces*: an ancient right of a new emperor to dispose of the first vacant prebend in each diocese in the empire. Apparently, the papal curia no longer respected this right, which constituted a bo-

ne of contention between the emperor and the pope. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erste_Bitte

[4] Quod magnopere defendis circa reservationes et gratias expectativas antelationes merito locum habere, plerique non probant et praesertim illi, qui factis non parvis sumptibus inveniunt se delusos. Nec mihi videtur ex Deo esse, ut gratiam, cui vendideris, eandem surripias quemadmodum per antelationes accidit. Sed dicis¹ justum esse, qui digniores sint praeferi minus dignis. Hoc ego verum putaverim, cum simul ambo promovendi fuerint. At quaesito jam jure nescio, quae dictet aequitas minus dignum propter magis² dignum, quod sibi comparaverat, jure {50r} privari, nisi velimus illius philosophi sequi sententiam, qui bonum virum devorare posse minus bonum ajebat, si aliud nihil haberet, quod ventri daret. Archiepiscopus praeterea Treverensis fratri suo nobili et spectato viro barbitonsorem quendam praelatum esse conqueritur. Scio, quia non deest tibi ad ista responsum, ideo ad alia transeam. Unum tamen³ dico: nisi constantia⁴ Caesaris praesidio nobis esset, fieret Germania Galliae similis.

[5] De dieta nostra nunc aliquid dicendum est. Adest hic dominus Treverensis statumque magnum ducit. Oratores ducis Burgundiae heri adventarunt: episcopus Tullensis et duo milites, qui suum principem ad rem fidei⁵ tutandam⁶ affectissimum perhibent. De oratore regis Aragonum, clarissimi et potentissimi principis, qui apud nos est, jamdudum scripsi et, quid ille offerat, significavi. Archiepiscopus Salzburgensis transmisit huc episcopum Secoviensem et aliquos consiliarios: omnis comitiva⁷ ejus quinquaginta equites continet. Ex aliis principibus atque communitatibus pleraeque legationes assunt. Marchio Badensis propediem venturus est. Albertus, marchio Brandenburgensis, apud Vratislaviam aegrotare coepit nec potuit regem Ladislaum sequi. Fertur tamen tam sanitati restitutus moxque huc venturus, quod ego libentissime viderim⁸, nam is unus est, qui ex omnibus Germaniae principibus ad tutelam ecclesiae est attentior, et qui possit armis prosequi, quae verbo consuluerit. Quod si hunc {50v} hominem morbus nobis abstulerit, vix credam placere Deo exercitum contra Turcos hoc tempore fieri.

¹ dicit V7

² *omit.* F1, V6, V7

³ *spatium* V5

⁴ *prestantia* V7

⁵ *rem fidei : rei fidem* V7

⁶ *tuendam* V7

⁷ *omit.* V7

⁸ *uidero* F1

[4] Your fervent defence of the justifiable use of preferential treatment¹ in the case of reservations² and expectative graces³ is criticised by many and especially by those who, having spent considerable sums [to obtain a reservation or expectative grace], find themselves deceived.⁴ It does not seem to be a godly practice to snatch away the grace you have already sold to someone, as it happens in the case of such preferential treatment. You say it is legitimate to prefer the more worthy to the less worthy. This I would consider true if the two were to be promoted on the same terms. But if we talk of the justice of the matter, I do not know how equity could dictate that a less worthy person who had [previously] bought [the right of appointment] could justly be deprived of this right, unless we follow the opinion of that philosopher who maintained that a good man can eat a less good man if he has nothing else to put in his stomach. The Archbishop of Trier complains that some barber was preferred to his noble and esteemed brother.⁵ I know that you will not lack an answer to this, so I pass on to other things. I just say this: if we were not protected by the emperor's constancy, Germany would become similar to France.^{6 7}

[5] Concerning our diet, I can report this: His Lordship of Trier⁸ is here in grand state. The ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy⁹ arrived yesterday: the Bishop of Toul¹⁰ and two knights,¹¹ who declare that their prince fervently supports the protection of the Faith. Concerning the ambassador¹² of the King of Aragon,¹³ Illustrious and Mighty Prince, who is with us, I have already written to you what he offers. The Archbishop of Salzburg¹⁴ sent the Bishop of Seckau¹⁵ with other counsellors her; his following comprises 50 knights. Many legations from other princes and communes are here. The Margrave of Baden¹⁶ will arrive soon. Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg¹⁷ has fallen ill in Wroclaw and could not accompany King Ladislaus.¹⁸ However, he has reportedly recovered and will soon be here, which would make me very happy since, of the German princes, he is the one who is most concerned about protecting the Church and who is able to pursue with weapons what he counsels in words. If he had been taken from us by an illness, I would barely believe that God wants an army against the Turks at this time.

¹ "antelationes".

² Papal reservation: The act of the pope in reserving to himself the right to nominate to certain benefices.

<https://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/encyc/encyc09/htm/iv.vii.clxxvi.htm>

³ Expectative grace (*gratia expectativa*): a mandate given by the pope that confers an expectation of succession to a benefice.

⁴ Because someone else was given preferential treatment.

⁵ Presumably, Philipp von Sierck in the matter of a benefice the brother had previously bought. Philipp was dean of the chapters of Würzburg and Trier and as such a ranking ecclesiastic.

⁶ As a reaction against papal exactions, the French had in 1438 passed a Sanction Pragmatique that greatly limited papal influence in France and French payments to Rome. Piccolomini here gives a clear warning to Rome that something similar might happen in Germany, if the emperor lost patience with the Roman disregard of German wishes concerning ecclesiastical benefices.

⁷ The emperor had already raised this whole matter in a letter of 18 August 1454 (written by Piccolomini) (EPI, 10: *137). It would also be taken up by Piccolomini with the new pope, Callixtus III, when, in August 1455, he came to

present the emperor's declaration of obience.

⁸ Archbishop Jakob von Sierck.

⁹ Philippe III le Bon.

¹⁰ Guillaume Fillastre the Younger, Bishop of Toul.

¹¹ Probably Simon de Lalaing and Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra.

¹² Michele Riccio.

¹³ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

¹⁴ Sigismund von Volkersdorf.

¹⁵ Georg Überacker: Bishop of Seckau, 1452-1477.

¹⁶ Karl I.

¹⁷ Albrecht III Achilles.

¹⁸ Ladislaus the Posthumous, who was travelling from Wroclaw to Vienna.

[6] Rex Ladislaus Viennam repetiit abhinc¹ triduo. Secum est gubernator Bohemiae, qui huc venturum se² pollicetur. Hungari, missis oratoribus saluum conductum petiere pro cardinali Strigoniensi, pro episcopo Varadiensi, pro episcopo Quinqueecclesiensi, pro comite Ciliae, pro comite Bistricensi³, qui gubernator vocatur, pro comite palatino, pro Nicolao vaivoda proque aliis quampluribus cum comitiva duorum milium equitum. Tria negata sunt eis, namque cum locus hujus civitatis exiguus sit, et multi venturi putentur, non est concessus tantus numerus, sed ad quingentos redactus est⁴. Neque placet Caesari comitem Ciliae ad se venire, qui est inimicus ejus. Tertio negata est superscriptio propriae manus Caesaris, quam illi petebant. Hoc enim neque consuetum neque necessarium visum est.⁵ Hungari hoc responso minime contenti fuerunt. Credo multum laborare oportebit, antequam de securitatibus conveniendi concordia fiat, nec mirum esset, si hoc impedimentum cuncta disrumperet. Suspiciones enim cum incipiunt, non facile abolentur. Et sunt aliqui, qui cum⁶ directe promissa rescindere nequeant, occasiones quaerunt, quibus saltem oblique a conventis recedere possint. Ante medium quadragesimae non existimo multa fieri posse et propter difficultates salvi conductus et propter absentiam Saxoniae⁷ et Bavariae ducum, qui tunc venturi {51r} creduntur.

[7] Necesses quoque est, si fieri debeat exercitus, reconciliari Hungaros et Australes Caesari, inter Saxones quoque ac Bohemos sive pacem sive indutias belli habere. Haec non parum temporis exposcunt, et utinam ante pascha perfici queant. Quantum⁸ deinde ad exercitum comparandum supersit temporis, plane cognoscis. Vereor, ne res⁹ aut rumpatur aut nimium differatur, utrumque perniciosum Hungaris, qui Turcorum impetum in dies verentur. Deus omnia pro sua pietate in melius dirigat. Haec habui, quae nunc dignationi tuae rescriberem communicanda, quatenus opus est, sanctissimo domino nostro, cujus pedibus commendari cupio.

Ex Novacivitate, die vicesima Februarii 1455.

¹ adhuic V7

² venturum se : se uenturum V5

³ Bistricensis V7

⁴ *spatium* V5

⁵ *spatium* V5

⁶ non *corr. ex cum* V7

⁷ *del. (?)* V6

⁸ quantumque V7

⁹ ne res *omit.* V7

[6] King Ladislaus returned to Vienna three days ago.¹ With him is the Governor of Bohemia² who has promised to come here. The Hungarians have sent ambassadors to ask for safe conducts for the Cardinal of Esztergom,³ the Bishop of Varad,⁴ the Bishop of Fünfkirchen,⁵ ⁶ the Count of Celje,⁷ the Count of Bistrita,⁸ who is called the Governor, the Count Palatine,⁹ Voivode Miklas¹⁰ and many others with a following of 2,000 knights. Three things were denied them: [1] since this city¹¹ is small and it is believed that many will arrive, this great number was reduced to 500; [2] the emperor does not want the Count of Celje to come since he is an enemy; [3] and thirdly, their petition that the emperor should sign the safe conducts with his own hand was refused, for that is neither usual nor necessary. The Hungarians were not content with this answer. I think that much labour will be necessary before they reach agreement concerning the safe conducts. It would not be surprising if this obstacle would disrupt the whole thing,¹² for when suspicions arise, they are not easily quelled. And there are some who, when they cannot retract their direct promises, seek an opportunity to indirectly abandon previous agreements. I do not believe that much can be achieved before mid-Lent¹³ both because of the problems with the safe conducts and because of the absence of the dukes of Saxony who are believed to arrive then.

[7] To raise an army, it is necessary both to reconcile the Hungarians and the Austrians with the emperor and to obtain peace or a truce between the Saxons and the Bohemians. This requires not a little time, but hopefully it can be achieved before Easter.¹⁴ You clearly see how little¹⁵ time is left to mobilise the army. I fear that the matter will be broken off or delayed too much, which would both be damaging to the Hungarians, who are fearing the Turkish attack any day. In his piety, God will arrange everything for the best.

This is what I had to write to Your Grace. Please inform, as you see necessary, Our Most Holy Lord, at whose feet I ask you to commend me. From Neustadt, 20 February 1455.

¹ 16 February 1455.

² Georg Podiebrad.

³ Szécsy, Dénes (ca. 1410-1465): Archbishop of Esztergom from 1440 to his death. Cardinal, 1439.

⁴ Vitéz, János (c. 1408-1472): Hungarian humanist. Bishop of Varad 1445, Archbishop of Esztergom from 1465 to his death.

⁵ Pécs.

⁶ Presumably, Nicolaus de Barnis.

⁷ Ulrich II of Celje [Cilly] (1406-1456): Count of Cilly. Cousin of Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (Luxembourg) and uncle of her son King Ladislaus the Posthumous. The Cilly family were long-standing opponents of the Habsburgs. On his relations with the emperor, see RTA, 19/1: p. 523 and 564.

⁸ János Hunyadi.

⁹ Probably László II Garai.

¹⁰ Újlaky, Miklós (1410-1477): Hungarian noble. Voivode of Transsylvania. Later titular king of Bosnia.

¹¹ Wiener Neustadt.

¹² The diet.

¹³ 16 March 1455.

¹⁴ 6 April 1455.

¹⁵ "quantum"

599. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (20 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 37, ff. 29r-30r¹; V5, 37, ff. 51r-52v **; V6, 37, ff. 46r-47r; V7, 37, ff. 58v-60r.

Editions A: HO, f. 114v-115v².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 117-120.

{51r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Petro Noxetano salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Litteras tuas ex apostolico cursore suscepi tua solita humanitate refertas³. Gaudeo te mei⁴ memorem esse, nec miror, si omnibus litteris meis non respondes. Scio enim occupationes tuas ingentes esse teque plus oneris ferre, quam tres viri tolerare queant. Nec ego is sum, qui semper rescribi petam. Vincit tamen omni tua erga me caritas, quae nec occupatissima litteras ad me dare postponit. Ostendi Caesari, quae scripsisti, et grata suae serenitati fuere scripta tua. Maxime autem placuit bona sanctissimi domini nostri⁵ {51v} valetudo, nam rumor alius apud nos invaluerat. Deus pro sua pietate hunc pontificem nobis diutius conservet, quod, spero, faciet. Verum, quia mortales sumus, cogitare nos oportet, quae humana sunt. Vita nostra tenui filo retinetur. Nemo est, cui crastina dies certa sit. Quibus aetas grandis est, et morbi familiares sunt. Non est cur spatium vitae longius sperandum sit. Ego tecum familiariter agam, sic enim veteris amicitiae nostrae jus⁶ exigit.

[2] Meministi, ut arbitror, quae tecum, Romae dum essem, de promotione novi senatus apostolici locutus fuero. Nihil postea factum est. Res illa in dies suspenditur. Id est cardinalium studium, quibus non placet augeri numerum suum. Habent suas cogitationes, et quid futurum sit⁷ deficiente domino nostro⁸, mente revolvunt jamque cogitatus suos in certas personas direxere. Quod si senatus eorum excresceret, perirent eorum meditata. Id ne accidat, student omni conatu impedire, ne collegas habeant, etiam si rei publicae id noxium sit. Sed quemadmodum illi, quae sua sunt, curant, ita et te curare oportet, quae in rem tuam sint. Fuisti hactenus et adhuc es in primo loco apud nostrum pontificem (sic enim tua virtus exegit), sed subjecta est magnae invidiae omnis potentia. Tibi profecto studendum est, ut si deficiat dominus noster, amicos habeas⁹ in sacro collegio, qui te promotore se sublimatos intelligant. Nam qui nunc eo loci sunt, nihil se tibi debere putant, et aliqui tuam potentiam odere.

¹ DV, 63-65

² DV, 236-238. *Not collated.*

³ referas V7

⁴ *omit.* V7

⁵ bona sanctissimi ... nostri :
sanctissimi domini nostri bona F1

⁶ uis V6, V7

⁷ *omit.* V7

⁸ *omit.* F1

⁹ habeat V7

599. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (20 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Piccolomini had received a letter from Pietro, assuring him of the pope's good health.

Subject: Though Piccolomini is happy to hear about the pope's good health, he warns da Noceto about the risks to him after the pope's death and suggests to him to work for the promotion of new cardinals to ensure that he would have friends among the cardinals after the pope's death. Piccolomini also sends news about the Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ser Piero da Noceto.

[1] The apostolic courier has delivered your letter full of your usual kindness. I am happy that you remember me, and I am not surprised that you do not answer all my letters, for I know that your occupations are immense and that you sustain a greater burden than three men can carry. And I am not he who always asks for return letters. But your affection for me conquers all since you do not, even though very occupied, put off writing to me. I have shown the emperor what you wrote, and your letter was welcome to His Serenity. He was especially pleased to hear about the good health of Our Most Holy Lord,¹ for another rumour had circulated here. May Pious God long preserve this pontiff for us, which I hope He will do. But since we are mortal, we must consider the human condition. Our life hangs on a thin thread. Nobody can be sure of the next day. Those who are old are familiar with illness. There is no reason to hope for a very long life. I am talking with you familiarly, for thus our old friendship demands.

[2] I believe you remember that we talked about the promotion of a new apostolic senate² when I was in Rome.³ Nothing has been done about it later. The matter has been suspended to this day. This is due to the cardinals, who do not want their number to be increased. They have their own agendas and now turn their minds towards certain persons, in case Our Lord dies. If their senate⁴ grew in number, their plans would be in vain. Lest that happen, they strive with all their might to prevent the [appointment of new] colleagues, even if that is harmful to the commonwealth. But as they only care for their own affairs, you too should look to what is in your own interest. Until now you have had the first place with our pontiff (as your qualities demanded!), but all power is subject to great jealousy. You should indeed endeavour to have friends in the Sacred College⁵ so that if Our Lord dies they know that they owe their promotion to you, for those who are there now think they owe you nothing, and some even detest your power.

¹ Pope Nicolaus V.

² I.e., the appointment of new cardinals.

³ In connection with the emperor's coronation in spring 1452.

⁴ The College of Cardinals.

⁵ The College of Cardinals.

[3] Loquor amicus amico¹, nihil dissimulo, nec putes mea causa {52r} haec me dicere, nam etsi promissa sit promotio² mea, non tamen pedem figo et satis honoris consecutum me arbitror, qui urbis meae³ pontificatum te annitente⁴ sum adeptus. Sed cogito de amico, cogito etiam de re publica, nam quid est - per superos immortales - quod hoc tempore magis expediat quam facere sibi amicos? Rogant et reges et maximi principes creari aliquos in sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales. Quod si audirentur preces, haberet⁵ sancta sedes apostolica plurimos adjuutores⁶ in diversis partibus possetque liberius de beneficiis ecclesiasticis disponere. Et profecto ita res hodie se⁷ habent, ut necesse sit apud principes plures esse, qui Romanam ecclesiam juvent, nisi oboedientiam perdere volumus. Sed de hoc satis.

[4] Uxorem tuam, probam⁸ et honestam dominam, ut sanam tibi Deus restituat oro simulque prolem tuam conservet, quam cupio aliquando videre. De rebus Italicis spero idem quod tu, quamvis communis opinio contra stet, neque enim nostra Italia ea est, quae quiescere possit. De nostris Senensibus satis turbatus sum, qui sine causa vexantur. Propter id bellum non fui sollicitus ad repentendam domum, quia plena sunt omnia suspicione⁹, dum tempora turbulenta sunt. Spero tamen¹⁰ post festa paschalia, si Deus dabit, et dominum nostrum et te revisere.

[5] Conventus hic in dies¹¹ augetur. Adest Treverensis cum oratoribus omnium principum electorum. Sunt et legati civitatum et multorum principum. Hodie¹² auditi {52v} sunt oratores ducis Burgundiae, qui non solum ducem ipsum missurum auxilia postulata confirmant, sed etiam per sese contra Turcos iturum et adducturum potentiam sibi convenientem. Carolus, marchio Badensis, cras ingressurus est hunc locum. Gubernator Bohemiae cum magno comitatu proxima die dominica ad nos venit. Albertus, marchio Brandeburgensis, aegrotus Vratislaviae consequi regem Ladislaum Viennam repetentem non potuit. Nunc convaluisse fertur expectaturque brevi venturus. Hungari apud Viennam hospitia sibi consignari pro tribus milibus equitum petivere neque obtinuerunt nisi pro mille quingentis, apud nos autem pro quingentis tantummodo. Nescio, an contenti erunt. Ludovicus et Wilhelmus, Bavariae et¹³ Saxoniae duces, circa medium quadragesimae expectantur. Timendum est, ne venientibus illis ceteri recesserint. Res tamen¹⁴ sine longo tractatu non terminabitur, multumque timeo, ne deficiamus in promissis, quod Deus pro sua pietate procul avertat. Haec habui, quae modo ad te scriberem. Tuum erit, quae digna putaveris, sanctissimo domino nostro referre.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 20. Februarii 1455.

¹ amicos V7

² motio *add.* V7

³ urbis meae : uerbis meis V7

⁴ admittente F1

⁵ habere V7

⁶ auditores V7

⁷ hodie se : se hodie F1

⁸ probavi V7

⁹ suspitione V7

¹⁰ *spatium* V5

¹¹ in dies : dietim F1; *omit.* F1

¹² *omit.* V7

¹³ ac V6, V7

¹⁴ *spatium* V5

[3] I am speaking as a friend to a friend. Do not think that I am saying this for my own sake, for though my promotion¹ was promised, I do not insist upon it, and I consider that I gained enough honour when I became bishop of my own city thanks to your efforts.² But I am thinking of my friend, and I am thinking of the commonwealth, for what - by the immortal heavenly beings - is, at this time, more expedient than to make friends? The kings and greatest princes are asking for the appointment of some cardinals of the Holy Roman Church.³ If their requests were heard, the Holy Apostolic See could have supporters in various parts and thus dispose of ecclesiastical benefices more freely. And this is indeed the situation today, that there should be many princes supporting the Roman Church unless we want to lose obdience. But enough of that.

[4] I pray that God will restore your wife, that good and honourable mistress, to you safe and sound and preserve your children whom I would like to see some time. Concerning the Italian affairs, I hope the same as you, though common opinion has it that our Italy will never be at peace. I am rather disturbed by our Sienese, who are being harassed without reason.⁴ Because of the war, I have not been anxious to return home, for in turbulent times, there is suspicion everywhere.⁵ But I do hope – if God gives it – to visit Our Lord and you after the Easter Feast.

[5] The assembly here grows from day to day. The Archbishop of Trier⁶ is here with envoys from all the prince electors. There are also legates from cities and many princes. Today, we heard the ambassadors⁷ of the Duke of Burgundy,⁸ who confirmed that the duke will send the required troops and even go, in person, to war against the Turks and bring a suitably strong force. Margrave Karl of Baden⁹ will arrive tomorrow. The Governor of Bohemia¹⁰ will come to us on Sunday with a large following. Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg¹¹ was ill in Wroclaw and could not accompany King Ladislaus¹² to Vienna. Now he is said to have recovered and is expected here shortly. The Hungarians requested lodgings in Vienna for 3,000 knights and only obtained them for 1,500 – and here¹³ only for 500. I do not know if they will be content. Duke Ludwig¹⁴ of Bavaria and Duke Wilhelm¹⁵ of Saxony are expected here towards mid-Lent. It is feared that the others will have left when they arrive. In any case, the affair will only be settled after a long negotiation, and I much fear that we shall fail our promises, which Pious God avert. This is what I had to write to you for now. You will inform Our Most Holy Lord of those things you consider worth it.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 20 February 1455.

¹ Appointment as a cardinal.

² Piccolomini mentions the matter of his promised cardinalate in a number of letters, but see especially letter 683.

³ Both the emperor and King Ladislaus had asked for the appointment of Piccolomini.

⁴ The war between Siena and Aldobrandino Orsini, Count of

Pitigliano. Malatesta had been engaged as the commander of the Sienese army, but he had apparently betrayed the Sienese and had been dismissed. See Jones, pp. 210-211.

⁵ As a member of the nobility, a formerly dominant political faction in Siena, Piccolomini might easily come under suspicion.

⁶ Jakob von Sierck.

⁷ Guillaume Fillastre the Younger.

⁸ Philippe III le Bon.

⁹ Karl I.

¹⁰ Georg Podiebrad.

¹¹ Albrecht III Achilles.

¹² Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹³ In Wiener Neustadt.

¹⁴ Ludwig IX der Reiche.

¹⁵ Wilhelm III.

600. Letter to Nicolaus V (20 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 38, ff. 30r-30v¹; V5, 38, ff. 52v-53v **; V6, 38, ff. 47r-48r; V7, 38 ff. 60r-61r.

Editions A: HO, ff. 115v16v²

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 120-123.

{52v} Aeneas episcopus Senensis beatissimo papae Nicolao quinto salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Accepi breve sanctitatis tuae, per quod intellexi {53r} exuberantissimam illam tuae pietatis caritatem erga me pro veteri consuetudine adhuc perdurare, quando mei memoriam habere dignaris, et quae statum apostolice sedis concernunt, mihi credere³ non dubitas. Facio ego, quae possum et scio. Si quando in locis me reperio, ubi⁴ de tuo honore tractetur, quod quidem saepe contingit, nihil omitto ex iis⁵, quae puto ad sanctitatis tuae gloriam cedere. Ad quam rem licet omnes Christiani teneantur, ego tamen singulariori quodam vinculo sum astrictus, nam quanto clementiam tuam erga me benigniorem experior, tanto sanctitati tuae⁶ obnoxiosem me scio. Commendasti mihi novissime ecclesiam expetitam; id ego pro magno munere suscepi. Faxit Deus pro tantis beneficiis apud tuam sanctitatem dignus servitor inveniar.

[2] In rebus, quae hic geruntur, astiti⁷ hactenus, quantum mihi possibile fuit, reverendo patri episcopo Papiensi et assistam in futurum, quamvis pro sua prudentia nihil egeat opera mea. Conventus qualis apud nos sit, scribo reverendissimo domino⁸ cardinali sancti Angeli et⁹ Petro Noxetano. Quia ab his sanctitati tuae omnia referuntur, non est, cur illa repetam. Res in dubio sunt. Germani non ardent, quantum vellem, desiderio tutandae fidei. Verebuntur tamen¹⁰, ut arbitror, non servare promissa, sed tardius, quam spes fuerit, colligetur exercitus, atque utinam colligatur! Utinam super indulgentiis annuisset¹¹ tua sanctitas desiderio Germanorum! Negatio illa {53v} non parum praestabit impedimenti, et fortasse adhuc supplicabitur tuae sanctitati¹², ut, quod negatum est, velis concedere¹³. Indulgentiae namque, quemadmodum in bulla tuae sanctitatis continentur, parum pecuniae importare possunt. Res autem bellicae sine multo argento non expediuntur et ab illis maxime, qui lucrum ex bello quaerunt.

[3] Treverensis hic est ductor et rector eorum, qui pro ceteris¹⁴ electoribus assunt. Homo est sagax et qui prodesse atque obesse possit. Utile crediderim talem virum apostolicis beneficiis retineri. Bene fecerit, ut arbitror, tua sanctitas, si de Metensi ecclesia eum reddiderit¹⁵ certiosem. Redimenda sunt haec tempora. Virus Gallicum in Alamaniam penetrare nititur. Nisi amicitiam retinemus eorum, qui multitudinis duces habentur, res nostra in periculo est. Haec cum fiducia dixerim ac pro debito, quo teneor tuae sanctitati, cui me iterum atque iterum commendo¹⁶.

Ex Novacivitate, die 21. Februarii 1455.

¹ DV, 65-66

² DV, 238-40. *Not collated*

³ mihi credere : (mihi crede) V7

⁴ *omit.* V7

⁵ his V6, V7

⁶ sanctitati tuae : sanctitas tua V7

⁷ ascitis V7

⁸ *omit.* V7

⁹ ac V6, V7

¹⁰ *spatium* V5

¹¹ amisisset V7

¹² tuae sancitati : sanctitati tue V7

¹³ velis concedere : concedere

velis V6, V7

¹⁴ et *add.* V7

¹⁵ redderit V6; *corr.* ex redderit V7

¹⁶ *recommendo* F1; *corr.* ex *recommendo* V5, V6

600. Letter to Nicolaus V (20 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Piccolomini had received a letter (588) from the pope.

Subject: He thanks the pope for his kindness, reports on the Diet of Wiener Neustadt, and gives advice on how to handle Germany (specifically the Archbishop of Trier), lest it follow the French path of independence from the papacy.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to His Holiness, Pope Nicolaus V.

[1] I have received the letter¹ from Your Holiness, from which I saw that Your Piety's abundant affection for me continues as of old, since you deign to remember me and do not hesitate to trust me in matters concerning the Apostolic See. I do what I can and know. When I find myself in places where your honour is talked about – and that happens often - I mention everything that I believe pertains to your glory. Though all Christians should do so, I, however, am bound by a special bond, for the more I experience your clemency towards me, the more I know I owe you. Recently, you have commended to me the church² I had requested; I accept it as a great gift. May God give that in return for such great favours, I shall be found to be a worthy servant of Your Holiness.

[2] In the affairs being dealt with here,³ I have assisted the Reverend Father, the Bishop of Pavia,⁴ to the best of my ability and shall continue to do so, though, in his wisdom, he does not need my efforts.⁵ I have written to the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal of Sant'Angelo⁶ and Petro da Noceto about how the diet here develops. Since they report everything to Your Holiness, I need not repeat it here. The whole matter is in doubt. The Germans are not as zealous for the protection of the Faith as I should like. I do not think they will fail to keep their promises, but the army will be gathered later than hoped for, if it is gathered at all (I do hope it is)! Concerning the indulgences, I wish Your Holiness had agreed to the request of the Germans. The refusal will be a major obstacle, and perhaps they will ask Your Holiness to grant what was first denied, for the indulgences mentioned in Your Holiness' bull will not bring in great sums. But wars cannot be conducted without much money, especially from those who seek profit from them.

[3] The [Archbishop] of Trier is here and leads those who represent the other [prince] electors. He is a clever man who can both be helpful and obstructive. I would think it expedient to keep him sweet with apostolic favours. I think Your Holiness would do well to assure him of the Church of Metz.⁷ These times must be bought! The French illness seeks to penetrate Germany.⁸ Unless we keep the friendship of those who lead the multitude, our cause is in danger. I say this with confidence and because of the debt I owe to Your Holiness, to whom I commend myself again and again.

From Neustadt, 21 Februar 1455.

¹ Letter 588.

² The parish church of Irdning, see letter 588.

³ The Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

⁴ Giovanni di Castiglione.

⁵ On this passage, see Nowak, pp. 191-192.

⁶ Juan Carvajal.

⁷ Jakob von Sierck had for years tried to get possession of the diocese of Metz, see Miller, pp. 203-206. He was actually appointed coadjutor of Metz on 2 September

1455 but died after a long illness on 28 May 1456.

⁸ The tendency to limit papal influence and payments to Rome as expressed in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438).

601. Letter to Goro Lolli (20 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 39, ff. 30v-31r¹; V5, 39, ff. 53v-54v **; V6, 39, ff. 48r-49r; V7, 39, ff. 61r-62v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 116v-117v.²

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 124-127.

{53v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Gregorio Lollio, jurisconsulto, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Scripsi ad te, non sunt multi dies, reversurum me, postquam concilium peractum fuerit, quod nunc de re publica Christiana tuenda coram Caesare habetur. Idem quoque et nunc menti sedet. Credo duraturum conventum per totam quadragesimam, nam etsi multi assunt, plurimi tamen ante medium quadragesimae {54r} non comparebunt. Credo magnificos dominos nostros, quae apud nos gerantur, libenter intellecturos, atque idcirco pauca de nostro conventu ad te scribam, quae illis referas.

[2] Episcopus Papiensis hic est nomine domini nostri sanctissimi, qui etiam mihi scripsit, ut suas causas cum Papiensi, si adesset, aut solus³, si abesset, peragerem. Adest orator regis Aragonum, qui clarissimum illum principem ad rem fidei tutandam magnifice affectum confirmat. Ex Alania assunt archiepiscopus Treverensis, sacri Romani imperii princeps⁴ elector. Cum eo venerunt plurimae legationes principum et civitatum. Carolus, marchio Badensis, cui Caesarea soror nupta est, hodie hunc locum intrabit. Heri auditi fuerunt legati ducis Burgundiae, episcopus Tullensis et duo praestantissimi equites, qui ducem illum vere Christianissimum non modo missurum auxilia sibi deputata contra Turcos, sed iturum per seipsum affirmavere⁵ conventumque nostrum ingenti gaudio replevere, quando tam altus princeps⁶ ad tuendam ecclesiam personam suam exhibet. Gubernator Bohemiae cum quingentis equitibus proxima die dominica ad⁷ Caesarem venturus est.

¹ DV, 66

² DV, 240-242. *Not collated.*

³ *omit.* F1

⁴ principes V7

⁵ confirmavere F1

⁶ quando tam ... princeps *omit.* F1

⁷ ac V7

601. Letter to Goro Lolli (20 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Subject: As letter 599.¹

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Goro Lolli, Jurist.

[1] Recently, I wrote to you² that I would return after the diet concerning the protection of the Christian commonwealth that is now being held before the emperor. This is still my intention. I think that the diet will last for the whole of Lent, for though many are present now, several will not arrive before mid-Lent. I believe that our Magnificent Lords³ will be happy to know what happens here, and therefore I shall write a few things about our diet that you can report to them.

[2] The Bishop of Pavia⁴ is here, representing Our Most Holy Lord,⁵ who had written⁶ to me to take care of his affairs together with the bishop if he were present or alone if he were absent.⁷ Also, the ambassador⁸ of the King of Aragon⁹ is here and confirms that this Most Illustrious Prince has great zeal for the protection of the Faith. From Germany have come the Archbishop of Trier,¹⁰ Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, together with many envoys from princes and cities. Margrave Karl¹¹ of Baden, who is married to the emperor's sister,¹² will arrive today. Yesterday, we heard the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy,¹³ the Bishop of Toul¹⁴ and two distinguished knights,¹⁵ who declared that their Most Christian Duke will not only send the troops assigned to him against the Turks but will even go in person. It filled our diet with joy that such an exalted prince will offer his own person for the protection of the Church. The Governor of Bohemia¹⁶ will come to the emperor next Sunday together with 500 knights.

¹ On this letter, see Meuthen, p. 113, n. 52.

² Letter 592.

³ The priors of Siena.

⁴ Giovanni di Castiglione, Papal Legate.

⁵ Pope Nicolaus V.

⁶ Letter 588.

⁷ On this passage, see Nowak, p. 191.

⁸ Michele Riccio.

⁹ Alfonso V the Magnificent.

¹⁰ Jakob von Sierck.

¹¹ Karl I.

¹² Katharina of Austria.

¹³ Philippe III le Bon.

¹⁴ Guillaume Fillastre (the Younger).

¹⁵ Probably Simon de Lalaing and Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra.

¹⁶ Georg Podiebrad.

[3] Cardinalis Strigoniensis, duo episcopi cum eo, comes Ciliae, Johannes, comes Bistricensis, comes palatinus, duo vaivodae Transsilvani et alii complures barones ex Hungaria deputati sunt, qui ad Caesarem veniant. Petitae sunt eorum nomine litterae publicae securitatis {54v} pro duobus milibus equitum. Caesari non placuit tantam multitudinem admittere. Datus est salvus conductus pro quingentis dumtaxat, sed illi non venient, ut arbitror, nisi millenarius numerus adimpleatur, neque id, puto, tandem negabitur. Non tamen meo iudicio comes Ciliae recipietur, qui Caesarem singulari prosequitur¹ odio. Albertus marchio Brandenburgensis, vir singularis ingenii et rei militaris peritissimus, in quo plurimum spei ponendum fuit, aegrotus apud Vratislaviam remansit. Fertur tamen² jam convaluisse et ad nos brevi venturus. Rex Ladislaus Viennam reversus est ibique nunc moram trahit. Ludovicus Bavariae et Wilhelmus Saxoniae duces circa medium quadragesimae Caesarem petituri sunt, atque ita grandis conventus jam hic est et major erit. Quae conclusio captabitur adhuc incertum est. Significabo, quaecumque geruntur, magnificis dominis nostris, et deinde cum licentia³ Caesaris studebo domum repetere.

[4] Intellexi, quomodo se habuerit Sigismundus Malatesta adversus rempublicam nostram⁴. Doleo tantam perfidiam apud homines inveniri. Gaudeo tamen⁵, quia⁶ vani fuerunt conatus ejus. Deus patriae nostrae victoriam tribuat. Rogo matrem et sorores meas commendatas suscipias; vicarium nostrum ad ea, quae justitiae sunt, horteris; procuratorem quoque diligentem esse jubeas; et amicorum, quantum habeo, meo nomine salvum dicas.

Vale optime. Ex Novacivitate, die 20.⁷ Februarii 1455.

¹ persequitur V7

² *spatium* V5

³ beneplacito V5

⁴ *vestram* V6

⁵ *spatium* V5

⁶ qui V7

⁷ 21. V6, V7

[3] The Cardinal of Esztergom¹ has been sent from Hungary to the emperor. He is accompanied by two Bishops,² the Count of Celje,³ Count Janos⁴ of Bistrita, the Count Palatine,⁵ the two Transylvanian voivods, and many barons. Safe conducts have been requested in their name for 2,000 knights. However, the emperor did not want to admit so many, so he will only grant safe conducts for 500. But I believe the Hungarians will not come unless they get safe conducts for at least 1,000 persons, and that, I think, will not be refused. But in my opinion, the Count of Celje⁶ will not be received since he pursues the emperor with singular enmity. Margrave Albrecht⁷ of Brandenburg, a man of outstanding talent and knowledge of military matters, in whom great hope is placed, fell ill and had to remain in Wroclaw.⁸ ⁹ But now he is reported to have recovered and will arrive here shortly. King Ladislaus¹⁰ has returned to Vienna¹¹ where he is staying now. Duke Ludwig of Bavaria¹² and Duke Wilhelm of Saxony¹³ will come to the emperor around mid-Lent. Thus we have a large assembly here, and it will become even larger. It is still uncertain what decisions will be made. I shall inform our Magnificent Lordships of what happens here, and then, with the emperor's permission, I shall endeavour to return home.

[4] I have heard how Sigismondo Malatesta¹⁴ has behaved towards our republic,¹⁵ and it pains me that such great unfaithfulness can be found among men. But I am happy that his efforts were in vain. May God give our country victory. I ask you to support my mother¹⁶ and sisters.¹⁷ Urge our vicar¹⁸ to act justly and our procurator¹⁹ to be diligent. And greet my friends from me.

Live well. From Neustadt, 20 February 1455.

¹ Archbishop Dénes Szécsi.

² Presumably, Bishop János Vitéz of Varad, and Bishop Nicolaus de Barnis of Fünfkirchen (Pecs)

³ Ulrich II.

⁴ János Hunyadi, Governor of Hungary.

⁵ László II Garai.

⁶ Ulrich II.

⁷ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁸ Instead of accompanying King Ladislaus to Vienna.

⁹ On this passage, see Miller, p. 247.

¹⁰ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹¹ 16 February 1455.

¹² Ludwig IX der Reiche,

¹³ Wilhelm III.

¹⁴ Malatesta, Sigismondo Pandolfo (1417-1468): Lord of Rimini and Pesaro. Condottiere. Later, an archenemy of Pius II.

¹⁵ The war between Siena and Aldobrandino Orsini, Count of Pi-

tigliano. Malatesta had been engaged as the commander of the Sienese army, but he had apparently betrayed the Sienese and had been dismissed. See Jones, pp. 210-211.

¹⁶ Vittoria Forteguerra Piccolomini.

¹⁷ Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi and Laudomia Piccolomini Todeschini.

¹⁸ Francesco Agnifili.

¹⁹ Bartolomeo.

602. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (22 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 42, ff. 31v-32r¹; V5, 42, ff. 55v-56r **; V6, 39, ff. 49v-50r; V7, 39, ff. 63r-64r.

Editions A: HO, ff. 118r-118v.²

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 128-130.

{55v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Procopio, cancellario Bohemiae, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Frater tuus et dominus de Clena, qui simul Caesarem adiere ante festum Michaelis, dixerunt et gubernatorem et ceteros regni Bohemiae proceres cupidos esse, quae lites forent inter imperatorem³ et regem Ladislaum componere. Annuit Caesarea majestas libentiusque Bohemos quam mortales alios quospiam ejus rei mediatores accepit. Scit⁴ enim Bohemos sibi et fideles et affectos esse. Dicta est dies ad festum Purificationis. Quod protelatus {56r} est adventus vester⁵ reprehensione caret, quia⁶ non sine causa hactenus non venistis. Nunc dominus de Clena retulit gubernatorem vestrum expectare Hungaros, ut⁷ cum illis veniat. Ea res non est grata his, qui res bene terminari cupiunt.

[2] Si debet Turcorum res in manus recipi, necesse est prius Caesarem cum vicinis suis pacem habere. Impossible enim est eum foris pugnare, qui domi litigat. Ad pacem tractandam nulli magis idonei quam Bohemi sunt, maxime vero gubernator vester, de quo Caesar optime confidit. Hungari autem et Australes partem faciunt. Si vult gubernator rem utiliter agere et honorem suscepti negotii suscipere, fugiat omnes suspiciones. Audiatur, si vult, Hungaros et Australes et intelligat eorum postulata. Deinde solus cum suis Bohemis ad Caesarem veniat rursusque Caesaris desideria noscat et quae possint esse media concordiae, perdiscat. Cum viderit tractatus ad concordiam esse vadentes, tunc Hungaros et Australes accersat ut, pace composita et amicitia plenius restaurata, de communi negotio contra Turcos agatur. Si hoc modo gubernator se habuerit, magnum, ut arbitror, consequetur honorem et rei publicae plurimum proderit. Alioquin vereor, ne crescentibus suspicionibus incassum laboremus. Cupio haec meo nomine gubernatori referas ac magnificentiae suae commendatum me facias.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 22. Februarii 1455.

¹ DV, 68-69

² DV, 243-244. *Not collated.*

³ proceres cupidos ... imperatorem

omit. V7

⁴ scis V7

⁵ noster V7

⁶ qui V5

⁷ et V7

602. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (22 February 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: A Bohemian envoy had intimated to the emperor that the Governor of Bohemia might be willing to mediate in the emperor's conflict with his cousin, Ladislaus the Posthumous, as Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary. The settling of the conflict was, understandably, a condition for the emperor's commitment to send military help to the Hungarians against the Turks since he could not very well send an army to help a people with whom he was at war.

Subject: Through the Bohemian chancellor, Piccolomini exhorts the governor to take charge of the peace negotiations with the Hungarians and Austrians and presents a proposal for the conduct of the negotiation.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Lord Prokop, Chancellor of Bohemia.

[1] When your brother¹ and the Lord of Klenová² visited the emperor before the Feast of Saint Michael, they said that the governor and other nobles of the kingdom of Bohemia were desirous to settle the conflict between the emperor and King Ladislaus. The emperor agreed and would prefer the Bohemians to all other men as mediators in this matter, for he knows the Bohemians to be loyal and devoted to him. The day of the Feast of Purification³ was appointed. That your arrival was delayed is not your fault, for there is a [good] reason that you did not arrive before. Now the Lord of Klenová has reported that your governor⁴ is waiting for the Hungarians so as to arrive together with them. This is not welcome to those who wish for things to end well here.

[2] If the Turkish matter is to be taken up here, the emperor must first have peace with his neighbours, since he cannot fight abroad with conflicts at home. The Bohemians are the most suitable for negotiating peace, especially your governor, in whom the emperor has great confidence, whereas the Hungarians and the Austrians are parties [to the conflict]. If your governor will be useful and accept the honour of conducting the negotiation, he will chase away all suspicions. Let him hear, if he so wills, the Hungarians and the Austrians and understand their claims. Then he could come alone, with his Bohemians, to the emperor and hear the emperor's wishes and learn the possible means of reaching an agreement. When he sees that the negotiations could lead to concord, he will summon the Hungarians and the Austrians, and then, when peace has been made and full friendship restored, we can deal with the common matter of [war] against the Turks. If the governor conducts the matter in this way, I believe he will gain great honour and immensely benefit the commonwealth. Otherwise, I fear that with growing suspicions, we shall labour in vain. I wish you to convey this to the governor and commend me to His Magnificence.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 22 February 1455.

¹ Johann von Rabenstein. On his visit, see letter 563.

² Presumably Pribik von Klenová (Klenau).

³ 2 February 1455

⁴ Georg Podiebrad.

603. Letter from Giovanni da Capistrano (28 February 1455)

Manuscripts: F1, 63, ff. 48r-48v¹; V5, 63, ff. 83v-84r **; V6, 63, ff. 71v-72r²; V7, 63, ff. 91v-92v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 138r-138v³; KO, 419, ff. 308v-309r⁴; Wadding, 12: pp. 278 ff.⁵

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 761-764.

{83v} Johannes Capistranus, ordinis minorum professor, Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quando capellanus tuus me convenit, tandem a me summe⁶ rogatus abiit, ut meis precibus et supplicationibus id ageret, ut tu de die et tempore recessus hinc ad vos⁷ mei me certiolem faceres. Expectavi sitiens et magis praestolor. Fertur enim hic conventum ipsum huc ad nos Viennam translatum iri, cum non videatur in Civitate Nova⁸ omnes principes cum oratoribus hospitari posse pro commodo suo. Ea de re te iterum atque iterum exoratum velim, ut dubium me clarefacias et, quid acturus sim, certiolem reddas. De principibus, qui huc convenerunt, etsi mihi persuadeam te non latere, hoc tamen dicam: cum serenissimo rege Ladislao intraverunt gubernator Bohemiae et plures barones; de Hungaris episcopus Varadiensis tantum. Expectantur ceteri, sed adhuc incertus est⁹ eorum adventus.

[2] Erit non alienum, ut significem {84r} tibi rem detestabilem ac cuique bono viro solo auditu abhorrendam: quaeritant nonnulli Bohemorum summas preces divo caesari porrigere, quibus favorem et gratiam suam impetrent, ut ad sanctissimum¹⁰ dominum nostrum litteras summo studio petentes confirmationem nefandi¹¹ heresiarchae¹² Rochezanae in archiepiscopum Pragensem dirigat¹³ et hoc pacto fieri poterit unio ecclesiae. Quam juste, bene, recte et sancte procedere intendant, tu, mi pater, pro tua singulari aequitate et prudentia judica! Quid autem ad hanc rem facturum velit catholica fides, cogita! Ego indignitatem¹⁴ tantam non aequo animo fero. Postremum¹⁵ ut me de iis¹⁶, quae acturus sim, admoneas, te oro vehementer.

Vale longissimo aevo¹⁷, cui me unice commendo. Ex Vienna, ultima Februarii raptissime 1455.

¹ DV, 101-102

² DV, 73v-74r

³ DV, 283-284. *Not collated*

⁴ *Not collated.*

⁵ *Not collated.*

⁶ a me summe : summe a me V5

⁷ nos F1, V6, V7

⁸ *omit.* F1

⁹ *omit.* F1

¹⁰ serenissimum RTA

¹¹ nefandae F1

¹² heresiarchi V5

¹³ *omit.* F1

¹⁴ indignationem F1

¹⁵ postremo V7

¹⁶ his V6, V7

¹⁷ longissimo aevo : evo longissimo V7

603. Letter from Giovanni da Capistrano (28 February 1455)

Manuscripts: While waiting for a message from Piccolomini about when to come to the diet in Wiener Neustadt, Capistrano had picked up a rumour that the emperor would be requested to put pressure on the pope to obtain the confirmation of the Hussite Jan Rokycana as Archbishop of Prague.

Subject: He asks Piccolomini when he should go to Wiener Neustadt and informs him about the rumour concerning Rokycana.

Giovanni da Capistrano, professed [monk] of the Order of Minors, sends many greetings to Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] When your chaplain¹ left after our meeting, I urged him with prayers and supplications to ensure that you would inform me when to leave from here and come to you. I waited eagerly and still do – even more eagerly! For it is rumoured that the diet will be moved to us in Vienna since the princes and ambassadors cannot be comfortably lodged in Wiener Neustadt. Therefore, I beg you again and again to clear this doubt and inform me what to do. I trust that you already know about the princes who have gathered here, but this I will say: With the Most Serene King Ladislaus,² came the Governor of Bohemia³ and many barons. Of the Hungarians, only the Bishop of Varad⁴ has arrived; the others are expected, but it is not certain when they will arrive.

[2] It will be appropriate to inform you about a detestable matter, abhorrent to all good men: some Bohemians are endeavouring to urgently request the Holy Emperor for his favour and grace in order to obtain that he sends insistent letters to Our Most Holy Lord⁵ with petitions for the confirmation of that unspeakable heresiarch Rokycana⁶ as Archbishop of Prague, and thus to achieve the union of the Church. My dear Father, with your singular sense of justice and wisdom, you can yourself judge how justly, well, rightly, and piously they intend to proceed. I, for my part, cannot stand this great indignity. I urge you to let me know what I should do about this affair.

Fare well for a long time. I commend myself especially to you. From Vienna, 28 February 1455. In great haste.

¹ Nikolaus Kreul

² Ladislaus the Posthumous.

³ Georg Podiebrad.

⁴ János Vitéz

⁵ Pope Nicolaus V.

⁶ Rokycana, Jan (ca. 1396 - 1471): Bohemian Hussite theologian and a leader of the Bohemian reformation. His election as Archbishop of Prague in 1435 had been accepted by emperors Sigismund

and Albrecht II as a condition for accession to the Bohemian throne but never confirmed by the popes. Lit.: *Heymann*: John.

604. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (2 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 41, f. 31v¹; V5, 41, f. 55v **; V6, 41, f. 49v; V7, 41, f. 63r.

Editions A: HO, ff. 117v-118r².

Editions B: None.

{55r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Procopio, cancellario Bohemiae, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Georgius de Ratispona, qui et tuus primo et deinde meus familiaris fuit, ad te proficiscitur cupiens serenissimo principi, Hungariae ac Bohemiae regi, cum duobus aut tribus equis famulari. Ego eum meis litteris regiae majestati commendo, sed plus valebit verbalis commendatio tua, quia hominem nosti. Non ago tecum pluribus. Tantum peto, ut rem suam fideliter adjuves, si modo digna tibi videtur, in qua nervos intendas tuos.

Vale, et dominum Nicolaum nostrum tuo ex more dilige. Datum ut supra.

¹ DV, 68

² DV, 242-243. *Not collated.*

604. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (2 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: A familiar of Rabenstein and Piccolomini sought employment at the court of King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

Subject: Piccolomini recommends him to Rabenstein.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Lord Prokop, Chancellor of Bohemia.

[1] Georg of Regensburg,¹ who was once yours and then my familiar, is coming to you. He wishes to serve the Most Serene Prince, the King of Hungary and Bohemia,² with two or three horses. I have written a letter³ of recommendation to His Royal Majesty, but your verbal recommendation will carry greater weight since you know the man. I need to say more. I only ask you to faithfully help him in this matter if it seems worth your efforts.

Farewell, and love our Niccolò⁴ as always. Given as above.

¹ Possibly the Georg mentioned in letter 203 (EPI, 4 / 203:1).

² King Ladislaus the Posthumous.

³ Not extant.

⁴ Lisci, Niccolò: Protonotary of Kg. Ladislaus the Posthumous.

Doctor of law. From a prominent family in Volterra.

605. Letter to Johann Vront (2 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 40, ff. 31r-31v¹; V5, 40, f. 55r **; V6, 40, f. 49r; V7, 40, ff. 62v-63r.

Editions: HO, f. 117².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 329-331

{55r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, eximio decretorum doctori, domino Johanni Frunt, secretario insignis civitatis Coloniensis, amico amantissimo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Accepi tuas³ litteras non sine voluptate, quae mihi de comite Ciliae veniente ac de recedente Eitzingero notitiam praebuere. Ago tibi gratias, et si qua post hac emeruerint⁴, ut mihi rescribas, peto. In causa tua nullum fieri te absente iudicium puto, nisi absis nimium, nam et Caesar tuum recessum indulisit, quasi domino Treverensi in ea re morem gereret. Si quid attentabitur me sciente, certior fies. Dominus Treverensis, quamvis est sapientissimus neque facile labi potest, meo tamen iudicio non bene fecerit, nisi ad Caesarem redeat. Cum nihil adhuc super his rebus conclusum sit, propter quas descendit in Austriam, non video, quem sibi honorem pariat, de quo scribis, recessus ejus. Sua dignatio oculatissima⁵ est, et quae sunt meliora cogitabit. Si facultas tibi⁶ est accedendi venerabilem sanctumque patrem, fratrem⁷ Johannem de Capistrano, ut me sibi commendes, oro, de cujus adventu in hanc civitatem, quid Caesar sentiret, nuper ad eum scripsi. Sua paternitas, quod ex usu crediderit, faciat.

Vale, et reverendissimo domino Treverensi iterum atque iterum commendatum me facito. Ex Novacivitate, die secunda Martii 1455.

¹ DV, 67-68

² DV, 242. *Not collated*

³ *omit.* V7

⁴ emeruerunt V7

⁵ *occulatissima corr. ex oculatissima* F1

⁶ sibi V7

⁷ *omit.* V7

605. Letter to Johann Vrung (2 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Johann Vrung had been at the imperial court as the representative of the city of Cologne in a case concerning the city's non-observance of an imperial trade embargo against the cities of Zeeland.¹ He had obtained the emperor's permission for a leave of absence in Vienna, from where he had informed Piccolomini of the return of the Count of Celje to King Ladislaus' grace and the fall of Ulrich Eitzinger.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks for the information and comments on Jakob von Sierck's departure from court to consult with King Ladislaus.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the distinguished Doctor of Decrees,² Johann Vrung,³ secretary of the Illustrious City of Cologne, beloved friend.

[1] I was delighted to receive your letter, which informed me about the arrival of the Count of Celje⁴ and the departure of Eitzinger.⁵ I thank you and ask you to write to me about what happened afterwards. With regard to your case, I think no judgement will be passed in your absence (unless you are absent for too long), for it was the emperor himself who allowed your departure to accommodate His Lordship of Trier⁶ in this matter. If I hear that anybody should try anything, you will be informed. Though His Lordship of Trier is very wise and does not easily make a mistake, he would, in my opinion, do well only if he returns to the emperor.⁷ Since nothing has been decided in these matters, I do not see how his departure would ensure him the honour you write about. But His Grace is most clever and will consider what is for the best. If you have the opportunity to approach that venerable and holy Father, Brother Giovanni di Capistrano, I ask you to commend me to him. I recently wrote to him what the emperor thinks about his arrival in this city.⁸ His Paternity will do what he thinks to be useful.

Farewell, and commend me again and again to the Most Reverend Lordship of Trier. From Neustadt, 2 March 1455.

¹ See Diemar, p. 86 ff.

² Canon law.

³ Johann Vrung (Fruendt) (-1465): Protonotary of the city of Köln (1442). A close friend of Piccolomini. See Heinig: *Kaiser*, ad indicem. Piccolomini had become acquainted with Vrung in Basel in

1432. He entered the service of Köln in 1442.

⁴ Ulrich II.

⁵ Ulrich Eitzinger.

⁶ Jakob von Sierck. He had supported the city of Cologne in the pendent affair. RTA, 19/3, p. 330, n. 6; Miller, p. 250.

⁷ Against the emperor's will, Sierck had gone, on 27 February, to King Ladislaus in Vienna to consult on matters concerning a reform of the empire, which the emperor found highly insulting. See Miller, p. 248.

⁸ Wiener Neustadt.

606. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (9 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 35, f. 27v¹; V5, 35, ff. 48r-49r **; V6, ff. 43v-44r²; V7, 35, ff. 55v-56r.

Editions A: HO, f. 112r-112v³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3, pp. 331-333

{48r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Procopio Rabesteino salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Expecto te simulque Nicolaum {48v} nostrum miro desiderio. Vereor, ne vana spe ludar, quando tardiolem justo te video. Nihil tamen culpae tuae ascribo. Scio consilia regum esse longiora eoque saepe diverti, quo nemo cogitavit. Decrevistis vos Bohemi Caesarem adire acturi de pace. Expectastis hacetenus Hungaros, ut eorum cognita mente instructiores veniretis. Jam Hungari apud vos⁴ sunt; nescio, quid ulterius moremini, nisi fortasse Johannem audire vultis, quem gubernatorem Hungariae vocant. At ille, ut fama est, invitus⁵ ascendet⁶ nimiasque securitates quaerit. Ego, etsi nihil meum consilium valet, ex usu esse crederem dum⁷ pendet adventus Johannis, vos Bohemos Caesarem culmen accedere ac de pace tractare, ut illo veniente de bello contra Turcos gerendo expeditius ageretur, nam quae pacis sunt inter Caesarem et Hungaros sine Johanne perfici possunt, quae Turcos respicit, perfici non possunt. Quod si super omnibus illum expectabitis, timendum est, ne mora longior fiat et affecti plures taedio rebus infectis recedant, atque ita conventus noster, qui contra Turcos institutus erat, in Turcorum favorem dissolvatur. Haec tibi pauca dixisse volui quasi sus ad Minervam. Tuum erit, si visum fuerit⁸, magnificum regni Bohemiae gubernatorem super his alloqui ac me suae magnificentiae commendatum reddere. Cardinalis Sancti Angeli iis⁹ diebus binas ad me litteras dedit, in quibus de te mentio fit cum laude tua, quamvis illud accuset, quod sibi {49r} perraro scribas¹⁰. Nicolaum nostrum cupio tibi¹¹ pro veteri more commendatum esse¹². De pace Italiae nihil adhuc certi est. Tempus idoneum nacti sunt Turci, si contra nos, ut fertur, exercitum parant, nam Christiani praeter verba nihil habent, quod illis objectent.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die nona Martii 1455.

¹ DV, 60

² DV, 45v-46r

³ DV, 231-232. *Not collated.*

⁴ nos V7

⁵ munitus F1

⁶ ascendit V7

⁷ deum V7

⁸ si visum fuerit *omit.* V7

⁹ his V6, V7

¹⁰ scribat F1; scribis V5

¹¹ cupio tibi *omit.* V7

¹² *omit.* V6, V7

606. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (9 March 1455, WienerNeustadt).

Context: The Bohemian delegation, with Piccolomini's close friends, Prokop von Rabenstein and Niccolò Lisci, were expected at the Diet of Wiener Neustadt but were delaying their departure from Vienna to wait for the Hungarian delegation.

Subject: Piccolomini expresses his longing for his friends and advises Rabenstein that the Bohemians should not wait for the Hungarians but come to Wiener Neustadt to negotiate a peace between the emperor and King Ladislaus. Then, there would be more time to deal with the war against the Turks.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Prokop von Rabenstein.

[1] I am marvellously longing for you and Niccolò to arrive here. When I see that you are unreasonably delayed, I fear that I shall be deceived. But I do not blame you, for I know that the counsels of kings take time and often turn in unexpected directions. You Bohemians have decided to come to the emperor to discuss peace. Until now, you have waited for the Hungarians so as to come here better informed about their intentions. But now that the Hungarians are there with you, I do not know why you still remain there unless, perhaps, you want to hear János¹ whom the Hungarians call Governor. But rumour has it that he is unwilling to come and seeks excessive securities. Though my counsel counts for nothing, I would consider it useful if you Bohemians, while János arrival is still pending, came to His Imperial Highness to discuss peace. Then, when he arrives, the matter of war against the Turks can be settled more quickly, for peace between the emperor and the Hungarians can be achieved without János, but measures against the Turks cannot. If you wait for him to deal with everything, it must be feared that it will take a long time and that many will lose patience and leave while matters are unfinished, and thus our diet, summoned to take measures against the Turks, will end in the Turks' favour. This is what I wanted to say, like the pig to Minerva.² If you consider it worthwhile, it is up to you talk to His Magnificence, the Governor of Bohemia³ about these matters and to commend me to His Magnificence. Some days ago, I received two letters⁴ from the Cardinal of Sant' Angelo,⁵ in which he mentions you with praise, though he regrets that you only write to him very rarely. I commend our Niccolò⁶ to you as always. Concerning the peace in Italy, we have no certain news as yet. If the Turks are preparing an army against us, as rumoured, then they have found the right time, for the Christians can only oppose them with words.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 9 March 1455.

¹ János Hunyadi.

² Athene, goddess of wisdom. Proverbial expression meaning to tell something to someone who knows

it better. Cf. Cicero: *Contra Academicos*, 1: 18: *sus Minervam docet*.

³ Georg Podiebrad.

⁴ Not extant.

⁵ Juan Carvajal.

⁶ Niccolò Lisci,

607. Letter to Juan Carvajal (12 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 43, ff. 32r-37r¹; V5, 43, ff. 56v-64v **; V6, ff. 50r-56v; V7, ff. 64r-72v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 118v-124v².

Editions B: RTA, 19: 3, pp. 333-350.

Literature: Meuthen.

{55v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni cardinali Sancti Angeli, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Scripsisti ad me multa his diebus praeterque tuum morem fuisti prolixior. Ago tuae dignationi³ gratias, quae me non sinit ignorare, quae apud Italos agitantur. Nunc responsuro mihi tanta se offerunt, ut unde incipiam prorsus ignorem. Rescribere tamen oportet, etiam si nullus ordo servari possit.

[2] Scripseram tuae dignitati ex Frankfordia, quanti essent rumores hujus nationis adversus Romanam curiam. Respondisti copiose et argumenta subtiliter dissolvisti. Episcopus Papiensis et ego sedulo idipsum agimus et utimur argumentationibus tuis, sed nihil in auribus aemulorum proficimus. Stat illis sententia sua, neque proposito excidunt. Quod quaeris ex me, ut qui vulnus ostendi, de medicina consulam, non sum ego talibus morbis idoneus medicus.

¹ DV, 69-79

² DV, 244-256. Not collated.

³ tuae dignationi : dignitati tuae

V7

607. Letter to Juan Carvajal (12 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Piccolomini had received letters from Cardinal Carvajal touching upon various matters.

Subject: In this “omnibus” letter, Piccolomini writes about the German complaints against the Papal Curia, the papal system of providing ecclesiastical offices, the emperor’s first petitions and nominations for ecclesiastical offices, the Italian fleet, an unreliable messenger, the new printing press, his parish of Irdning, the annates, the emperor’s gratitude towards Carvajal, and a recommendation of Hartung von Kappel’s nephew. He then gives a lengthy description of the Diet of Regensburg and the difficulties of raising a German army against the Turks.

[1] In your letter¹ delivered to me recently, you wrote many things and at greater length than usually. I thank Your Grace for letting me know what happens in Italy. Now I have so many things to answer that I simply do not know where to begin. But I have to answer even if I can follow no specific order.

1. German complaints against the Papal Curia

[2] I had written to Your Grace from Frankfurt² about the great animosity in this nation against the Roman Curia. You answered copiously and subtly destroyed the [German] arguments. The Bishop of Pavia³ and I diligently do the same and make use of your arguments, but we have been unable to convince the discontented. They stick to their views and maintain their position. You ask me, who has shown the wound, what medicine I advise, but I am not a suitable physician for such illnesses.

¹ Not extant.

² See letter 6/568.

³ Giovanni di Castiglione.

[3] Unum tamen quasi ad sortem dixerim: Non laudo, mi pater, novas in dies cancellariae regulas fieri easque ita obscuras et ancipites esse, ut vix ab Aedippo, si vixerit, intelligi queant. Deceret apostolicae sedis decreta et clara esse et solida, ut¹, qui² secundum illa litteras impetrasset, quid denique sibi sperandum esset, non ignoraret. Sciret ignobilis nobilem sibi praeferendum, indoctus doctorem, privatus principem absens a curia praesentem, {57r} et sic de singulis. Fateor dignum esse Romanum pontificem, qui digniores sunt, iis³ plura tribuere. Sed ista ita gerenda sunt, ne possint ad injuriam trahi. Quod si quispiam ad collationem sibi⁴ placitam litteras impetravit non sine pecunia, si doctor est aut nobilis, injustum est, me iudice, alterum sibi praeferri, cujus conditio vel⁵ minor vel aequa fuerit, neque omnem in curia praesentem omnibus anteponendum crediderim, qui sunt absentes, neque familiares cardinalium aut ipsius summi praesulis quibusque derogare posse nisi sui similibus, neque enim⁶ cardinalis cocum aut qui apostolici stabuli mulos fricat magnis nobilibus aut insignibus doctoribus praeponendos⁷ esse crediderim. Sed litterae saepe de curia manant, in quibus haec contineri videmus, quae quam rationabiles sint, non latet acre iudicium tuum. Haec multorum animos abalienant, quando nemo est tam forti bulla munitus, qui fortiozem non inveniat. Neque plura de his.

¹ *omit.* V7

² *et add.* V7

³ *his* V6, V7

⁴ *si* V7

⁵ *omit.* F1

⁶ *omit.* V5

⁷ *reponendos* V7

2. Papal provisions

[3] I shall only say one thing that may be useful: I do not approve, my Father, that new chancery rules¹ are made daily and so obscure and ambiguous that they could not barely be understood by Oedipus, had he still lived.² The decrees of the Apostolic See should be clear and firm so that he who obtains letters based upon them will know what to hope for in the end. A not-noble person should know that a noble would be preferred to him; an unlearned person that a learned man would be preferred; a private man absent from the curia that a man present there would be preferred, and so on and so forth. I concede that it is legitimate for the Roman Pontiff to prefer men of higher rank, but these things must be administered in such a way that they do not cause harm. If anyone, be he a doctor or a noble, has obtained and paid for a letter to obtain the collation of a desired benefice, it is, in my opinion, unjust if somebody else of similar or lower rank is preferred to him. Moreover, I do not think that anyone present at the curia should be preferred to anyone who is absent. And I do not think that the cardinals' or even the pope's familiars should be preferred except to persons of similar rank, or that a cardinal's cook or a muleteer from the apostolic stable should be preferred to great nobles or distinguished doctors. But often letters are issued by the curia with precisely such content. Your sharp intellect will see how reasonable that is! Such goings-on alienate many, since nobody has been provided with so strong a bull that he will not find somebody else having a stronger one. No more about this.

¹ The rules governing the ordinary papal administration.

² Oedippos: Greek mythological figure. Is this a reference to the

ambiguous oracle Oedipus received in Delphi?

[4] Venio ad primarias preces, quas tua dignatio magnifice defendit vereque nihil obstare compactatis ostendit. Fuit hic proximis diebus Treverensis archiepiscopus, et cum multa ac¹ magna Caesari retulisset, tandem solus cum solo verbum habere voluit, quod Caesar minime admisit. Placuit denique et Caesarem unum apud se habere et Treverensem² alterum. Ille fratrem adhibuit, me Caesar. Sermo diu protractus est neque de parvis rebus. Ibi quoque de primariis precibus habita mentio est, quia {57v} nollent³ ordinarii ad suos menses eas extendi. Ego ibi, jubente Caesare, monstravi nihil eas praejudicare compactatis hisque sum usus⁴ rationibus, quas tua dignatio mihi rescripsit, quia non solum apostolico indulto, sed etiam veteri consuetudine Caesar utitur, iniquumque esse diximus, cum papa, qui minus⁵ tenetur, suos menses Caesari traderet, ordinarios episcopos ac praelatos reliquos, qui omnia, quae possident, ex imperiali beneficentia consecuti sint, negare suos. Quibus auditis, respondit Treverensis se minime futurum esse, qui juribus⁶ imperii derogare velit. Ob quam rem non est, cur sanctitas domini nostri eas bullas emittere vereatur, quae jam sigillis munitae feruntur. Scripsisti te velle notulas earum ad me mittere. Id cur factum non sit, minime intelligo.

¹ et V6, V7

² Treverensis F1, V6, V7

³ mallent V7

⁴ hujus V7

⁵ animus V7

⁶ viribus F1, V7

3. First petitions

[4] I now come to the first petitions. Your Grace defends them magnificently and shows that they are not in conflict with the agreements.¹ The Archbishop of Trier² was here some days ago, and when he had told the emperor many and important things, he wanted a private conversation with him alone, which the emperor would not allow. So it was decided that the emperor would have one person with him and the archbishop another. The archbishop chose his brother,³ and the emperor me. The conversation lasted a long time and dealt with important matters. There was also talk of the first petitions because the ordinaries⁴ would not extend them to their months.⁵ At the emperor's request, I showed that they in no way conflict with the agreements, and I used the arguments that Your Grace had written to me, for the emperor uses not only the apostolic indult but also old custom. We said it would be bad if the ordinary bishops and prelates who have obtained all they possess from imperial beneficence should refuse their months when the pope, who is less obliged, would give his months⁶ to the emperor. Having heard this, the archbishop said that he would not want any derogation from the rights of the empire.⁷ Therefore, there is no reason that Our Most Holy Lord should fear signing the bulls that have already been sealed. You have said you would send me the drafts, and I do not understand why it has not been done.

¹ The Concordat of 17 February 1448 between the Holy See and the Holy Roman Empire.

² Jakob von Sierck, Dean of Trier and Würzburg.

³ Presumably Philip von Sierck.

⁴ An Ordinary in ecclesiastical language, denotes any person pos-

sessing or exercising ordinary jurisdiction connected permanently or at least in a stable way with an office, whether this connexion arises from Divine Law, as in the case of popes and bishops, or from positive church law (The Catholic Encyclopedia).

⁵ The equal months (February, April etc.). See RTA, 19/3, p. 337, n. 13.

⁶ The unequal months.

⁷ Sierck wanted to restrict the first petitions to the papal (unequal) months (See Miller, pp. 247-278).

[5] Sentio quoque sapientiae tuae non videri justum, quae de precibus sancienda¹ sunt ad imperiales nominationes extendi. Id fortasse facis, ne cardinali Metensi praejudices, quem ferunt in Suevia jus nominandi nonnullas personas habere. At quamvis Caesar in Suevia patrimonium² habeat, quia tamen ibi pauca beneficia sunt et exilia, non magnam vim super illis facit. In Austria et in aliis patrimonialibus terris nominationes suas servari cupit neque minus illas salvari optat quam preces primarias, quod profecto non est tanto principi denegandum, qui in dies³ pro conservandis⁴ apostolicae sedis juribus⁵ forti animo pugnat et insultantium retundit impetus. Nominationes {58r} ad numerum datae sunt, et in terra hereditaria. Non est, cur timeatis ordinariorum querelas. Nemo in hac parte Caesari se opponet, neque damnare quisquam poterit, si eas in Austria declaraveritis locum habere. Certum est enim, quia et Austria hereditarium Caesaris dominium⁶ est, qui et Austriae dux dicitur et, deficiente sine liberis Ladislao, illic heres est⁷. Si qua geritis in Romana curia ad preces maximorum principum, non sunt ea, quae vobis nationem hanc efficiant alienam, si modo non sint iniqua neque pares offendant principes. Ibi aperiendi sunt oculi, ne illis fiat injuria, qui repungere possint, quibusque datum est *nocere terrae et mari*, quemadmodum tuus aliquando sermo fuit.

¹ *corr. ex* sanctianda V6; sanctianda V7

² patrocinium F1

³ dietim F1

⁴ confirmandis F1

⁵ viribus F1

⁶ dominum V7

⁷ heres est : est heres V7

4. Emperor's nominations

[5] I perceive that you do not consider it right to extend the arrangement with the first petitions to the nominations.¹ The reason may be that you do not want to cause prejudice to the Cardinal of Metz,² who reportedly has the right to nominate several persons in Swabia. But though the emperor has patrimony in Swabia, the benefices³ there are few and external,⁴ and he does make much of them. But he wants to retain the nominations in Austria and other patrimonial lands of his, and he wishes to keep them no less than the first petitions. That should certainly not be denied this great prince, who daily and determinedly fights to maintain the rights of the Apostolic See and foils the attempts of those who oppose them. The nominations are limited in number and only concern the emperor's hereditary lands,⁵ so there is no reason to fear complaints from the ordinaries. Nobody in this region will oppose the emperor, and nobody could criticise it if you should declare that the emperor may make his nominations in Austria. For it is certain that Austria belongs to the hereditary domain of the emperor, who is also titled Archduke of Austria and is the direct heir there if Ladislaus dies without sons. If you do anything at the Roman Curia concerning the petitions of the greatest princes, this will not alienate this nation from you, if only it is not abusive and offensive to equal princes. For you must act with the eyes open lest you harm those who can retaliate and who can *hurt the earth and the sea*,⁶ as you once said.

¹ Nominations for benefices to which he has the right of patronage.

² Estaing, Guillaume-Hugues d' (d. 1445): Archdeacon of Metz.

Created cardinal by Nicolaus V 19 December 1449. Piccolomini knew him from Basel. Lit.: Strnad: Francesco, pp. 128-129.

³ To which he has the right of patronage.

⁴ Outside his main area of power.

⁵ See RTA, 19/3: p. 337.

⁶ Apocalypse, 7:2.

[6] Pergo ulterius. Miraris, cur tantopere sive dominus Papiensis sive ego sanctissimum dominum nostrum ad respondendum de classe Italica coartamus. At si capitula Frankfordiensis concilii perlegeris, inuenies illic non esse spem terrestris exercitus contra Turcos, nisi et maritimus instituat. Litterae quoque a nobis missae tuam sapientiam commonefacere potuerunt, principes hujus nationis Teutonicae ad hoc bellum pro fide catholica suscipiendum non esse magnopere ferventes plerosque autem¹ occasiones quaerere, quibus possent a conventis resilire, quibus satis honesta excusatio videretur, si classis Italica non posset haberi. Nam, quod promissum est Frankfordiae, conditionem annexam habet, si potentatus Italici per mare concurrant, quoniam² alterum sine {58v} altero parum videtur habere momenti. Nimirum³ ergo, si magnopere quaerimus apostolicae sedis responsum, vellemus enim, quod laudabiliter inchoatum est, ad exitum honestum deduci, et si defectus futurus est⁴, eum Teutonibus⁵ potius quam nostris Italicis imputari. Et quamvis litterae tuae de classe summi pontificis spem certam praebeant, sitque sanctitas apostolica quavis⁶ laude digna, non tamen tanto bello naves sufficere creduntur, quas Romani pontificis armare pecunia potest. Vellent Germani non solum papam, sed clarissimum illum Aragoniae regem ceterosque potentatus Italiae⁷ in tanto negotio manus afferre, quod nunc, pace facta, verisimile conjectamus. De rege Aragonum jam certiorati sumus, qui se proximo vere classem habiturum affirmat, quemadmodum oratori suo, qui apud nos est, novissime rescripsit⁸. Confidimus sanctissimum dominum nostrum ad id operam dare, ut tota Italia pro communi salute arma suscipiat, etiam si Teutones nihil egerint, de quibus, quid spei geram, infra subjiciam. Nobis necessarium esset singulis diebus intelligere, quae apud vos⁹ agantur, ut his respondere possemus, qui facta nostra calumniantur.

¹ aut V6

² quem V7

³ nimium V7

⁴ ad exitum ... est *omit.* V7

⁵ Theutonicis V5

⁶ quamvis V7

⁷ *omit.* F1

⁸ scripsit F1

⁹ vos V5, V6, V7

5. The Italian fleet

[6] I pass on to other matters. You wonder why His Lordship of Pavia and I are urging Our Most Holy Lord to answer concerning the Italian fleet. If you read the articles from the Diet of Frankfurt,¹ you will see that there is no hope of a land army against the Turks unless a fleet is organised, too. Also, a letter we sent you could have informed Your Wisdom that the princes of this German nation are not enthused about undertaking a war for the Catholic faith, and many of them seek opportunities to renounce the agreement. If there cannot be an Italian fleet, they have an honest excuse, for the promises made in Frankurt were made on the condition that the Italian powers should join up with them at sea. For a land army without a fleet or a fleet without a land army gives little meaning. So, it is no wonder if we beg the Apostolic See for an answer, for we would that what has been begun laudably should have an honourable end, and if it all ends in a fiasco, it is better if it is imputed to the Germans rather than us Italians. And although your letter gives certain hope for a fleet [made] by the Supreme Pontiff, and although the Apostolic See may be worthy of praise, it is not believed that the ships the Roman Pontiff can afford to arm are sufficient for this great war. The Germans want that not only the pope but also the Illustrious King of Aragon² contribute to this great venture, something that we consider likely now that peace has been made.³ Concerning the King of Aragon, we have been informed that next spring he will have a fleet [at his disposal], as he recently wrote⁴ to his ambassador,⁵ who is with us here. We trust that Our Most Holy Lord will work to achieve that all of Italy takes arms for the common safety, even if the Germans should do nothing. Below I shall comment on the Germans and what I hope from them. At any rate, it is necessary for us to have continuous information about what happens at your end⁶ so that we can answer them who revile our⁷ doings.

¹ RTA, 19/3: p. 338, n. 21.

² Alfons V the Magnanimous.

³ The Italic League, joined by Alfonso V on 26 January 1455 and by the pope on 25 February, and

officially proclaimed in Rome on 2 March. Piccolomini would probably only have heard of King Alfonso's joining it when he wrote to Carvajal.

⁴ Letter not extant.

⁵ Michele Riccio.

⁶ In Rome and Italy.

⁷ The Italians.

[7] De diplomatario, quae scripta sunt, intelligo. Tacite mordeor, qui noscens hominis mores non prohibuerim litteras sibi dari. Res acta est, me nescio, ante Papiensis episcopus eum convenit, quam mihi verbum de eo fieret. Cum scivi eum litteras accepisse, nolui nocere homini et maxime, cum esset equester et causam propriam haberet {59r} quae ipsum urgebat ad curiam festinare. Itaque dedi ego et litteras meas sibi, neque contentus his¹, sciens pericula, quae possunt itinerantibus accidere, reique gravitatem recogitans, cum essem Norimbergae, suasi domino Papiensi ut iterum scriberet, quod factum est. Ego quoque cum eo scripsi. Litterae per mercatores fideles transmissae sunt. Itaque, quantum ad me attinet, non puto commissam esse² negligentiam. Ipse tamen³, etsi morem suum tenuit, sexaginta tamen diebus ante festum Purificationis aut saltem quinquaginta Romam petiit. Itaque non deerat tempus designandi legati etiam cardinalis, et maxime cum se tam voluntarium Nidrosiensis offerret. Ego illius promptitudinem laudo, qui pro fide⁴ catholica tanto labori personam suam non denegat, neque ordinis⁵ vestri ferre sarcinam, si jubeatur, recusat, quamvis multi Nidrosienses inveniri possent, nisi Ruteni vox illa impedimento esset, quae vulgo fertur, “Pater sancte, non plura cardinalia.”

¹ is F1, V6, V7; *corr. ex is* V5

² *em. RTA; omit. codd.*

³ *spatium* V5

⁴ *pro fide omit.* V7

⁵ *ordini* V7

6. The unreliable messenger

[7] Concerning the messenger,¹ I understand what has been written. I tacitly agonise that, knowing the man's character, I did not forbid the letter to be given to him. The thing was done without my knowledge. The Bishop of Pavia met him before I had been told about him. When I heard that he had received the letter, I did not want to bother him, especially since he had already mounted his horse and had his own reason for hastening to the curia. So, I also gave him my own letter.² But not content with this, knowing the risks that can befall travellers and considering the importance of the matter, I, when in Nürnberg,³ urged His Lordship of Pavia to write again, what he did. I also wrote with him. The letters were delivered via trusty merchants. Thus, as far as I am concerned, I do not think I have been negligent. At any rate, that messenger, though true to his character, did reach Rome 60 days⁴ or at least 50 before the Feast of Purification.⁵ Therefore, there was time enough to appoint a legate,⁶ even a cardinal, especially as the [Archbishop] of Nidaros⁷ voluntarily offered to go.⁸ I commend the promptitude of this man, who does not want to spare himself in this great need of the Catholic faith and does not refuse to carry the burdens of your order,⁹ if requested to, even if there would be found many like him, unless those words of the Ruthenian [Cardinal]^{10 11} prevented it, who is rumoured to have said, "Holy Father, no more cardinals."¹²

¹ Not identified. It was probably not a professional courier since he had urgent business at the Curia.

² Piccolomini's letter to Carvajal of 28 October 1454 (EPI, 7 / 560).

³ Around the first of November 1454.

⁴ I.e., about the 1 of December, meaning that the travel from Frankfurt to Rome had taken about a month

⁵ 2 February 1455.

⁶ To the Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

⁷ Kalteisen, Heinrich (ca. 1390-1464): an official at the court of Pope Eugenius, later appointed Archbishop of Bergen (Norway). At the Diet of Wiener Neustadt, he represented the King of Denmark.

⁸ On this passage, see Meuthen, p. 113.

⁹ The cardinals.

¹⁰ Isidore of Kiev (1385-1463): Prelate of Byzantine Greek origin. 1437, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus. Supporter of the Union of

Florence. Escaped Constantinople after the Turkish conquest in 1453. Appointed a cardinal in 1455.

¹¹ On the opposition of the cardinals to the appointment of new cardinals, see letter of 20 Februar to Pietro da Noceto (letter 599).

¹² Does Piccolomini here intimate that Kaltessen offered to be appointed a papal legate in order to be created a cardinal?

[8] De viro illo mirabili apud Frankfordiam viso nihil falsi ad me scriptum est. Non vidi biblias integras, sed quinterniones aliquot diversorum librorum, mundissimae ac correctissimae litterae, nulla in parte mendaces, quas¹ tua dignatio sine labore et absque berillo legeret. Volumina centum et quinquaginta octo² absoluta esse ex pluribus testibus³ didici, quamvis aliqui centum et octoginta esse confirmaverint. De numero mihi non plane⁴ constat. De perfectione voluminum, {59v} si fides habenda est hominibus, non sum dubius. Si scivissem desiderium tuum, emissem unum proculdubio volumen. Quinterniones etiam aliquot hic ad Caesarem delati sunt. Conabor, si fieri poterit, aliquam huc⁵ bibliam venalem afferri eamque tui causa comparabo, quod timeo, ne fieri possit, et propter distantiam itineris et quia antequam perficerentur volumina, paratos emptores fuisse⁶ tradunt. Quod autem tua dignitas magnopere desideraverit⁷ hujus rei certitudinem habere, inde conjicio, quia per duplomatarium Pegaso velociorem id mihi significasti. Ac tantum jocatum⁸ fuisse⁹ sufficiat.

¹ quos F1, V6, V7

² *omit.* V7

³ testis V7

⁴ plene V6, V7

⁵ hic V7

⁶ habuisse V5

⁷ desideravit V7

⁸ locatum V7

⁹ esse V6, V7

7. The printing press¹

[8] Concerning the amazing man I visited in Frankurt, it was not false what had been written to me.² I did not see complete Bibles but only quinternions from different books. The letters were clear and correct, nowhere faulty, which Your Grace could read easily and without glasses. From some witnesses, I heard that 158 volumes³ have now been finished, but others said it was 180. I am not quite sure about the number. [At any rate,] if people can be trusted, I do not doubt that those volumes have been produced. If I had known your wish, I would certainly have bought a volume. Some quinternions have now been brought to the emperor. If possible, I shall endeavour to have a bible for sale brought here and buy it for your sake, but I fear it is not possible both because of the long distance and because they say that buyers stand ready before the volumes are finished. But I presume that Your Grace much desired to have certain information about this matter, since you informed me by a messenger faster than Pegasus!⁴ But enough joking!

¹ On this passage, see Meuthen.

² Piccolomini had apparently heard of Gutenberg by letter (not extant) before visiting him.

³ I.e., complete bibles.

⁴ According to Meuthen (p.117) the messenger referred to in sect. 7, who had brought Carvajal's

letter to Wiener Neustadt. But why would Carvajal have rebuked Piccolomini for using a messenger he had himself sent?

[9] De Senensi archidiaconatu, si vacaverit, expecto provisionem tuam. Timeo tamen¹, ne tarda sit, nam qui palatium regunt, reservationibus uti solent nosque longe positos praevenire. Tuum erit, quo melius possis amico consulere. Litteras commendationis ecclesiae in Hyrnunga te annitente mihi missas accepi.

[10] Intellexi quoque annata liberatum me esse, quam pro Senensi ecclesia sacro collegio debebam. Haec nulli alteri quam tuae erga me optimae voluntati ascribo. Tu meus adiutor es, meus promotor, meus conservator. Nisi tua me manus elevasset, nihil essem. Ex te sum², quod sum. Tibi et honores et dignitates et opes et fortunas meas omnes ascribo. Quod si pro tantis in me beneficiis tuis non refero grates, difficultati rei, non voluntati meae imponendum est, neque enim ego is sum, qui tantum debitum {60r} persolvere possim. Tuae humanitatis est animum magis quam vires inspicere, quod pro tua sapientia te facere non³ ignoro.

[11] Caesari tuas litteras dedi. Majestas ejus inter omnes tui ordinis patres te⁴ praecipue veneratur, nam et te unum esse dicit⁵ in eo collegio, qui suas causas tueatur. Is te magnopere adhortatur, ut primarias preces ac nominationes suas, quemadmodum supra scripsi, conservare velis.

[12] Hartungus Capel⁶, juris interpret et⁷ imperialis consiliarius⁸, oratum te cupit, ut nepoti, quantum justitia sinit⁹, favorem praebeas neque vexari sinas per Henricum Rora¹⁰, quem tuum ferunt esse familiarem.

¹ *spatium* V5

² *id add.* V5

³ *omit.* V7

⁴ *omit.* V7

⁵ esse dicit : dicit esse V7

⁶ Hartungus Capel : Artungus capellanus V7

⁷ te V7

⁸ consiliarium V7

⁹ sunt V7

¹⁰ Rora V6, V7

8. The parish of Irdning

[9] If the Sienese archdeaconate becomes vacant,¹ I expect you to arrange for its provision. However, I fear that it will be too late, for those who govern the palace² normally use reservations and bypass us who are far away. It will be up to you to assist a friend as best you can. I have received the letter sent to me granting me, at your instigation, the church of Irdning *in commendam*.

9. The annates

[10] I also understand that I have been freed of the annates I owed to the Sacred College³ for my Church of Siena. I attribute that to nothing else than your excellent disposition towards me. You are my helper, my promotor, and my protector. If you had not raised your hand, I would have been nothing. Because of you, I am what I am. I owe you all my honours, dignities, resources, and fortunes. If I do not thank you for your great favours towards me, it is because of the difficulty of the matter, not my wish, for my situation is such that I cannot repay this great debt of gratitude. So, in your kindness, please look at my will rather than my strength. I know that this is what you are wisely doing.

10. The emperor's gratitude

[11] I gave your letter to the emperor. Among all the Fathers of our order, His Majesty esteems you especially, for he says that you are the only one in that college who defends his interests. He urges you to ensure [the continuation of] his first petitions and nominations.

11. Hartung von Kappel's nephew

[12] Hartung Kappel,⁴ jurist and imperial councillor, asks you to favour his nephew, as much as justice allows, and not permit him to be harassed by Heinrich Rorau⁵, who is reportedly a familiar of yours.

¹ For Antonio Piccolomini. See letter of 25 November to Francesco Tolomei (EPI, 7 / 611).

² Those responsible for expediting the papal affairs.

³ The cardinals.

⁴ Kappel, Hartung Molitoris von (bef. 1420 – after 1476): Doctor

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

⁵ Rorau, Heinrich von (ca. 1388-1464): Doctor legum. Papal official. Bohemian procurator in Rome. In 1455, a member of Cardinal Carvajal's household. Some times

tense relationship with Piccolomini, see letter of Piccolomini to Prokop von Rabenstein of 10 March 1457 (EPI, 9: 762). Lit.: Sohn, pp 217-228; Schuchard: Papstliche, pp. 302 ff.

[13] Absolutis jam rebus familiaribus ad publicas transeo. Scribam tibi ex ordine, quae hactenus in hoc conventu¹ gesta sunt, et quae nunc geruntur. Tu deinde, quid spei sit habendum, melius intelligas, quam mea possit epistola palam facere. Primus, qui huc venit, fuit orator regis Aragonum, qui, cum nequivisset durante conventu Frankfordiam petere, ad Caesarem se contulit, et quae dicturus Frankfordiae fuerat, hic exposuit. Summa legationis ejus fuit: regem suum pro tuenda fide catholica sollicitum ingentem classem contra Turcos armare velle; rogare, quod² exercitus terrestris³ quantocius instituatur. Is quodammodo invitus usque nunc retentus est⁴, cum videret res nimium protrahi, nec spem aliam haberet felicitis exitus. Heri Caesarem adiit. Pacatam Italiam dixit regemque suum proximo vere navalem exercitum in alto habiturum dixit⁵, utque domum repetere {150v} posset, multa prece rogavit. Jussus est dies adhuc decem manere⁶, ut, quid rerum⁷ agatur, plenius intelligat atque instructor domum redeat.

[14] Post eum venit ad nos episcopus Papiensis, gravis et modestus pater et ad fidem tutandam egregie cordatus. Is diu tristis fuit, cum nihil litterarum ex curia reciperet⁸, sed tandem consolationem recepit⁹ veniente cursore¹⁰ apostolico et res Italicas afferente, quas ille mox Caesari et aliis, qui ad conventum venerant, notas fecit. Secutus deinde est Treverensis archiepiscopus, homo et animi et consilii non mediocris. Is, cum¹¹ accepisset imperatorem abesse (nam Grecz iverat), eius reditum in balneis expectavit. Reversus Caesar, cum intraturus¹² esset, Treverensis obviam illi profectus est eumque magno cum honore suscepit. Cum eo et legati aliquot civitatum et aliorum principum electorum venere. Nec diu post oratores ducis Burgundiae et oratores archiepiscopi Salczburgensis adventarunt.

[15] Legati quoque regni Hungariae inter haec duo huc missi sunt, qui litteras securitatis pro majori legatione petiverunt, asserentes futuros esse cardinalem Strigoniensem ac duos episcopos, comitem Ciliae, comitem Bistricensem, comitem palatinum, Nicolaum vaivodam et alios complures barones cum duobus milibus equitum subscribique litteras salvi conductus manu propria caesaris expetebant. Iis¹³ promissa est securitas sine subscriptione¹⁴ propriae manus, {151r} excepto comite Ciliae, pro quingentis tantum equitibus. Praesentes fuerunt, cum responsio data est, legati regni Bohemiae, qui gubernatorem suum excusabant, quod ad diem promissam non venisset, eumque brevi venturum affirmabant. Legati Hungariae, audito responso, parum contenti recessere.

¹ hoc conventu : haec conventa V7

² qui V7

³ exercitus terrestris : terrestris exercitus F1

⁴ et *add.* V7

⁵ *del.* V5

⁶ morari V6, V7

⁷ verum F1

⁸ receperit V7

⁹ accepit V6, V7

¹⁰ tabellario V5

¹¹ jam *add.* F1

¹² impetraturus V7

¹³ his V6, V7

¹⁴ suspicione V7

12. The Diet of Wiener Neustadt

[13] Having dealt with personal affairs, I now pass on to the public. I shall write you an orderly account of what has happened in the diet until now and what is happening now. Then you will understand what to expect better than my letter can say. The first who came here was the ambassador¹ of the King of Aragon². Since he could not reach Frankfurt during the diet there, he went to the emperor and stated here what he would have said there. The essence of his mission was this: his king, concerned about the protection of the Catholic Faith, would arm an immense army against the Turks and requested that a land army be raised as soon as possible. The ambassador has accepted to stay here, though somewhat unwillingly since he saw that the matter was taking too long and he could not otherwise hope for a happy outcome. Yesterday he came to the emperor to tell him that Italy now had peace³ and that his king during the coming spring would take a fleet into the sea. He insisted on being allowed to go home but was requested to stay for another 10 days to fully understand what happened here and return home better informed.

[14] After him, the Bishop of Pavia⁴ arrived, a grave and modest Father, zealous for the protection of the Faith. For a long time, he was sorry not to get letters from the curia, but finally he was consoled when the apostolic courier arrived with news from Italy, which he immediately reported to the emperor and others who had come to the diet. Then followed the Archbishop of Trier⁵, a man of uncommon spirit and sagacity. When he heard that the emperor was absent (having gone to Graz), he awaited his return at the baths⁶. When the emperor was at the point of returning here, the archbishop left to receive him with great honour. He was accompanied by legates from some cities and other princes. Shortly afterwards, the orators⁷ from the Duke of Burgundy⁸ and from the Archbishop of Salzburg⁹ arrived.

[15] Two legates from the kingdom of Hungary were sent here to request safe conducts for a major legation. They said that the Cardinal of Esztergom¹⁰ would come with two bishops¹¹, the Count of Celje¹², the Count of Bistrita¹³, the Count Palatine,¹⁴ Voivode Miklas¹⁵, and a fair number of barons, with 2,000 knights. They demanded that the safe conducts should be signed by the emperor in his own hand. They were promised the safe conducts but without the emperor's personal signature. Moreover, the Count of Celje was excluded, and only 500 knights were permitted. This answer was given in the presence of legates from the kingdom of Bohemia, who made excuses on behalf of their governor for now arriving on the promised day but stated that he would arrive shortly. When the Hungarian legates heard the answer, they left dissatisfied.

¹ Michele Riccio.

² Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

³ See section 6.

⁴ Giovanni di Castiglione.

⁵ Jakob von Sierck.

⁶ In Baden bei Wien.

⁷ Guillaume Fillastre the Younger, Simon de Lalaing, and Pedro Vásquez de Saavedra.

⁸ Phillippe III le Bon.

⁹ Siegmund von Volkerdorf

¹⁰ Dénes Szesci

¹¹ János Vitéz of Varad and Bishop Nicolaus de Barnis of Fünfkirchen (Pecs)

¹² Ulrich II.

¹² Ulrich II.

¹³ János Hunyadi.

¹⁴ László II Garai.

¹⁵ Mikós Ujlaky.

[16] Dum haec aguntur, inclytus rex Ladislaus, dissoluto conventu Vratislaviensi, Viennam revertitur ipso primo die dominico quinquagesimae¹, eumque secutus est² Georgius³ Bohemiae gubernator et non parvus illarum partium numerus baronum. Quo cognito Treverensis et, qui cum eo aderant, oratores principum electorum Caesarem adeunt. Multa et magna sibi de rebus imperii commissa esse dicunt, quae regi Bohemiae tamquam principi electori communicare velint. Ajunt Viennam se petere velle illiusque regis animum perdiscere, deinde reverti Caesareo culmini cuncta exposituros. Caesar, quae sint imperii nullum⁴ prius cognoscere debere quam se, dicit; regem Bohemiae puerum esse; consiliarios habere, qui se minime diligant; exponi sibi, quae sint ea imperii negotia, ante omnia iubet. Tum, si visum⁵ fuerit, Viennam petendi libertatem daturum se asserens. Illi contra instant. Fit non parva disceptatio. Placet Treverensi Viennam petere, idemque legati quattuor principum electorum suadent. Caesar, ubi affirmatos animos videt, quamvis dissuadet iter, non tamen prohibet. Illi, quod statuerant, peragunt, quae res non parum fomenti ad sinistras {151v} suspiciones ministrat. Rex Ladislaus, ubi accepit, quae Treverensis ad se retulit, commendavit legationem ejus. Dixit tamen de rebus imperii se parum instructum esse; suadere, ut ad Caesarem rediret, quo cum et ipse missurus esset legatos. Quaecumque Caesari placerent essentque rei publicae accommoda⁶, his se libenti animo consensurum.

[17] Dum haec aguntur, Ulricus, comes Ciliae, per amicos⁷ regi Ladislao reconciliatus⁸ cum magno comitatu Viennam petit. Rex ei obviam cum Treverensi et aliis curiae baronibus extra urbem ad longum spatium procedit. Excipitur homo cum plausu et⁹ laetitia singulari magnatum. Tantus ei¹⁰ honor¹¹ impenditur, quantus vix principi de re publica optime merito possit impendi. Mira fortunae variatio et instabilis rerum mundanarum status: annus cum dimidio effluxit¹², postquam ille de regimine, de consilio, de familia regis amotus succlamante populo ac minas ingerente extra urbem cum ignominia dejectus est. Nunc cum tanta solemnitate tantaque multitudinis alacritate reductus est, ut dubitandum sit, an gloriosius modo redierit, an prius aufugerit contumeliosius. Cum Gaio Mario ex Romanis, cum Alcibiade comparandus videtur ex Graecis.

¹ quadragesimae V5 !!!

² omit. V7

³ Gregorius V7

⁴ nullius F1; nullum *supra*
rasuram V5

⁵ usum F1

⁶ accomodata V7

⁷ annos V7

⁸ conciliatus V7

⁹ ac V6, V7

¹⁰ et V7

¹¹ ei honor : honor ei V7

¹² defluxit V6, V7

[16] Meanwhile, after the meeting in Wroclaw¹ had ended, the Illustrious King Ladislaus returned to Vienna on the first Sunday of the quinquagesima.² He was followed by Georg³, Governor of Bohemia, and a fair number of barons. When he heard it, the [Archbishop] of Trier (with the legates of the prince electors with him) approached the emperor and told him that many and important affairs concerning the Empire had been entrusted to them which they wanted to communicate to the King of Bohemia⁴ in his capacity as prince elector.⁵ They said that they wanted to go to Vienna and learn what the king thought about these matters. Afterwards, they would return and inform His Imperial Highness of everything. The emperor answered that nobody should know about the affairs of the Empire before him; the king of Bohemia was a boy; he had councillors who were against him. Finally, he ordered them to inform him about these affairs of the Empire. Then, if expedient, he would grant them liberty to go to Vienna. But they insisted, and a fierce discussion arose. The archbishop was determined to go to Vienna, and the legates of the four prince electors argued in the same vein. The emperor, seeing their determination, advised against the travel but did not forbid it. They did as they had decided, which gave rise to sinister suspicions.⁶ When King Ladislaus heard what the archbishop told him, he commended his missions but said that he was not well-informed about the affairs of the Empire and advised them to return to the emperor. He would send his legates with them. Whatever the emperor decided and which would benefit of the commonwealth he would accept gladly.

[17] Meanwhile, Count Ulrich of Celje⁷ had, through friends, become reconciled with King Ladislaus and returned to Vienna with a great following. Together with the Archbishop of Trier and barons from the court, the king went a long distance outside the city to meet him. The count was received with the magnates' applause and singular joy. A prince very well deserved of the state could barely have been shown greater honour than him. Amazing is the variability of Fortune and the instability of worldly things. Only a year and a half had passed after the count had been removed from the the king's government, council, and household and ignominiously expelled from the cities while the people was shouting against him and threatening him. Now he was brought back with such great solemnity and popular enthusiasm that it is difficult to know what was greatest: the glory of his return now or the humiliation of his flight then.⁸ He may be compared with Gajus Marius⁹ of the Romans or Alcibiades of the Greeks.¹⁰

¹ The Breslauer Fürstentag in December/January 1454/1455.

² The seventh Sunday before Easter, i.e., 16 February 1454.

³ Georg Podiebrad.

⁴ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁵ The King of Bohemia was one of the seven prince electors of the Holy Roman Empire.

⁶ See Miller, p. 248.

⁷ Ulrich II.

⁸ On these events, see HB, pp. 550-553; Piccolomini: *Historia Rerum Friderici III*, ed. Kollar, p. 457 (*Analecta Monumentorum Omnis Aevi Vindobonensis*, vol. 2)

⁹ Gajus Marius (ca. 157–86 BCE): Roman statesman and general. Exiled to Africa by Sulla in 88 but

soon returned to be elected consul a 7th time.

¹⁰ Alcibiades (ca. 450–404 BCE): Athenian statesman and general. Condemned to death in Athens, he defected to the Spartans and later to the Persians. Returned to Athens in 407.

[18] Eitzingerus, qui exclusionis ejus causa fuerat, ubi reditum¹ comitis didicit, diffidere suis rebus coepit, cumque jam² rationes ex eo deposcerentur, qui multa regio nomine administrasset, sciens, quantum posset invidia quamque variables sint animi principum, {152} cedendum³ adversario statuit atque insalutato rege, non expectato comite, in castris⁴ suis sese recepit, quem secuti sunt non pauci, qui cum eo contra comitem senserant, inter quos praecipuus est Riolfus, qui praeses civitatis fuerat, dum comes ejiceretur, homo factiosus ac rerum novarum cupidus, *loquax magis quam facundus*, hostis cleri ac nullius viri boni amicus. Res non parva in Austria commovetur. Eitzingerus et castra⁵ munitissima habet et amicis potentibus fultus est. Comes jam regio favore ac baronum assistentia praeditus veterem iniuriam ulcisci nititur. Cum fortis in fortem impegit, ambo corruunt. Rex, si bono consilio ducetur, componere has lites hoc tempore studebit, quando contra⁶ Turcos bellum parare oportet. Timeo tamen⁷, ne versutia Satanae nostros⁸ cogitatus pervertat.

[19] Hungari, qui proximi Turco sunt quosque⁹ priores esse in hoc conventu decebat, nescio quo pacto, desides inveniuntur. Habuerunt in Buda concilium; decreverunt contra Turcos gerere bellum; quantum quisque contribuere deberet, edixerunt; legatos, qui ad Caesarem proficiscerentur, magnos viros elegerunt. Deinde nescio quid divisionis inter eos ortum est. Sunt, qui gubernatoris imperium ferre non possunt. Ille aliquid subodoravit, statui suo timet, cumque jam cardinalis, duo episcopi, duo vaivodae et comes palatinus ad regem venerint, solus ipse Budae remansit et primo quidem dissimulavit, ut ajunt, aegritudinem. Nunc aperte se {152v} venturum negat, nisi securissimus efficiatur. Nondum certum est, an, quem petit, salvum conductum obtinere possit. Sunt, qui dicunt regem omnia concessurum, ut eum ad se trahat, quod fortasse suadente comite, qui gubernatoris amicus est, non erit difficile. Et utetur¹⁰, me iudice, bono consilio regia maiestas, si hunc hominem in gratia retinuerit hac tempestate, sine quo nihil est, quod adversus Turcos per Hungariam audere possimus. Unum tamen¹¹ me terret, quia cum semel obortae sunt inter alta capita suspiciones, non tam facile dimoveri quam augeri solent.

[20] Albertus marchio Brandenburgensis, qui Vratislaviae recedente rege remanserat aegrotus, desperantibus de salute sua medicis, divino quodam auxilio restauratus est. Ait enim ipse, cum gravissime decumberet, dicentibus sibi medicis, ut animae suae consuleret, quia manifesta mortis signa vidissent, se respondisse: “At ego alium habeo medicum, qui me vitae servare potest”, et ostenso crucifixo, “Hic est,” inquit, “medicus meus, cui nihil difficile est. Ab eo vitam et sanitatem obtinebo,” neque deceptus est¹². Post paucos dies ex integro convaluit atque¹³ ad nos profectus magistratum curiae Caesaris adeptus est. Venit et marchio Badensis ad Caesarem, qui et ipse belli contra Turcos gerendi cupidissimus est¹⁴.

¹ retum V7

² omit. V7

³ credendum V7

⁴ oppidis V5

⁵ castella V5

⁶ omit. F1

⁷ spatium V5

⁸ vestros V7

⁹ quoque F1

¹⁰ utere F1

¹¹ del. V5

¹² del. V5

¹³ omit. F1

¹⁴ omit. V7

[18] Eitzinger¹ had been the cause of his dismissal. When he heard of the count's return, he began to fear for his own position, especially when he, who had administered much in the king's name, was taken to account for his actions. Knowing how potent jealousy is and how fickle the minds of princes are, he decided to yield to his adversary, and without saying goodbye to the king or waiting for the count, he went to his own castles. He was accompanied by many who had supported him, in particular Riolphus, who had been the chief magistrate when the count was expelled, a seditious person eager for political disturbance, *loquacious rather eloquent*,² an enemy of the clergy, and the friend of no man. So, now there is a great upheaval in Austria. Eitzinger has strongly fortified fortresses and powerful friends. The count enjoys the king's favour and the barons' support and is striving to get revenge. *The strong hath stumbled against the strong, and both are fallen together.*³ If the king is well advised, he will endeavour to settle these conflicts now when it is necessary to prepare war against the Turks. But I fear that the cunning of Satan will subvert our planning.

[19] The Hungarians, closest to the Turks, ought to have been the first to come to this diet but have been passive - I do not know why. They held a meeting in Buda⁴, where they decreed to go to war against the Turks, decided on the individual contributions, and chose great men as legates to the emperor. Then some kind of conflict arose between them. Some cannot accept the governor's⁵ power. Sensing that something was in the offing, the governor began to fear for his position. When the cardinal, two bishops, two voivoide, and the Palatine Count⁶ had already come to the king⁷, only he remained in Buda. At first, he pretended to be ill, they say, but now he openly declares that he will only come if he can be completely safe. It is not yet certain that he can get the safe conduct he requests. Some say that the king will make all the concessions necessary to draw him to him, which might not be⁸ difficult since the count, who is a friend of the governor⁹, could possibly persuade him. In my opinion, the king would be well advised to keep this man in favour, especially at this time, since we cannot hope that Hungary will dare anything against the Turks without this man. Only one thing makes me anxious: once suspicions have arisen between high-ranking men, they usually grow more easily than they are erased.

[20] When the king left Wroclaw¹⁰, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg¹¹ remained, struck down by illness. The physicians despaired of his health, but he recovered thanks to divine help. He has said that when he lay gravely ill and the physicians advised him to take care of his soul since they had seen manifest signs of death, he answered, "But I have another physician, who can save my life." Then he pointed to the crucifix and said, "This is my physician, to whom nothing is difficult. From him, I shall get life and health." And he was not disappointed, for a few days later, he recovered entirely and came to us where the emperor appointed him *Hofmeister*.¹² The Margrave of Baden¹³ also came to the emperor; he too is keen to fight the Turks.

¹ Ulrich Eitzinger.

² Sallustius: *Historiae*, 4: 33.

³ Jeremiah, 46: 12: *quia fortis impigit in fortem et ambo pariter conciderunt.*

⁴ Diet of Buda, January 1454.

⁵ János Hunyadi.

⁶ Dénes Szecsi, János Vitéz, Nicolaus de Barnis, Miklós Ujlaky, Lázlò Garai.

⁷ Ladislaus the Posthumous in Vienna.

⁸ Ulrich II of Celje.

⁹ This would shortly prove to be false; the count was actually plan-

ning for the fall of Hunyadi (see Niederstätter, p. 201).

¹⁰ After the Breslauer Fürstentag.

¹¹ Albrecht III Achilles.

¹² Master of the Court.

¹³ Karl I.

[21] Priusquam Treverensis ex hoc loco recederet, jussit Caesar principes ac legatos, qui adessent, omnes ad se venire, ut de re, propter quam conventus habetur, initium {153r} fieret. Ibi de sedibus diu disputatum est neque concordia reperiri potuit. Treverensis dextrum latus Caesaris obtinere volebat. Post eum legati principum electorum locum sibi vendicabant. Alii legatum apostolicum Treverensi et oratorem regis Aragonum legatis electorum praeferebant. Treverensis principem electorem, qui praesens esset, legato papae minime cessurum affirmabat, nisi cardinalis esset aut crucem prae se ferret. Multa concordiae media sunt aperta, sed nullum placuit. Commemoratum et illic est in Romana curia nullum honorem deferri principibus electoribus, quos inter se cardinales haudquaquam recipere dignarentur. Illud quoque veluti probro¹ objectum est, quia praesumpserit vicecancellarius ante Romanorum regem sedere quod auditum antea numquam ferunt. Rex autem Hungariae, cui quartus inter omnes reges locus debetur, infimo loco inter cardinales sederit. Non dico, quae contra replicata sunt; illa per se tua sapientia non ignorat.

¹ probro V6, V7

[21] Before the [Archbishop] of Trier left here, the emperor ordered all the princes and legates present to join him to begin dealing with matter, because of which the diet was held.¹ There, they long quarrelled about the seating and could not come to an agreement. The archbishop² wanted the seat to the emperor's right, and the legates of the prince electors claimed the seats after his. Others said that the apostolic legate and the ambassador of the King of Aragon should be preferred to the legates of the [prince] electors. The archbishop declared that a prince elector who was present should not yield to a papal legate unless he were a cardinal or he had the cross carried before him.³ Many solutions were proposed, but none prevailed. It was mentioned that in the Roman Curia no honour was shown the prince electors, whom the cardinals barely deigned to place between them. It was also criticised that the [cardinal] vicechancellor presumed to sit before the King of the Romans⁴, what had never been heard before. And the King of Hungary⁵ who ranks as the fourth of all kings, sat on the last place among the cardinals⁶. I shall tell you what objections were raised to this⁷; in your wisdom you will know it.

¹ 25 February 1455.

² The only prince elector present at the time.

³ See Miller, p. 248.

⁴ The emperor before his coronation as emperor.

⁵ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁶ These episodes must have taken place at the emperor's coronation in March 1452.

⁷ Presumably by the papal legate.

[22] Cum dies disputando tereretur¹ jamque nox adventasset, iussit Caesar stantibus omnibus suo² nomine verba fieri³. Id oneris mihi demandatum est, quod tanto gravius fuit quanto minus praecogitatum, nam prius placuerat verbis Teutonicis orationem haberi⁴, quae provincia Ulrico Riderio debebatur. At cum mutato consilio me loqui oporteret, necessitate magis quam voluntate parui. Dixi ergo ex tempore quattuor {153v} esse causas, propter quas homines rationis participes in bella trahi solerent, scilicet aut propter lucrum captandum aut propter damnum vitandum aut propter injurias ulciscendas aut propter⁵ laudem consequendam, easque in hoc uno bello contra Turcos gerendo singulas contineri⁶ monstravi⁷. Dixi deinde, quantam molestiam Caesar accepisset de clade Constantinopolitana utque pro tuenda re publica Christiana concilium et apud Ratisponam et apud Frankfordiam indixerit. Commemoravi, quae gesta fuissent Frankfordiae, quam volentes illic principes atque legati sese ostenderint ad consulendum catholicae fidei. Rogavi vice caesaris, omnes in medium consulere vellent, ut, quae Frankfordiae promissa fuissent, executioni mandari possint. Ostendi quattuor esse difficultates, quae possent opponi⁸: temporis brevitatem, quia non videretur aliquibus tam cito quam esset expediens exercitum congregari posse; paucitatem auxilii promissi, quia frustra nonnulli dicerent tam parvas copias contra infinitam Turcorum multitudinem armandam esse; discordias Alamaniae, quae, cum domi pugnaret, extra non posset⁹ exercitum mittere; incertitudinem maritimae¹⁰ classis, cum nihil de pace Italica compertum haberetur. Dissolvi deinde quaevis objecta resque et in tempore et utiliter edocui fieri posse. Solum, ut animo volenti essent, rogavi. Imperatoriam majestatem nihil eorum, {154r} quae sibi ex officio incumberent, praetermissuram dixi¹¹.

¹ teneretur F1; terretur V7

² sub V7

³ feci V7

⁴ omit. F1

⁵ aut propter ... ulciscendas omit. V7

⁶ contineri corr. ex continere F1; continere V6, V7, RTA

⁷ dixi corr. ex monstravi V5

⁸ opponerent corr. ex possent opponi V5

⁹ esset V7

¹⁰ maxime V5

¹¹ del. V5

[22] When the day had been spent on such disputes and it was late evening and all were standing, the emperor requested that someone speak in his name. This task fell to me, which was as difficult as it was unexpected, for it had previously been decided to have the oration in German and the task had been assigned to Ulrich Riederer. But since the decision was changed and I had to speak, I obeyed because I had to and not because I wished to. Improvising, I said that sensible men are usually drawn into war by four motives: acquiring profit, avoiding harm, avenging injuries, and gaining praise. I showed that the war against the Turks offers each of these. Then I told how greatly the emperor had been affected by the disaster in Constantinople and that he had, therefore, convoked the diets in Regensburg and Frankfurt to defend the Christian commonwealth. I mentioned what had been done in Frankfurt and the willingness of the princes and the legates there to protect the Catholic Faith. I showed that there were four possible objections: the shortness of time since some thought the army could not be gathered as soon as expedient; the insufficient aid promised since many said it was useless to mobilise such a small force against the immense multitude of the Turks; the conflicts in Germany that could not send an army abroad while fighting at home; and the uncertainty about the fleet since there was no news about the peace in Italy. Then I countered the objections and argued that the matter could be resolved sensibly and in time. I asked them to only be willing and told them that His Imperial Majesty would not omit anything that his office demanded.

[23] Postquam finivi, Papiensis episcopus, quoniam multum noctis esset, in aliud tempus mentis apostolicae decretum, cum Bohemi et Hungari praesentes essent, expositurum se ait. Orator regis Aragonum dixit se pridem sui principis animum enarrasse¹ eumque² brevissime repetiit. Treverensis et legati principum electorum mansuros se ac plenius consulturos facturosque denique, quod veros Christianos deceret, affirmarunt. Burgundi, qui paucis ante diebus mentem sui principis exposuissent, eandem brevissime³ retulerunt, asserentes illum in propria persona pro Christi nomine militaturum.

[24] Haec acta fuere priusquam Treverensis abiret. Civitates eo die nihil dixere, sed nudiustertius ad praesentiam Caesaris accersitae, quaecumque in hoc opere tam sancto cooperari possent, ferventibus animis promiserunt. Quattuor et viginti civitatum legati assunt, qui et mandatum pro aliis quinque habere se dicunt. Duces Saxoniae, quorum alter huc venturus⁴ erat, excusationes praetendunt, quia cum Bohemis indutias breves habent neque enim ultra festum Pentecostes pax dicta est. Verentur, ne improvisi ab hostibus reperiantur. Legati eorum auxilia contra Turcos indubia promittunt, si Bohemico bello liberari queant. Expectamus nunc Bohemiae gubernatorem, quem intra biduum aut triduum venturum credimus. Is de pace inter Caesarem et regem Ladislaum acturus est, ex qua {154v} pendet omnis gerendi belli contra Turcos nervus. Res ista ac Bohemica cum Saxonibus sola est, quae promissum exercitum valeat impedire. De Prutenis ac Rhenensibus non esset magna vis, nam et sine illis ingentes copias comparare possemus⁵.

[25] Habes omnium rerum statum. Librum⁶ tibi, non epistolam scripsi. Tua dignatio, quae putaverit ex usu, apostolico culmini referre poterit⁷. Ego ex re fore credidi nihil omittere ex his, quae ad rem Turcorum faciunt. Cupio etiam, dum scribo, ab iis⁸ intelligi, quibus scribo, neque Apollinis more respondere soleo. Malo longior videri quam obscurior.

Vale in Christo, quemadmodum cupis, meque pro veteri consuetudine dilige et, si licita peto, reverendissimo domino⁹ cardinali de Columna, domino meo observandissimo¹⁰, commendatum me reddito. Ex Novacivitate, die duodecima Martii 1455.

¹ explicasse V5

² denique prius V5

³ paucis *supra rasuram* V5

⁴ huc venturus : venturus huc V5

⁵ comparare possemus : possemus

comparare V5

⁶ liberum V7

⁷ poterat V7

⁸ his V6, V7

⁹ *omit.* V6, V7

¹⁰ observantissimo F1

[23] When I finished, the Bishop of Pavia¹ said that since it was late at night, he would speak on the apostolic decree² later when the Bohemians and Hungarians were present. The ambassador³ of the King of Aragon⁴ only summarised the king's intentions since he had explained them previously. The [Archbishop] of Trier⁵ and the legates of the prince electos declared that they would stay to fully participate in the discussions and later do as true Christians should. The Burgundians⁶, who had exposed their prince's⁷ intentions a few days earlier, repeated them briefly, confirming that he would fight in person for the cause of Christ.

[24] This is what was done before the departure of the [Archbishop] of Trier⁸. The cities said nothing on that day, but three days later⁹, having been summoned to the emperor's presence, they fervently promised to cooperate as much as possible in this holy venture. 24 legates from the cities are here, and they claim to have mandates from five others. The dukes of Saxony, of whom one¹⁰ was to come here, are making their excuses, for they only have a brief truce with the Bohemians, and the present peace will not last beyond the Feast of Pentecost¹¹. Then they fear being attacked suddenly by the enemy. Their legates promise certain help against the Turks if only they can be freed of the war with the Bohemians. Now, we are waiting for the Governor of Bohemia¹², who is believed to arrive in two or three days¹³. He will consult on a peace between the emperor and King Ladislaus. The whole essence of the war against the Turks depends on this. This matter and [the conflict] between the Bohemians and the Saxons are the only things that can impede the promised army. The Prussians¹⁴ and the Rhinish¹⁵ would not have great importance [in this context] since immense forces can be raised without them.

[25] This is the situation here. I have written a book, not a letter to you. Your Grace may report whatever you consider useful to His Apostolic Highness¹⁶. I considered that it would be relevant to include everything concerning the Turkish matter, for when I write, I want to be understood by those I write to and not to reply in the way of Apollo¹⁷. I would rather seem longwinded than unclear.

Farewell in Christ, and love me as always. If I may, I ask you to commend me to the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal of Colonna¹⁸, my esteemed lord. From Neustadt, 12 March 1455.

¹ Giovanni Castiglione.

² Presumably the papal bull "Etsi ecclesia" of 30 September 1453. On Piccolomini's criticism of this bull, see his letter to Carvajal of 23 December 1454 (EPI, 7: 575).

³ Michele Riccio.

⁴ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁵ Jakob von Sierck.

⁶ Guillaume Fillastre (the Younger)

⁷ Philippe III le Bon.

⁸ 27 February 1455.

⁹ 9 March 1455.

¹⁰ Wilhelm III.

¹¹ 25 May 1455.

¹² Georg Podiebrad

¹³ The Bohemian legates arrived on 18 March 1455.

¹⁴ The Prussians would be hindered by the war between the Teutonic Order and the Prussian cities supported by the King of Poland.

¹⁵ The Rhinish would be hindered by a number of conflicts, espe-

cially the Münsterische Stiftsfehde. See letter of 21 August 1454 to Goro Lolli (EPI, 7: 552).

¹⁶ Pope Nicolaus V, now on his deathbed. He died on 24 March.

¹⁷ A reference to the ambiguous responses of the Oracle at Delphi.

¹⁸ Prospero Colonna. (c. 1410-1463): Roman noble. Nephew of Pope Martin V. Cardinal in petto 1426, published 1430.

608. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (12 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 44, ff. 37r-37v¹; V5, 44, f. 64v-65v **; V6, 44, ff. 56v-57v; V7, ff. 72v-73v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 124v-125r².

Editions B: RTA, 19: 3, pp. 351-352 (extract).

{64v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Bartholomaeo de Massa salutem plurimam dicit. Eximie doctor et fili amantissime.

[1] Acerbissimas mihi de matris obitu litteras misisti. Vulnerasti cor meum et animae partem ex me deduxisti. Nam quomodo ego jam integer vivam, quia³ illam perdidisti, quae mihi vitam dedit? Heu, me miserum, qui nequivi materno adesse funeri et oculos claudere, qui me solum videre cupiebant, antequam clauderentur. O, mea dulcissima mater. Ego te forsitan mea tarditate {65r} festinare in mortem coegi, qui dum redire differo, desiderium tuum protraho. At tu nunc virum tuum, patrem meum, reperisti, Silvium, et dulces natos Andream, Franciscum, Jacobum. Ego jam solus relictus sum. Nescio, quid scribo, Bartholomaeae carissime. Nescio, an te alloquor, an matrem. Lacrimae sine mensura cadunt neque retineri possunt. Scio fortis esse viri fletum retinere et in adversis bonae mentis esse, sed quis vincat humanitatem? Mortua est mater mea et non dolebo⁴? Obiit mea genitrix, et non flebo? Jura haec naturae sunt, quae vos jureconsulti immutabilia dicitis. Parce mihi, *homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*. Non me latet illam fuisse sanctissimam feminam astris et caelo dignam, nec dubito candidam ejus animam in concilio sanctorum receptam, quae, dum vixit in terris, *nullius in conscientia culpae* fuit. Sibi congratulandum est, quae ad meliorem vitam migravit. Mihi non potest non triste esse, dum recolo me absente illam sepultam esse, sed quid agam? Ita res se habet nec mutari potest. Ferenda est, quae oblata fortuna est. Non redibo jam ad vos ea alacritate, qua redissem ille superstite. Videbor vacuam invenire domum, cum illam non⁵ reperero. Non tamen dimorabor amplius.

[2] Sumus hic in tractatu defendendae fidei⁶. Res magna longum tractum quaerit. Assunt legati et principum et civitatum Alamaniae. Bohemi infra triduum expectantur. Hungari Viennae in magno numero sunt, itinere unius diei a nobis remoti, {65v} qui etiam Caesarem petaturi sunt. Velit divina pietas aliquid fieri laude dignum. Finitis his tractatibus conabor ad vos reverti. Medio tempore et sorores meas et earum filios tibi commendatas⁷ facio. Antoniam cupio salvam esse⁸ teque domus nostrae cum domino Bartholomaeo curam habere.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die⁹ 12. Martii 1455¹⁰.

¹ DV, 79-80

² DV, 256-257. *Not collated.*

³ *corr. ex quia* V5

⁴ doleo F1

⁵ *omit.* F1

⁶ rei V7

⁷ commendatos F1

⁸ fieri F1

⁹ *omit.* V7

¹⁰ *omit.* F1, V5

608. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (12 March 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: De Massa had informed Piccolomini that his mother had died.

Subject: Piccolomini expresses his extreme sorrow. He also sends some news from the Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Bartolomeo de Massa¹.

[1] The letter you sent about my mother's² death caused me bitter sorrow. You have wounded my heart and robbed me of a part of my soul. How can I live on, whole, when I have lost her who gave me life? Oh, miserable me who could not attend my mother's death and close the eyes of her, whose only wish was to see me again before they were closed. Oh, my sweetest mother! Maybe my lateness in arriving hastened your death, for by delaying my return, I prolonged your longing. But now, [dear mother], you have found³ your husband, Silvio⁴, and your sweet sons Andrea, Francesco, and Jacopo. Only I am left.⁵ I do not know what to write, dearest Bartolomeo. I do not know whether to speak to you or to mother. Infinite tears are falling and cannot be held back. I know that the strong man restrains his tears and is in good spirits even in adversity, but who can overcome common humanity? My mother is dead, and I should not be sad? My mother is dead, and I should not cry? This is one of the laws of nature that you jurists say are immutable. Forgive me, but *I am a human and I regard nothing human as alien to me.*⁶ I know that she was a most holy woman worthy of the stars and Heaven. I do not doubt that her shining soul has been received into the assembly of the saints, for when she lived on Earth, she was blameless.⁷ She should be congratulated for having passed on to a better life, but still I must be sad when I think of her being buried in my absence. However, what can I do? This is how things are, and I can change nothing. We must bear the fortune that is given to us. Now, I shall not return to you with the same eagerness as when she was alive. It will be like returning to an empty house when she is not there. But I shall dwell no more on this.

[2] Here, we are dealing with the defence of the Faith. This great matter requires a protracted negotiation. The legates from the German princes and cities are here. The Bohemians are expected within three days. Many Hungarians are presently in Vienna, only one day's travel away. They will also come to the emperor. May Pious God grant that the result be praiseworthy. When the negotiations are finished, I shall endeavour to return to you. In the meantime, I commend my sisters⁸ and their sons to you. Please greet Antonia⁹ from me and take care of our home together with Ser Bartolomeo.¹⁰

Farewell. From Neustadt, 12 March 1455.

¹ Massa, Bartolomeo Pieri di: Siennese jurist. Betrothed (c. 1453), later husband of Antonia Guglielmi, Piccolomini's niece.

² Vittoria Forteguerra Piccolomini.

³ In Heaven.

⁴ Piccolomini, Silvio (-1450): Father of Enea Silvio Piccolomini.

⁵ Of the sons. There were still two daughters and their children.

⁶ Terentius: *Heautontimorumenos*, 78.

⁷ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 12: 648: *istius inscia culpa*

⁸ Laudomia Piccolomini Todeschini and Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi

⁹ Piccolomini's niece, daughter of his sister Caterina and Bartolomeo Guglielmi, his fiancée since 1453.

¹⁰ Piccolomini's procurator in Siena.

609. Letter to Heinrich Senfleben (1 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 67, ff. 49v-50r¹; V5, 67, ff. 86r-87r **; V6, 67, ff. 73r-73v²; V7, 67, ff. 94v-95r. (Praha / Kapitel-Bibliothek, cod. lat. G XX, ff. 216r-216v)³.

Editions A: HO, f. 140r⁴.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 352-355.

{86r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Henrico Senfleben salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Gratae sunt mihi semper litterae tue, quae de rebus Italicis certiolem me faciunt. Optarem tamen⁵ feliciora esse, quae scribis de domino nostro. Maestus sum, quando curiales ejus suae vitae timere intelligo, sed fortasse Deus ex insperato meliora praebebit et optatam vicario suo sanitatem restituet. Si quid tamen acciderit, ut quam celerrime certiolem me {86v} reddas, oro. Quae mihi misisti super ecclesia commendata et annata relaxata fideliter restituta sunt ad manus meas. Malim referre quam dicere grates. De domino Treverensi accepi, quae scripsisti. Vellem tantum principem, qui et prodesse et obesse potest, in bona gratia retineri.

[2] Magna hic modo tractantur de bello contra Turcos gerendo ac⁶ de pace inter Germanas potentias componenda. Hungari et Bohemi sunt⁷ hic non sine magno comitatu et Australes etiam. Despotus Rasciae nudiustertius Viennam intravit. Gubernator Hungariae usque Jaurinum⁸ ascendit. Scripsit Caesari velle se huc venire, si litteras securitatis haberet et mandatum sui regis. Litterae promissae sunt. De mandato, quid futurum sit, ignoramus. Si Deus dederit pacem in Germania, praesertim inter majores, fiet - ut credimus - omnino contra Turchos exercitus. De litteris Ladislai regis ad oratores suos fac, ut tibi ex usu videtur. Plenum habes⁹ arbitrium. Ego ejus¹⁰ rei minima spe ducor, quia timidus est, cujus est agere, impediens vero audacissimi sunt.

¹ DV, 104-105

² DV, 75r-75v

³ Collated in RTA

⁴ DV, 287. Not collated.

⁵ *spatium* V6

⁶ *omit.* F1

⁷ *simul* F1

⁸ usque Jaurinum : Jaurinum usque
F1

⁹ *omit.* F1

¹⁰ *hujus* F1

609. Letter to Heinrich Senfleben (1 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Senfleben had written to Piccolomini about the situation in Italy, the pope's health, and the matters of the parish of Irdning and the annates.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks Senfleben, asks him to do as he sees fit with King Ladislaus' recommendation of him for the cardinalate, and sends news from the Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

Enea Silvio, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Heinrich Senfleben.

[1] I am always happy to receive your letters with information about events in Italy. However, I wish you had happier things to write about Our Lord¹. It pains me [to hear] that the curials² are fearing for his life,³ but maybe God will unexpectedly make things better and restore his Vicar to health. Should anything happen,⁴ then please inform me as soon as possible. I have received what you recently sent to me about the church granted me *in commendam*⁵ and the annates remitted as promised⁶. I would rather show my thanks than say them. I have read what you wrote about the Archbishop of Trier.⁷ I wish that this great prince, who can both benefit and harm, may be kept sweet.

[2] Here, we have discussions about making war against the Turks and peace among the German powers. The Hungarians and Bohemians are here with large retinues, as are the Austrians. The Despot of Rascia^{8 9} arrived in Vienna three days ago. The Governor of Hungary¹⁰ has reached Jaurinum¹¹. He has written to the emperor that he would come here if he had a safe conduct [from the emperor] and a mandate from his king¹². The letter [of safe conduct] was promised, but we do not know what will happen about the mandate. If God gives peace in Germany, especially between the major [powers], we firmly believe that there will be an army against the Turks. Concerning King Ladislaus' letter to his ambassadors [in Rome]¹³, do as you think fit. You have full discretion in the matter. I really have little hope, for the one who should act¹⁴ is timid, and the opponents¹⁵ are very bold.

¹ Pope Nicolaus V.

² The members of the Papal Curia.

³ The pope had already died (24 March) when Piccolomini wrote this letter.

⁴ I.e., the pope's death.

⁵ The parish church of Irdning.

⁶ Possibly the official letters from the curia.

⁷ Possibly a reference to the archbishop's designs on the diocese of Metz.

⁸ Serbia.

⁹ Đurađ III Branković.

¹⁰ János Hunyadi.

¹¹ Győr.

¹² Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹³ The king's letter recommended the appointment of Piccolomini as a cardinal. See letters 584:2 and 599:3.

¹⁴ The pope who would appoint new cardinals.

¹⁵ The cardinals who oppose the appointment of new cardinals.

[3] Rogo¹, ut me commendatum facias reverendissimo domino Firmano, cui et haec nova significa; simul quoque² domino Novariensi ac domino Stephano, quibus brevis temporis scribere me prohibuit. Nullae adhuc querelae per praepositum sancti Andreae imperiali majestati de te factae sunt. Si quid sequetur, {87r} habebis plures amicos. Non ditemus causam tuam indefensam. Latorem praesentium, virum bonum et mihi amicum ut commendatum suscipias, oro.

Vale optime. Ex³ Novacivitate⁴, Kalendas Aprilis 1455.

¹ autem *add.* F1

² simul quoque : simulque V6

³ *omit.* V7

⁴ Nova Civitate : civitate nova V5

[3] I ask you to commend me to His Most Reverend Lordship of Fermo¹, whom you may inform about the news above, as well as His Lordship of Novara² and Ser Stefano³ - I have too little time to write to them now. As yet, there have been no complaints to the emperor⁴ about you from the Dean of Sankt Andreas⁵. If such complaints arrive, you will have many friends here, and we shall not leave your cause undefended. I commend the bearer of the present, a good man and a friend, to you.

Live well. From Neustadt, 1 April 1455

¹ Cardinal Domenico Capranica.

² Visconti, Bartolomeo [Aicar-di] (1402-1457): Bishop of Nova-ra 1429 to his death. One-time

employer and friend of Piccolomini. See DVI, ch. 5.

Piccolomini actually wrote to him the next day (letter 614).

³ Stefano Caccia di Fara.

⁴ The emperor had issued a first petition for a canonry for Senftleben at the Kölner Kollegiatstift Sankt Andreas.

⁵ Johann Zeuvelgin.

610. Letter to Giorgio Polycarpo (15 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 46, ff. 37v-38r¹; V5, 46, ff. 66r-66v **; V6, 46, ff. 57v-58r; V7, 46, ff. 73v-74v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 125v-126r².

Editions B: None.

{66r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Georgio Policarpo salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Ago tibi gratias, quod ad me scripseris. Legi enim non sine voluptate litteras tuas, quamvis fortunae tuae acerbitas me commoverit. Sed non est cur³ miremur: viris bonis et doctis semper fuit durissimum cum fortuna certamen; auferre tamen⁴ illa, quae sua sunt, potest. Aurum, argentum et omnem suppellectilem vitae quoque vim ei licet inferre. In bonis autem animi potestatem non habet. Nulla fortunae tempestas virtutem excutit. Captus a piratis Plato ac venundatus major emente se fuit. Nec magister ejus Socrates in carcere positus minor se condemnante creditus est. Nihil habet in sapiente quod suum fortuna dicere possit. Bene Democritus ille ridebat curas necnon et gaudia vulgi interdum et lacrimas, cum fortunae ipse minaci mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem. Tibi fortuna libros abstulit, equos, argentum, vestes: vita⁵ quoque interminata est. At cum dimiserit animam, probitatem quoque ac eruditionem dimisit, quae dederat, repetiit. Nihil est, quod ei improperes. Nihil ex tuo rapuit: parva detraxit, maxima non attigit. Sequitur te tua virtus, quae vel nuda dives est. Sed de hoc satis. Quae de me ipso praedicas, non intelligo mihi convenire, neque tantum mihi arrogo, quantum tribuis. Scio imperfectum meum neque de meipso plus aliis {66v} quam mihi credo.

[2] De nepote meo intellexi, quae scribis, et do fidem verbis tuis, quamvis neque Jacobus, frater meus, neque Franciscus ipse nepos aut alius quispiam id mihi notum fecerit. Recognosco tamen⁶ officium tuum meque tibi obnoxium esse pro tua erga me benevolentia et institutione nepotis.

¹ DV, 80-81

² DV, 258-259. *Not collated*

³ non *add.* F1, V6, V7; ~~non~~ *seq.*

V5

⁴ ~~tamen~~ V5

⁵ *em.*; vitae codd.

⁶ *omit.* V5

610. Letter to Giorgio Polycarpo (15 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Giorgio Polycarpo had written to Piccolomini about his misfortune and asked him to procure a place for him at the imperial court.

Subject: Piccolomini tells Polycarpo that Fortune can do nothing against the wise man. He advises him to seek a position at the Hungarian court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Giorgio Polycarpo.

[1] I thank you for your letter. I read it with pleasure though I was saddened by your bitter fortune. However, there is no reason to be surprised, for good and learned men always had a most strenuous fight with Fortune.¹ She can always take away what is hers²: gold, silver, and all life's ornaments that she bestows on who she wills. But she has no power over good men. No attack by Fortune destroys virtue. When Plato was captured and sold by pirates, he was greater than the one who sold him. And when his teacher, Socrates, was in prison, he was not considered a lesser than the man one who condemned him. Fortune has nothing in the wise man shan can claim is hers. Well did Democritus do when he scorned the cares and joys and sometimes tears of the common man, as he himself threatened Fortune and showed the snare³ and the balm to use as a remedy.⁴ If Fortune took your books, horses, money, and clothes, you would still have your unfinished life, and if she left your soul, integrity, and learning, she would only have taken back what she had given you, and you cannot blame her. For she took nothing of yours: she only took away the small things and did not touch the great. You will still have your virtue, which is rich even when nude. But no more about this. You speak [kindly] about me, but I know that it is not fitting; I do not claim the [virtues] that you attribute to me. I know I am not perfect, and concerning my person, I trust myself more than others.

[2] I understand what you write about my nephew⁵, and I trust your words, though neither my cousin Jacopo⁶ nor Francesco himself or anybody else has informed me about this. But I acknowledge that you have done me a favour and am grateful to you for your kindness towards me and your instruction of my nephew.⁷

¹ On fighting Fortune, see letter to Prokop von Rabenstein of 26 June 1444 (EPI, 3: 152).

² I.e., the gifts she has given.

³ I.e., the snare with which to entrap Fortune.

⁴ Against Fortunes' wounds.

⁵ Todeschini, Francesco (Pius III) (1437/39-1503) Studies in Ferrara

under the supervision of Jacopo Tolomei. In the summer of 1451, he was summoned with his brother Pietro to join his uncle Piccolomini in Austria, with Johannes Tröster and Nikolaus Kreul as teachers. Back in Italy by 1453 (Strnad, pp. 119-122). Lit.: Strnad: *Francesco*.

⁶ Tolomei, Jacopo: An official of the dukes of Ferrara. Related to Piccolomini. See RTA, 19/2, p. 89, n. 2.

⁷ Giorgio had apparently told Piccolomini that he had been teaching his nephew. Piccolomini appears to be somewhat sceptical about this.

[3] Quod¹ si qua in re juvare te potuerim, non immemor ero tui neque deero desideriiis tuis, quoad facultas assit. Quod petis ad me vocari, non est modo temporaneum, neque video hac in curia locum te dignum, neque ego hic mansurus sum. Accingo enim jam me, ut domum repetam, et plus habeo familiae, quam velim. Dissoluto convento mox iter arripiam. Tibi melius erit meo iudicio apud regem Hungariae aut aliquem ex curia sua collocari studeas², in qua re Varadiensis episcopi, doctissimi et optimi patris, praesidio uti poteris, et si quidquam preces meae apud aliquem valuerint illasque³ requisiveris, parebo tuis petitionibus.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate⁴, die 15. Aprilis 1455.

¹ quid F1; *corr. ex* quid V5

² rasura V5

³ aliquasque V7

⁴ Ex nova Civitate *omit.* V7

[3] If I can help you in any matter, I shall remember you and, if possible, not fail your wishes. When you ask me to invite you, this is not the time, for I do not see a fitting place for you at this court, and I myself am not going to remain here. I am now preparing to return home, and my household is larger than I would want. As soon as the diet ends, I shall depart. In my opinion, you would do better applying for some position with the King of Hungary¹ or somebody from his court. In this, you might use the help of the Bishop of Varad², a most learned and excellent Father, and if my recommendations count for anything with him and you ask for them, I shall obey your request.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 15 April 1455.

¹ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

² János Vitéz.

611. Letter to Juan Carvajal (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 47, ff. 38r-39v¹; V5, 47, ff. 66v-69r^{**}; V6, 47, ff. 58r-60r²; V7, 46, ff. 74v-77r.

Editions A: HO, ff. 126r-127v³.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 355-359.

{66v} Aeneas episcopus Senensis Johanni cardinali⁴, sancti Angeli, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Nicolai, summi pontificis obitum, quam graviter tulerim, superioribus litteris scriptum est. Non expedit refricare vulnus. Deus nobis successorem ei similem aut meliorem praebeat. Nisi enim {67r} prudentem et sanctum pontificem habeamus, vereor, ne funditus ecclesia pereat, quando et hostes fidei nostrae unitis viribus in nos feruntur, et nos⁵ ipsi nulla concordia ad tuendam religionem⁶ conjuncti sumus.

[2] Libet hic referre, quae apud Germanos aguntur. Quid faciat Italia, quae⁷ sit Hispanorum intentio, quorsum Angli⁸ atque Gallici tendant, tua dignatio per se melius intelligit. Conventus hic coram Caesare usque in hanc diem protractus est. Teutones, Bohemi et Hungari affuere. Actum est⁹ de parando contra Turcos exercitu. Denique visum est hac aestate nihil fieri posse ex his, quae Frankfordiae conclusa fuerant, nam prius labatur aestas, quam legati principum domum redeant, militem cogant et in¹⁰ Hungariam deducatur¹¹ exercitus. Tempore hiemis durum esset castrametari. Huc accedit, quia nec classis Italicae certitudo dabatur¹² et nunc, praesertim mortuo papa, ad quem ejus rei cura pertinebat. Certum quoque illud est, quia rigente bruma nequeunt naves altum petere, atque ita contingeret terrestrem exercitum sine maritimo hiemali tempore frustra niti. Haec sententia et Burgundorum et Teutonum¹³ fere omnium fuit. Quam cum cognovisset imperator, adhortatus est principes electores, ne propositum nostrae¹⁴ protegendae fidei desererent, sed animo forti promissis haerent, et quod nequirent hoc anno¹⁵, perficere in alio non omitterent; rogarent Hungaros, aequo animo moram {67v} ferrent ad ver usque proximum. Nam medio tempore vellet majestas imperatoria pacem biennem sive, ut vulgo dicimus, treugam per Alamaniam indicere, conservatores instituere atque exercitum congregare, quantum antea promississet, rogare Franciae et Angliae reges, ut et ipsi opem ferrent, mittere ad futurum pontificem, ad regem Aragonum et alios Italiae potentatus, ut maritimae classis certior haberetur notitia. Atque ita res componeretur, ut cum Teutones et Hungari terra Turcos aggredierentur, Italorum¹⁶ navigia Hellespontum tenerent atque hinc Graeciam, inde Asiam infestarent.

¹ DV, 81-84

² DV, 60v-62r

³ DV, 259-262. *Not collated*

⁴ *omit.* F1

⁵ feruntur et nos *omit.* V7

⁶ *omit.* F1

⁷ quo V7

⁸ Anglici V6, V7

⁹ *spatium* V6

¹⁰ *omit.* V7

¹¹ deducant V7

¹² labatur V7

¹³ Theutonicorum V5

¹⁴ *omit.* V5

¹⁵ animo F1

¹⁶ Italicorum F1

611. Letter to Juan Carvajal (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The news of the pope's death had now reached the imperial court, occasioning a flurry of letters from Piccolomini to friends in Italy.

Subject: News from the Diet in Wiener Neustadt and about the Count of Celje's plot against the Governor of Hungary. Piccolomini also asks Carvajal to act as he sees fit concerning Piccolomini's appointment as a cardinal.

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

[1] In my previous letter¹, I have already told you how much I regret the death of Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus.² It will not help to reopen the wound. May God give us a successor who is similar to or even better than him, for unless we get a wise and holy pontiff, I fear that the Church will be ruined since the enemies of our Faith advance against us with united forces, and we ourselves do not unite to protect our religion.

[2] Here, it will be appropriate to relate what happens in Germany. What Italy does and what the Spanish, English, and French intend to do, Your Grace knows better than I. The diet before the emperor has gone on until now. The Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians attend. A decision was made to raise an army against the Turks, but in the end, it became clear that none of the decisions made in Frankfurt can be carried out this summer, for it will pass before the legates of the princes can reach home, gather the soldiers, and take the army to Hungary. In winter, it will be difficult to maintain a camp. Moreover, there is no certainty about a fleet from Italy, especially now that the pope is dead since he had charge of this matter. Any way, it is certain that the ships cannot enter the high sea while the cold winter reigns. A land army deprived of a fleet by winter would be senseless. This is the opinion of almost all the Burgundians and Germans. When the emperor heard it, he exhorted the prince electors to not fail in our determination to protect the Faith but to boldly keep our promises and do next year what could not be done this year. They should ask the Hungarians to accept a delay until next spring. In the meantime, the emperor would impose a two-year peace or a truce, as we commonly say, throughout Germany, appoint guardians [of the peace], and gather as great an army as previously promised. He would also ask the kings of France³ and England⁴ to lend their help, and he would send messages to the future pope, the King of Aragon⁵, and the other Italian powers to get firm information about the fleet. Thus, it would be arranged that when the Germans and Hungarians attacked the Turks over land, the Italian ships would control the Hellespont and harass Greece on the one side and Asia [Minor] on the other.

¹ Not extant. It must have

² Nicolaus V.

³ Charles VII (1403-1461): Ruler of France from 1422 to his death.

⁴ Henry VI [Lancaster] (1421-1471): King of England 1422-1461, 1470 -1471.

⁵ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

[3] Haec cum ego nomine Caesaris exposuissem in conventu principum electorum sive legatorum eorundem die sabbati, quae fuit duodecima aprilis, habita consultatione responsum non uniforme datum est: Treverensis archiepiscopus placere sibi mentem Caesaris ait, atque illam amplexus est. Maguntini oratores laudarunt eandem, sed approbare se minime posse dixerunt, referendum esse domino suo negotium neque dubitandum, quin voluntas Caesaris illi placeret. Legatus Coloniensis nihil in mandatis habere se ait, quod Frankfordiensem conclusionem respiceret. Palatinus orator, etsi dominum suum contra Turcos magnifice obtulit, non tamen illo inconsulto ausus est viam Caesaris amplecti. Legati Saxonum in sententiam imperatoris volentes iverunt. Orator Friderici, Brandeburgensis marchionis, cum dubitare {68r} videretur, ab Alberto, marchionis fratre, graviter correptus est, qui bonum illius principis animum non auderet efferre. Bohemi, quia petentes auxilium cum Hungaris concurrerant, etsi propositum Caesaris commendabant, plus tamen et certius promitti voluissent¹. Reliqui principum et² communitatum legati ad dominos suos relationem postulant, communeque omnium consilium est alteram dici diem, in qua Caesar imperium petens cum principibus electoribus concilium teneat. Caesari contraria sententia est³, ac sine conventu res fieri posse videtur. Interea Treverensis ad regem Ladislaum profectus est intra dies paucos rediturus cum gubernatore Bohemiae et Australibus, qui de pace harum regionum transigunt. Neque scire neque opinari possumus, quorsum res dirigentur. Illud tamen⁴ constat, quia in hac aestate non parabunt Teutones contra Turcos exercitum.

¹ noluissent V7

² ac V6, V7

³ omit. F1

⁴ spatium V5

[3] When I had said this on the emperor's behalf, in a meeting of prince electors or their legates on Saturday the 12th of April, they discussed the matter between and then gave their answer, which was not unanimous: the Archbishop of Trier¹ agreed with and accepted the emperor's plan. The envoys of the [Archbishop] of Mainz² praised it but could not approve it, for the matter must undoubtedly be referred to their lord, though he would undoubtedly agree with the emperor. The legate of [the Archbishop] of Cologne³ said he had no mandate concerning the decisions made in Frankfurt.⁴ Though his lord⁵ made splendid promises concerning the Turks, the Palatine envoy did not dare to accept the emperor's proposal without consulting him. The Saxon legates agreed with the emperor. When the envoy of Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg⁶ appeared to be in doubt, he was severely reprimanded by the margrave's brother Albrecht⁷ for not daring to declare the good intentions of his prince. The Bohemians had joined the Hungarians in seeking help, but though they commended the emperor's proposal, they wanted more firm promises. The other legates of the princes and cities said they would have to refer the matter to their lords, and their common unanimous advice was to summon another diet, in which the emperor should come to the Empire to hold a council with the prince electors. On the contrary, the emperor thought that this matter could be resolved without a [new] assembly⁸. In the meantime, the [Archbishop] of Trier had left⁹ to go to King Ladislaus to return after a few days with the Governor of Bohemia¹⁰ and the Austrians, who are concerned about making peace in these regions. We cannot know nor even have an opinion about how these matters will turn out, but it is now clear that the Germans cannot raise an army this summer.

¹ Jakob von Sierck.

² Erbach, Dietrich Schenck von (1390-1459): Archbishop of Mainz, German prince elector, and primate of Germany from 1434 to his death.

³ Mörs, Dietrich II von (ca. 1385-1463): Archbishop of Cologne from 1414 to his death.

⁴ The Diet of Frankfurt, whose decisions were to be implemented at the Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

⁵ Friedrich I der Siegreiche (Palatinat) (1425-1476): In 1451, he assumed the title of prince elector, against the rights of his nephew and ward and against the will of the emperor.

⁶ Friedrich II der Eiserne.

⁷ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁸ The Diet of Wiener Neustadt was, after all, the third one on the matter within one year.

⁹ 27 February 1455.

¹⁰ Georg Podiebrad.

[4] Ortum est et aliud, quod multorum malorum seminarium esse poterit. Gubernator enim Hungariae cum comite Ciliae capitales lites habet, dicens illum suae vitae insidiatum esse, dedisse operam, ut in Vienna caperetur ac neci daretur¹. Quod utrum sit verum, ipse viderit. Cum nollet gubernator Hungariae Viennam petere, missi² sunt ad eum comes Ciliae et gubernator Bohemiae, comes de Schaunberg et dominus de³ Walsee, qui eum ad regem ducerent. Hi venientes in oppidum, cui Kocze nomen est, accersiverunt illum in arcem loci, illic sibi mandata regis exposituri. Johannes gubernator non {68v} longe ab eo loco castra tenebat. Vocatus in arcem negat se munitiones ingressurum. Si velint colloquium, in campum exeant, sive cum paucis, sive cum pluribus: cum pari comitiva eos alloquetur. Illi rursus dignos se esse ajunt, quos Iohannes adeat, atque in arcem vocant. Johannes nihil se de nobilitate disserturum ait, comitem tamen retroactis⁴ temporibus se petere, non se comitem adire consuetum, idem quoque nunc servandum esse⁵. Cum diu disceptaretur, Johannes indignatus⁶ Jaurinum concessit, illi ad regem redire. Nunc alter alterum accusat: illi Johannem suo regi inoboedientem atque infidelem ajunt; Johannes comitem in suam necem machinatum asserit. Ob quam rem timor est, ne res novae et perniciosissimae apud Hungaros inchoentur. Et fortasse hoc erit, quod inter Caesarem et regem Hungariae pacem impediet⁷. Quod si Deus permiserit, flagellum in nos magnum videre videor esse venturum, nec de bello contra Turcos gerendo spes erit. Deus meliora concedat. Scribo res, uti se habent, nihil addo de meo. Credo utile esse, quae geruntur apud nos, non ignorare sedem apostolicam. Ac tantum de communibus.

[5] De privatis habebis⁸ litteras Caesaris. In his facies⁹, ut sapientia tua¹⁰ suadet. Ego, quod Nicolaus egit, idem a successore praestolor. Studebo quam celerrime domum repetere ac te visere dissoluto conventu. Supplico, ut archidiaconatum Senensem nepoti meo Antonio reservari cures. Id erit mihi magni muneris loco.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 16.¹¹ Aprilis 1455.

¹ ac neci daretur *omit.* V5

² iussi V7

³ *omit.* V6, V7

⁴ retractis V7

⁵ *omit.* V5

⁶ *omit.* V5

⁷ impediret V7

⁸ habebitis F1; *corr. ex* habebitis V6

⁹ facite F1; facias V5

¹⁰ *supra rasuram* V5

¹¹ 17. V7

[4] Something else happened, which might cause many evils. The Governor of Hungary¹ has a conflict with the Count of Celje², claiming that the count is plotting against his life and endeavouring to capture and have him killed in Vienna.³ Whether it is true, he will see for himself. When the Governor of Hungary would not come to Vienna, the Count of Celje, the Governor of Bohemia,⁴ the Count of Schaumberg⁵ and the Lord of Walsee⁶ were sent to him to bring him to the king.⁷ When they came to a place called Kocsze⁸, they summoned him to the fortress there to show him the king's mandates. The governor was encamped not far away. When he was invited to the fortress, he refused to enter the walls.⁹ If they wanted to talk, they would have to come to the camp. They could themselves decide whether to come with a few or many, but he would bring the same number of attendants. They replied that their rank required that János should come to them. He answered that he did not want to discuss the issue of nobility and that the count had previously come to him and not the opposite, and this was what should be done now. After a long dispute, János, indignant, withdrew to Győr, and they returned to the king. Now, they accuse each other: they say that János is inobedient and disloyal towards the king, whereas János claims that the count is plotting his murder.¹⁰ It is, therefore, feared that most harmful political disturbances arise in Hungary. This may prove an impediment to peace between the emperor and the king, and if God allows it, I see a great scourge arriving with no hope for war against the Turks. May God grant better things. I am writing about the facts as they are without adding anything on my own. I believe it is useful for the Apostolic See to know what happens here. And this is enough about the common affairs,

[5] Concerning my private affairs¹¹, you have the emperor's letter¹². In these matters, do as your wisdom tells you. I expect the same from Nicolaus' successor¹³ as from him. When this diet ends, I shall endeavour to return home as soon as possible and visit you. I beg you to arrange that the Sienese archdeaconate is reserved for my nephew Antonio.¹⁴ That I will consider an immense favour.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 16 April 1455.

¹ János Hunyadi.

² Ulrich II.

³ But see letter 607: 18. The count's aim was to take over Hunyadi's position of power in Hungary. King Ladislaus might have been aware of the plot against Hunyadi, who actually threatened his own royal power in Hungary.

⁴ Georg Poediebrad.

⁵ Not further identified.

⁶ Reinprecht IV? But see RTA, 19/3, p. 357, n. 9.

⁷ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁸ Kittsee at the Austrian/ Hungarian border.

⁹ "munitiones": fortifications.

¹⁰ This whole episode is also described in HB, pp. 558-561.

¹¹ Piccolomini's appointment as a cardinal, now a matter to take up with the new pope.

¹² Recommending Piccolomini for the cardinalate.

¹³ The new pope.

¹⁴ Antonio Piccolomini.

612. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, f. 57r¹; V5, 73, ff. 99r-99v **; V6, 73, ff. 83r-83v; V7, 73, ff. 107v-108r.

Editions A: HO, ff. 148v-149r².

Editions B: None.

{99r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, magnifico militi ac comiti Petro de Noxeto³ salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Scio te consternatum esse atque afflictum ex obitu summi pontificis Nicolai, neque ego minori⁴ maerore conficior, quamvis minor est mea quam tua jactura, quemadmodum et illo vivente majus⁵ erat tuum quam meum emolumentum. Ambo tamen patrem perdidimus, tutorem, protectorem et dominum, qui nos amavit quamvis diversimode tamen ferventer. Neglexisti, mi Petre, rem pulcherrimam, aut fortasse neglexit ille, qui neque amicis neque servitoribus plene consuluit ac plenus promissorum {99v} migravit ad patres. Sed quid nos praeterita carpere juvat, quae mutari non possunt. Solemur⁶ nos invicem et quo pacto reliquum vitae ducamus sine taedio, sine molestia transigamus. Ego tuum consilium nescio. Illud tibi dicere possum Caesarem te diligere tibi bene velle, apud quem si te reducere volueris, non deerit tibi locus te ac virtute tua dignus.

Vale, et si quid est, quod facturum velis, certum me reddito, neque enim minus te modo quam vivente Nicolao respiciam, ut qui tuae virtutis, non tuae fortunae cultor fuerim. Iterum vale. Ex Novacivitate, 16. Aprilis 1455.

¹ DV, 119

² DV, 304-305. *Not collated.*

³ Noxetano V5

⁴ minore F1

⁵ manus V7

⁶ solemus V7

612. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The death of Pope Nicolaus V had deprived Pietro da Noceto, his closest collaborator and friend, of a powerful protector.

Subject: Piccolomini bemoans the pope's death, though he is frustrated and hurt that the pope did not keep his promise of appointing him a cardinal nor saw to it that he could dispose of reasonable incomes from ecclesiastical benefices.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the Magnificent Knight and Count, Pietro da Noceto.

[1] I know that you are shocked and grieved at the death of Supreme Pontiff Nicolaus, and my sorrow is as great as yours, though my less is lesser than yours, for while he was alive, your advantages were greater than mine. But we have both lost a father, guardian, protector, and lord who loved us fervently, though not in the same way. You have neglected, dear Pietro, a most beautiful thing¹, or perhaps it was he who neglected it, seeing that he did not fully benefit his friends and servants and went to his fathers full of [unfulfilled] promises. But how does it help us to complain about the past that cannot be changed? Let us console each other and consider how we can live the rest of our lives without trouble and harm. I do not know your plans, but I can tell you that the emperor is fond of you and wishes you well. If you came here, you would not lack a position worthy of you and your qualities.

Farewell, and if there is something you want to do, then inform me, for I esteem you no less now than when Nicolaus was alive. Indeed, it was always your qualities, not your [good] fortune that I treasured. Again farewell. From Neustadt, 16 April 1455.

¹ Friendship, probably.

613. Letter to Heinrich Senfleben (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 56r-56v¹; V5, 71, ff. 97v-98r **; V6, 71, ff. 82r-82v; V7, 71, ff. 106r-106v.

Editions: HO, f. 148r-148v².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 360-362

{98r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Henrico Senfleben salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Accepi ex tuis litteris Nicolaum pontificem graviter aegrotum, ex aliorum scriptis mortuum esse. Deus illi misertus sit. Multis promissionibus oneratus ad patres migravit. Utinam successor ejus nihil promittat, quod servare menti non habeat. Scribit tibi et domino Sancti Angeli Caesarea majestas in re pridem frustra cum Nicolao tractata. Utere arte atque ingenio tuo (neque sapienti dare legem oportet). Scribitur et cardinali Sancti Angeli cum subscriptione propriae manus. Utendum erit consilio suo. Neque plura de hoc.

[2] Domino Gurcensi et Ulricho Riedrer communicavi, quae oportuit. Ajunt ambo se facturos, quod in rem suam fuerit. De primariis precibus cum novo pontifice transigendum erit. Cupio certum me facias de bello Senensi, an sperandus sit finis; neque enim illo durante domi manere audeo, quamvis Romam petere finito praesenti conventu instituerim.

[3] De parando contra Turcos exercitus pro hac aestate nulla spes est, nec scio, an de alio tempore concordabitur. Ita mentes hominum in diversa tendentes video. Huc accedit, quia gubernator Hungariae cum comite Ciliae graves inimicitias gerit, et ait illum vitae suae insidiatum esse ejusque causa recusavit regem accedere. Pax inter Caesarem {98v} et regem Hungariae per Bohemos tractatur neque adhuc in terminis est, quod³ optamus. Eitzinger et comes Ciliae diem habent coram rege et alter alterum criminatur. Haec sunt, quae modo scribere possum.

Vale et reverendissimo domino cardinali Firmano commendatum me facito, nisi statum mutaverit; tunc enim, ut me illi dedas, velim. Litteras illis annexas reddito, quibus diriguntur. Et⁴ iterum vale optime. Ex Novacivitate, die 16. Aprilis 1455.

¹ DV, 302-303

² DV, 303. *Not collated.*

³ quos V5, V6, V7

⁴ omit. V7

613. Letter to Heinrich Senfleben (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: As the preceding letter.

Subject: Again, Piccolomini cannot refrain from complaining that the pope had not, as promised, appointed him a cardinal before he died. He then mentions some matters pending before the papal administration, and he adds some news from the imperial court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Heinrich Senfleben.

[1] Your letter informed me about the illness of Pontiff Nicolaus, and other letters told me that he was dead. May God have mercy upon him. He went to his fathers loaded with [unfulfilled] promises. May his successor not make promises that he does not intend to keep. His Imperial Majesty writes to you and His Lordship of Sant'Angelo¹ in the matter² previously taken up with Nicolaus. Use your own skills and intelligence (for one should not instruct a wise man). The emperor sends a letter to the cardinal with the signature in his own hand. Use your own judgement. And no more about this.

[2] I have told His Lordship of Gurk³ and Ulrich Riederer what was needful. Both say that they will act in their own interest. The matter of the first petitions must be taken up with the new pontiff.⁴ Please send me sure information about the Sienese war and whether an end is in sight, for while it lasts, I do not dare to be home,⁵ though I had decided to go to Rome when the present diet ended.

[3] There is no hope of raising an army for next summer, and I do not know if they can agree on any other time, for as I see it, the minds of men turn towards various directions. Moreover, since the Governor of Hungary⁶ has a grave enmity with the Count of Celje⁷ and claims he has been plotting against his life, he has refused to go come to the king. Peace between the emperor and the King of Hungary⁸ is being negotiated by the Bohemians, but an acceptable settlement has not yet been reached. Eitzinger⁹ and the Count of Celje have been summoned to a court hearing before the king.¹⁰ This is what I can write for now.

Farewell, and commend me to the Most Reverend Lord of Fermo¹¹ unless his status has changed¹² - but then, too, you should declare my devotion to him. Again, live well. From Neustadt, 16 April 1455.

¹ Cardinal Juan Carvajal.

² Piccolomini's appointment as a cardinal.

³ Bishop Ulrich Sonnenberger.

⁴ This Piccolomini did when, as an imperial ambassador, he presented the emperor's obedience to Pope Callixtus III, see his report to the

emperor of 8 September 1455 (CRDM, 5).

⁵ In Siena,

⁶ János Hunyadi.

⁷ Ulrich II.

⁸ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁹ Ulrich Eitzinger.

¹⁰ Ladislaus the Posthumous as Archduke of Austria.

¹¹ Cardinal Domenico Capranica. He was a major candidate for the papacy, as he would be three years later at the death of Pope Callixtus. Luckily for Piccolomini, Capranica then died a couple of days before the conclave.

¹² I.e., has been elected pope.

614. Letter to Bartolomeo Visconti (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 72, ff. 56v-57r¹; V5, 72, ff. 98v-99r **; V6, 72, ff. 82v-83r; V7, 72, ff. 107r-108.

Editions A: HO, f. 148v².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 362-364

{98v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Bartholomaeo, Novariensi antistiti, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Ex litteris tuis sentio me esse in priori gratia apud te, quod profecto maximi facio. Et ago ingentes gratias humanitati tuae, quae benevolentiam suam erga me non immutat. Gaudeo esse te nunc Romae in hac rerum mutatione. Spero enim augmentum dignitatis tuae, cujus sum cupidissimus. Credo, qui pontifex erit aut fortasse jam est, minora promittet quam suus praedecessor et majora efficiet.

[2] De re Mediolanensi, quod scripsi, verum est, neque aliud invenietur; res maximae non emuntur. Immo bene et laudabiliter a vobis procurata est³ Italica pax. Sed doleo Senenses meos fuisse neglectos, qui tamen pacis amatores sunt et nulli nocent nisi provocati. De hoc⁴ conventu, qui nunc {99r} agitur apud Caesarem, nihil aliud scribere possum, nisi quia non congregabitur hoc anno contra Turcos exercitus. De futuro sum dubius. Id nunc agitur, neque aliquid adhuc conclusum est. Gubernator Hungariae, homo magni pretii et unicus Turcorum timor, in suspiciones quasdam tractus, cum esset⁵ in via petendi regem, retrorsum conversus est insidias necis fugiens, quae res, nisi sapienter corrigatur, magni mali seminarium esse potest. Caesar dignationi tuae affectus est. Alia modo, quae scribam, non occurrunt

Cupio pro veteri consuetudine commendatum me habeas. Ex Novacivitate⁶, 16. Aprilis 1455⁷.

¹ DV, 118-119

² DV, 304. *Not collated.*

³ *omit.* F1

⁴ *omit.* V7

⁵ tractus cum esset : cum tractus
esset F1

⁶ die *add.* F1

⁷ etc. F1, V5

614. Letter to Bartolomeo Visconti (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Visconti had written to Piccolomini concerning various matters.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks his erstwhile employer, Visconti, for his kindness and favour and hopes he will succeed in being appointed a cardinal by the new pope. He also sends some news from the imperial court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Bartolomeo, Bishop of Novara.

[1] From your letter,¹ I see that I retain your favour as of old, which, indeed, means a great deal to me. And I thank you immensely that you, in your kindness, have retained your benevolence toward me. I am happy that you are in Rome now during the change there², for I fervently hope you will be raised to a higher rank³. I think that the one who is or will be the new pope will promise less than his predecessor⁴ but do more about it.

[2] Concerning the Milanese matter,⁵ I wrote the truth and there is no other. The greatest things cannot be bought. Concerning the Italian peace you have worked for, you have acted well and commendably.⁶ However, I regret that my Sienese were neglected, for they love peace and harm no one unless provoked. Concerning the diet now being held at the imperial court, I can only write that an army against the Turks will not be raised this year and that I am doubtful concerning the future. They are negotiating about it now, and nothing has yet been decided. The Governor of Hungary⁷, of man of great worth and the Turks' only fear, became suspicious of certain machinations while he was on his way to the king⁸, so he turned around and fled a plot against his life. If this situation is not remedied, it will result in a great calamity. The emperor likes Your Grace. There is nothing else to write about for now.

Please favour me as always. From Neustadt, 16 April.

¹ Not extant.

² The succession of a new pope.

³ By appointment as a cardinal. Visconti had been appointed a cardinal by antipope Felix V but had refused the appointment. He had since later worked to be appointed a cardinal by Eugenius III but without success, see letter

from Campisio of 8 May 1445 (EPI, 4: 167, 2). The way was now open for him to try his luck with the new pope.

⁴ Nicolaus V.

⁵ Possibly, Francesco Sforza's attempts to be recognised as Duke of Milan by the emperor.

⁶ Visconti was one of the Milanese ambassadors who negotiated the Peace of Lodi/ Italian Peace with the pope and Alfonso V.

⁷ János Hunyadi.

⁸ Ladislaus the Posthumous, King of Hungary.

615. Letter to Niccolò Aretino (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 57r-57v¹; V5, 74, ff. 99v-100r **; V6, 74, ff. 83v-84r; V7, 74, ff. 108r-108v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 149r-149v².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 364-365.

{99v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Nicolao Aretino, apostolicae camerae notario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Bene fecisti, Nicolae noster amantissime, qui res Senenses nobis ex ordine significasti. Praestat enim cuncta nosse, quamvis acerbum est patriae suae calamitates³ audire. Dolemus⁴ certe concives nostros tanta bellorum mole pressos esse⁵, et cum tota Italia pace laetetur, sola Senensis civitas Martis turbine quatiatur. Speramus tamen novum pontificem⁶ illi patriae consulturum, quae nullos umquam⁷ laesit nisi provocata. De tuo in urbe officio contentamur, et gaudemus bene esse tibi, quando id tua virtus meretur, licet pro nostra consolatione te Senis in nostra curia maluissemus. Suades, ut domum repetamus. Audimus {100r} consilium tuum⁸ desiderio nostro nullatenus adversum. Dissoluto conventu, qui nunc est coram Caesare, dabimus operam, ut quamprimum Senas visamus et res familiares disponamus. Conferemus nos quoque - si Deus faverit - usque Romam, ut amicos salutare possimus, non autem, ut ibi perseveremus. Neque enim sentimus tecum carere curiam viris expertis, ac propterea possemus et locum habere. Neutrum enim, ut tecum amice loquamur, verum est. Abundat enim Romana curia clarissimis viris, et si careat illis, non tamen nobis utetur, qui sumus ad res magnas inepti. Quod si simus rursus apti, nil plus spei geremus. Occupant homines alta loca et sive jure sive injuria teneant, amoveri nolunt, et favent homines proximis suis potius ignaris quam alienis virtute praestantibus.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, 16.⁹ Aprilis 1455.

¹ DV, 119-120

² DV, 305-306. *Not collated.*

³ calamitatem V7

⁴ solemus V7

⁵ *omit.* V7

⁶ *omit.* V7

⁷ nullos umquam : numquam

ullos F1

⁸ consilium tuum : tuum

consilium V5

⁹ 13. F

615. Letter to Niccolò Aretino (16 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Niccolò had sent Piccolomini an account of the situation in Siena and informed him about his career move to the Papal Curia, probably inviting Piccolomini to join him there.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks Niccolò for his account and compliments him on his success in Rome. He does not think, however, that there is a suitable place for him at the curia.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Niccolò of Arezzo, notary at the Apostolic Chamber¹.

[1] You did well, dearest Niccolò, in sending me an account² of the Sienese situation,³ for it is good to know it all, although it is bitter to hear about the misfortunes of one's fatherland. We are certainly sorry that our fellow citizens are burdened by such a great weight of wars and that only the city of Siena is being buffeted by the tornado of war while all the rest of Italy enjoys peace. But we hope the new Pontiff will aid our country, which never harmed anyone unless provoked. We are pleased that you have obtained an office in the City⁴ and happy that things are going well for you as your virtues deserve. [I must admit,] though, that for the sake of our own comfort, we would have preferred you to be with our court⁵ in Siena. You urge us to return home. We hear your advice, which entirely agrees with our own wish. When the present diet before the emperor ends, we shall endeavour to visit Siena as soon as possible and arrange our domestic⁶ affairs. We shall also – God willing – proceed to Rome to greet our friends but not to remain there. For we do not feel, as you do, that the curia lacks experts, which would make it possible for us to obtain a position there. Well, to speak as a friend, neither is true. The Roman Curia abounds in eminent men, but even if it lacked them, it would not employ us since we are [apparently] unfit for great affairs. And even if we were suitable, we could have no hopes, for men who occupy great positions do not want to lose them, whether they hold them deservedly or undeservedly, and men prefer their ignorant relations and friends to other men, even those who possess outstanding qualities.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 16 April 1455.

¹ The Papal Treasury.

² Not extant.

³ The Sienese war with its former commander, Sigismondo Malates-

ta, and the Orsini family of Pitigliano.

⁴ Rome.

⁵ "curia": Piccolomini's episcopal court.

⁶ "familiares".

616. Letter to Ludovico Scarampo (29 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 59r-59v¹; V5, 81, ff. 102r-103v **; V6, 81, ff. 85v-86v; V7, 81, ff. 110v-112r.

Editions: HO, ff. 151r-151v².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 365-368.

{102r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Ludovico, cardinali Aquilegiensi, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Est mihi singulari voluptati, quod apud novum pontificem, sanctissimum dominum nostrum, eum locum tenes, ut ajunt, quem apud felicitis recordationis Eugenium quartum olim tenuisti. Spero id utile futurum ecclesiae Dei {102v} propter diligentiam tuam et summam rerum prudentiam³. Ingratitudo quaedam retroactis temporibus te parumper oppressit, neque enim, qui tuo munere sublimati fuerant fortunae, ut par fuisset, faventes erant. Recuperasti modo pristinum statum.

[2] Curandum est, ut ecclesia quoque tecum resurgat, quae propter incuriam nostram jacet oppressa. Maxime vero nitendum est, ut contra Turcos nostra religio defendatur, et fiant exercitus terrestres ac maritimi, quibus amissa Constantinopolis vendicetur. Recuperet Calixti tempus, quod aetas Nicolai perdidit. Non habuit ille penes se, qui res maximas intelligerent et scirent magnifice se habere. Habet iste dignationem tuam, quae sub Eugenio res clarissimas gessit. Ego quidem jam bene spero, quando nostri currus providum aurigam video.

¹ DV, 123-124

² DV, 309-310. *Not collated.*

³ peritiam *supra ras.* V5

616. Letter to Ludovico Scarampo (29 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Cardinal Scarampo, propelled to the highest position under Pope Eugenius IV, had not been favoured by Eugenius' successor. Piccolomini had evidently heard that he was to be restored to his former powerful position under the new pope.¹

Subject: Piccolomini endeavours to ingratiate himself with the cardinal and sends him news from the imperial court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ludovico, Cardinal of Aquileia.

[1] I am delighted that you now hold the same position, as they say, with our new pontiff, Our Most Holy Lord, that you once had with Pope Eugenius IV, of blessed memory. I hope this will be beneficial to the Church of God due to your diligence and exceptional wisdom in affairs. A certain ingratitude burdened you for a while in the past, and those who had been raised in fortune through your favour did not return the favour as they should have. But now you have regained your former status.

[2] We must ensure that the Church, laid low due to our negligence, rises again with you. But most of all, we must strive to defend our religion against the Turks and to raise land and sea armies to reclaim lost Constantinople. Let the time of Pope Callixtus² regain what the age of Nicolaus lost. neglected. Nicolaus did not have men at his side who could understand great matters and act boldly. Calixtus, however, has Your Grace, who achieved splendid things under Eugenius. I am indeed hopeful now, as I see [that we have] a wise charioteer.

¹ He regained some influence and was appointed commander of the papal fleet.

² Callixtus III (Alfonso de Borghese) (1378-1458) Pope from 8 April 1455 to his death in August 1458.

[3] Credo, intelliges ex domino Papiensi, quomodo res istae Germanicae¹ disponuntur. Dicam tamen et ego pauca pro tua certiori informatione. Bellum, quod hac aestate contra Turcos gerendum fuit, in alteram protensum est, quemadmodum ex responsione Hungaris data, quam cum praesentibus mitto, plenius intelliges. De futuro² quid sperem, pauca subnectam. Si quid fieri per Germanos debet, opus est maxima diligentia. Facienda est concordia inter Caesarem et regem Hungariae, de qua re nescio, quid sperem, nam Bohemi mediatores {103r} rebus infectis hinc abiere. Tractant tamen adhuc Viennae apud regem Ladislaum. Nescio, an proficient³. Componendi sunt Saxones et Bohemi. Id quoque in Vienna tractatur, et dominus Papiensis eo cras ibit, qui per Caesarem rogatus est ad hoc ipsum suas partes interponere. Sunt inter Bohemos et ducem Burgundiae de ducatu Luczelburgensi non parvae controversiae, quas vel tollere vel suspendere oportet, si quid fieri per ducem Burgundiae desideratur. De hoc Treverensis archiepiscopus transacturus est, si partes inclinatas habuerit. Nisi haec tria fiant, nihil est, quod de congregando exercitu sperandum sit. Rursus quoque, si fiant, necessarium erit magnam adhiberi diligentiam, ut principes et civitates milites colligant atque in tempore paratos habeant, de pecuniis exigendis, de belli duce concordent. Et nisi major fuerit in hoc moderni pontificis cura, quam superiori tempore in praecessore⁴ viderimus, timeo, ne frustra omnes conatus eant et Turco prosperius quam nobis succedat.

[4] Sed⁵ de his brevi tecum colloquar. Spero enim me cito, si Deus faverit, Romanam curiam esse visurum. Caesar in te plurimum confidit. Velis ejus negotia commendata suscipere ac promovere atque ita efficere, ut sua Majestas intelligat voluntatem tuam⁶ erga se bonam esse. Sic enim facilius rei publicae Christianae consulere poteris, ad quam rem, si quid est, quod mea opera possit efficere, utere me {103v} veluti mancipio. Quoad possim⁷, non deero mandatis tuis. Scio enim, quantum teneor dignitati⁸ tuae, cujus favore apud Eugenium olim papam commendatissimus⁹ fui. Cavebo, quoad vixerim, ne vitium ingratitude, quod in aliis reprobis, in me reperias.

Cupio te semper bene valere. Ex Novacivitate, die 29. Aprilis 1455¹⁰.

¹ Germaniae V7

² futura V5

³ perficient V7

⁴ predecessore F1

⁵ *add. in marg.* V6; *omit.* V7

⁶ voluntatem tuam : tuam voluntatem V6, V7

⁷ possum F1; possis V7

⁸ dignationi V7

⁹ *corr. ex recommendtissimus* V6; *recommndatissimus* V7

¹⁰ LV V7

[3] I believe you will hear from His Lordship of Pavia¹ about what the Germans are doing, but you shall also hear a few things from me for your better information. The war that was to be waged against the Turks this summer has been postponed to a later time, as you will understand more fully from the response given to the Hungarians,² which I am sending with the present letter. As for the future, I will add a few thoughts on what I hope for. If anything is to be accomplished by the Germans, it will require the utmost diligence. There must be peace between the emperor and the King of Hungary, but I am uncertain what to hope for in this matter, as the Bohemian mediators have departed from here with nothing settled. Nevertheless, negotiations are still ongoing in Vienna with King Ladislaus. I do not know if they will be successful. The Saxons and the Bohemians, too, must be reconciled. That matter is also being negotiated in Vienna. His Lordship of Pavia has been asked by the emperor to take part in the negotiations and will go there tomorrow.³ There are also significant disputes between the Bohemians and the Duke of Burgundy⁴ over the Duchy of Luxembourg, which must either be resolved or suspended if anything is to be achieved with the Duke of Burgundy. The Archbishop of Trier⁵ will mediate in this affair⁶, provided the parties accept it. Unless these three conflicts are resolved, there is little hope for gathering an army. But even if they are resolved, it will still be necessary to apply great diligence to ensure that the princes and cities gather troops and have them ready in time, agree on the raising of funds, and settle on a commander. And unless the present pope⁷ shows greater concern for this than we saw from his predecessor⁸, I fear that all efforts will be in vain and that the Turks will have greater success than us.

[4] But I will speak with you shortly about these matters in person, for I hope to soon, God willing, visit the Roman Curia. The Emperor has great confidence in you. Please favour and promote his affairs, and ensure that His Majesty understands your goodwill towards him. In this way, you will more easily be able to assist the Christian commonwealth. If there is anything that my efforts can contribute to this cause, use me as your servant. As far as I am able, I will not fail in fulfilling your commands, for I know how much I owe to Your Grace, through whose favour I was greatly favoured by the former Pope Eugenius. I will take care, for as long as I live, that you do not find in me the fault of ingratitude, which I reproach in others.

I wish for your continued good health. From Neustadt, 29 April 1455.

¹ Bishop Giovanni di Castiglione, Papal Legate.

² The oration "*Optasset*" of 23 April 1455 to the Hungarians at the Diet of Neustadt (COR, 5: 24).

³ Nowak, pp. 206-208.

⁴ Philippe III le Bon.

⁵ Jakob von Sierck.

⁶ RTA, 19/3: pp. 656-657.

⁷ Callixtus III.

⁸ Nicolaus V.

617. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (30 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 57v-58r¹; V5, 75, ff. 100r-100v **; V6, 75, f. 84r; V7, 75, ff. 108v-109r.

Editions A: HO, 109v².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 368-371³.

[100r] Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Stephano Cacciae Novariensi salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Amisisti papam neque me certiozem fecisti. Maximae apud vos mutationes factae sunt neque illas ex tuis litteris licuit intelligere. Credo jam novum pontificem habetis. Expecto a te doceri de natura et voluntate ejus. Dominum Novariensem apud te esse intelligo; illi, ut me commendes⁴, velim. Scio te domino Firmano acceptum esse. Magna est de sua promotione {104r} opinio. Quod si fiat, bene consultum ecclesie, putamus. De domino de Columna, de domino Sancti Angeli, de domino Niceno non parvus rumor est. Vos jam scitis, quis sit; nos in expectatione sumus. Nullum istorum non dignum credimus neque aliis propterea derogamus. Deus nobis de meliori providerit. Nos hic de tuenda fide catholica solliciti sumus, sed multae intercidunt difficultates, propter quas hac aestate non⁵ habebimus exercitum, nec scio, an pro futura concludi poterit, nam et Hungari inter se discordant. Gubernator enim et comes Ciliae capitali odio dissident. Faxit Deus, ne discordiae nostrae⁶ Turcorum potentiam augeant.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate⁷, Pridie Kalendas Majas 1455.

¹ DV, 120-121

² DV, 306. *Not collated.*

³ *See also RTA, 19/3, p. 778.*

⁴ *corr. ex recommends* V6; *recommendes* V7

⁵ *omit.* V7

⁶ *vestrae* V7

⁷ *Austriae add.* F1

617. Letter to Stefano Caccia de Fara (30 April 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Piccolomini had had no news about the death of the pope from a primary correspondent in Rome, Stefano Caccia.

Subject: He rebukes Stefano for not writing, speculates on the papal election, and sends news from the imperial court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Lord Stefano Caccia¹ of Novara.

[1] You have lost the pope, yet you did not inform me. Major changes have occurred among you, and I did hear about them in letters from you. I believe you now have a new pontiff.² I expect to be informed by you about his character and intentions. I understand that His Lordship of Novara³ is with you; please commend me to him. I know that you are well regarded by His Lordship of Fermo.⁴ There is great speculation about his promotion⁵. If it happens, we think it will be good for the Church. There is no small rumour about His Lordship Colonna,⁶ His Lordship of Sant'Angelo⁷, and His Lordship of Nicea⁸. You already know who [the new pope] is, but we are still waiting. We believe all of them are worthy and do not wish to disparage anyone else. May God provide the best for us.

Here, we are concerned with defending the Catholic faith, but many difficulties arise, which is why we will not have an army this summer. I do not know whether it is possible to reach any decision concerning the future, for also the Hungarians are divided among themselves. The governor⁹ and the Count of Celje¹⁰ hate each other bitterly. May God prevent our conflicts from increasing the power of the Turks.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 30 April 1455.¹¹

¹ Caccia de Fara, Stefano (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).

² Callixtus III was elected on 8 April 1455.

³ Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti [Aicardi].

⁴ Cardinal Domenico Capranica.

⁵ Election as pope.

⁶ Cardinal Prospero Colonna.

⁷ Cardinal Juan Carvajal.

⁸ Bessarion, Johannes (1403-1472): Greek humanist and theologian. Played an active role at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Appointed a cardinal in 1439. Papal legate to Bologna 1449 to

1455. DBI. RTA, 19/3: p. 370, n. 10.

⁹ János Hunyadi.

¹⁰ Ulrich II.

¹¹ There seems to be a problem with the dates of letters 616 and 617. Letter 616 dated 29 April knows of the election of Callixtus V as pope, whereas letter 617 dated the day afterwards does not.

618. Letter to Juan Carvajal (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 48, ff. 39v-40r¹; V5, 48, ff. 69r-69v **; V6, 48, ff. 60r-60v; V7, 48, ff. 77r-78r.

Editions A: HO, ff. 127v-128r².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 774-777.

{69r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Habes novum pontificem et laetaris. Id non didici³ litteris tuis. Cardinalis Sancti Laurentii in Damaso Papiensi episcopo hoc rescripsit. Multa de sanctimonia ejus feruntur, de doctrina, de rerum experientia. Solam aetatem vulgo accusat populus, quia taediosa sibi ipsi senectus aliis⁴ bene consulere nequeat. *Et omnia fert aetas, animum quoque*. Legimus tamen plerosque, quamvis essent paene decrepiti, res magnas et aggressos esse et perfecisse, inter quos et Calixtum nostrum forsitan divina pietas adnumerabit, quod ut faxit, oro, ut, qui Nestora refert annis et sensu, gestis Agamemnona praebeat. Ego, ut illi tuis verbis commender⁵, maximopere⁶ cupio serviamque sibi non minus quam suo praedecessori, si parem animum ejus erga me reperiam illi, quem Nicolaus habuit.

[2] Sed venio nunc ad ea, quae puto dignationem tuam quaerere, ut scribam, hoc est de rebus nostri conventus, qui iam dissolutus est. Excessere omnes relicto Caesare cum suis, qui ad conventum venerant. Bellum contra Turcos gerendum in annum protensum est, quemadmodum ex responsione Hungaris data, quam cum praesentibus mitto, plenius intelliges. {69v} De pace inter Caesarem et regem Hungariae diu tractatum est. Res propemodum conclusa fuit, sed turbata est per eos, quibus bella sunt usui. Agitur tamen adhuc in Vienna super eodem negotio. Illic et Treverensis⁷ et gubernator Bohemiae super hoc solliciti sunt. Deus eorum conatibus assit. Nisi enim haec concordia locum habeat, non est, quod a Germanis sperare possimus exercitum.

[3] Gubernator Hungariae victus tandem precibus ac securus publica fide redditus⁸, quod diu negaverat se facturum, Viennam petiit. Ibi et dux Austriae, Sigismundus convenit, despotus adest. Comes Ciliae inter primores habetur, quamvis multa in eum in dies⁹ tela jaciuntur. Pax quoque illic inter Bohemos ac¹⁰ Saxones agitur, ad quam rem juvandam etiam Papiensis episcopus eo se contulit hortante caesare. Hic est nunc rerum nostrarum¹¹ status.

¹ DV, 84-85

² DV, 262-263

³ ex *add.* F1

⁴ alii V7

⁵ recommender V6

⁶ magnopere V7

⁷ adhuc in ... Treverensis *omit.* V7

⁸ factus V5

⁹ dietim F1

¹⁰ et V6, V7

¹¹ *omit.* V7

618. Letter to Juan Carvajal (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The election of Pope Callixtus.

Subject: Piccolomini comments on the new pope and sends news about the now finished Diet of Wiener Neustadt and other news from the imperial court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Juan, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,

[1] You have a new pope¹, and you are rejoicing. I didn't learn this from a letter from you but from a letter that the Cardinal of San Lorenzo in Damaso² wrote to the Bishop of Pavia³. Much is being said about his holiness, his learning, and his experience in affairs. Only his age is criticised by the people, as they believe old age, burdensome to oneself, cannot provide good counsel to others. *Time robs us of all, even the spirit.*⁴ We have read that many, even though they were almost decrepit, undertook and accomplished great deeds. Perhaps Pious God will count our Callixtus among them (and I pray He does) so that, like Nestor in years and wisdom, he may show himself in deeds like Agamemnon. I greatly desire you to personally commend me to him, whom I wish to serve no less than I did his predecessor, if I find in him the same favourable disposition toward me as Nicolaus⁵ had.

[2] But now I come to the matters that I believe Your Grace wishes me to write about: the affairs of our diet that has now been dissolved. Except the emperor, all who came to the diet have left with their people. The war against the Turks has been postponed until next year, as you will fully learn from the response given to the Hungarians, which I am sending along with the present letter.⁶ Negotiations for peace between the emperor and the King of Hungary⁷ have been going on for a long time. The matter was nearly settled but was disrupted by those who benefit from war. However, discussions on the matter are still ongoing in Vienna. The Archbishop of Trier⁸ and the Governor of Bohemia⁹ are occupied with this issue there. May God assist their efforts, for unless an agreement is reached, we cannot hope for an army from the Germans.

[3] The Governor of Hungary¹⁰, finally overcome by entreaties and having obtained a safe conduct, has gone to Vienna, what he long refused to do. There he met with Duke Siegmund of Austria, and the Despot¹¹ is present. The Count of Celje¹² is one of the most important men, although many attacks are aimed at him daily. Peace negotiations between the Bohemians and the Saxons are also taking place there, and the Bishop of Pavia, at the emperor's request, has gone to assist in this matter. This is the current state of our affairs.

¹ Callixtus III.

² Ludovico Scarampo.

³ Giovanni di Castiglione.

⁴ Vergilius : *Eclogae*, 9: 51.

⁵ Pope Nicolaus V.

⁶ The oration "*Optasset*" of 23 April 1455 to the Hungarians at the Diet of Neustadt (COR, 5: 24).

⁷ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁸ Jakob von Sierck.

⁹ Georg Podiebrad.

¹⁰ János Hunyadi.

¹¹ Durad III Branckovic.

¹² Ulrich II

[4] Ego propediem iter ad vos arripiam. Jubet enim imperator, ut novo pontifici suo me nomine repraesentem. Intra sex aut septem hebdomadas, nisi fallar¹, te Romae visam. Multa dicturus sum vel convitia dignationi tuae. Appara aures non solum mihi, sed etiam Papiensi episcopo. Ambo in te armati veniemus. Habebis scripta Caesaris, intelliges desiderium ejus. Curandum est, ut² benignior Nicolao Calixtus reperiatur.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 3. Maji 1455.

¹ fallor V6, V7

² *em.*; ne codd.

[4] I will soon begin my journey to you, for the emperor has ordered me to go to the new pope on his behalf. So, unless I am mistaken, I shall see you in Rome within six or seven weeks. I will have many things to say (even complaints) to Your Dignity. Prepare your ears not only for me but also for the Bishop of Pavia. We will both come to you armed. You will have the emperor's letters and will understand his wishes. We must ensure that Callixtus is found more forthcoming than Nicolaus.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 3 May 1455.

619. Letter to Goro Lolli (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).¹

Manuscripts: F1, 49, f. 40r²; V5, 49, f. 70r **; V6, 49, f. 60v; V7, 49, f. 78r.

Editions A: HO, f. 128r.³

Editions B: None.

{70r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Gregorio Lollio salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quae gesta⁴ sunt apud nos in facto Turcorum, dicere tibi quam scribere malo, tu quoque audire quam legere cupis. Satisfaciam tuo ac meo desiderio. Ecce⁵, venio! Intra dies XII iter arripio. Non fatigabo te amplius litteris. Obtenta licentia⁶ est. Antequam labantur septem hebdomadae, si Deus faverit, domi me videbis.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, ut supra.⁷

¹ On this letter, see RTA, 19/3, p. 778; Nowak, p. 176.

² DV, 85

³ DV, 263.

⁴ *omit.* V5

⁵ *esse* V7

⁶ *facultas* V5

⁷ *ut supra omit.* F1, V5, V7

619. Letter to Goro Lolli (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).¹

Context: *The Diet of Wiener Neustadt had ended and Piccolomini was now free to go home.*

Subject: *"Finally, I am coming home!"*

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Goro Lolli.

[1] I would rather tell you in person about what has happened here regarding the Turks than write it, and I know you that you would prefer to hear it rather than read it. So, I will satisfy both your desire and mine. Behold, I am coming! Within twelve days, I will begin my journey. Therefore, I won't burden you further with letters. Permission has been granted. God willing you shall see me at home before seven weeks have passed.

Farewell. From Neustadt, as above.

¹ On this letter, see RTA, 19/3, p. 778; Nowak, p. 176.

620. Letter to Francesco Agnifili (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 50, f. 40r¹; V5, 50, f. 70r **; V6, 50, f. 61r; V7, 50, f. 78r.

Editions A: HO, f. 128v².

Editions B: None.

{70r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Francisco Aquilano, vicario suo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quia reverti domum quam celerrime proposuimus, non est, cur multa scribamus. Solum hoc petimus, ut animo bono reditum nostrum praestoleris, neque enim amplius quam duodecim diebus hoc in loco mansuri sumus. Deinde Venetias ibimus, ubi expeditis nonnullis rebus, ad te evestigio convolabimus. Interea pro tua consuetudine jus suum cuique reddito.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, ut supra.

¹ DV, 85

² DV, 264

620. Letter to Francesco Agnifili (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Piccolomini's planned return to Italy.

Subject: He asks his episcopal vicar to expect his return in a short time.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Francesco Aquilano, his Vicar.

[1] Since we plan to return home as quickly as possible, there is no need to write much. We only ask that you wait for our return in good spirits, as we will not remain here for more than twelve days. Then, we will go to Venice, where we shall attend to some matters and then quickly come to you. In the meantime, continue to accord everybody their rights as usual.

Farewell. From Neustadt, as above.

621. Letter to Francesco Tolomei (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 51, f. 40r¹; V5, 51, f. 70r **; V6, 51, f. 61r²; V7, 51, ff. 78r-78v.

Editions A: HO, f. 128v³.

Editions B: None.

{70r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Francisco Ptolomeo salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quod diu desiderasti, nunc faciam. Intra dies XII iter ad te arripiam. Quae amplius scribenda essent, libentius ex me audies quam ex litteris.

Vale, et reverendo patri episcopo⁴ Grossetano, Clusino quoque et Lucerensi, si assunt, commendatum me facito. Ex Novacivitate, ut supra.

¹ DV, 85
² DV, 63r

³ DV, 264.
⁴ *omit.* V5

621. Letter to Francesco Tolomei (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: As the preceding letters.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Francesco Tolomei.

[1] I will do now what you have long desired. Within twelve days, I will begin my journey to you. What more needs to be written, you will prefer to hear from me in person rather than through letters.

Farewell, and commend me to the Reverend Father, the Bishop of Grosseto,¹ and to the Bishops of Chiusi² and Luceria³ if they are present. From Neustadt, as above.

¹ Agazzari, Giovanni (-1468): Bishop of Grosseto from 1452 to his death. Previously, a canon of Siena and a friend of Piccolomini.

² Cesari, Alessi de (1395-1464): Bishop of Chiusi, 1437. Archbishop of Benevento, 1462,

³ If this is a reference to the diocese of Lucera/Luceria in the region of Apulia, the bishop was Ladislao Dentice. It is not clear, however, why a bishop of Puglia would be staying in Siena

622. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, f. 40v¹; V5, 52, f. 70v **; V6, 52, f. 61r²; V7, 52, f. 78v.

Editions A: HO, f. 128v³.

Editions B: None.

{70v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Bartholomaeo Massano salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Redeo jam domum pro tuo desiderio, neque ultra sex aut septem hebdomadas absumam, priusquam te visam. Hoc sororibus meis dicito et uxori tuae. Utinam et matri meae id referre potuisses, sed illa rapta est, antequam me videret. Faxit Deus post hanc lucem, ut ibi ego sim, ubi et illam esse confido. Cetera verbis meis quam scriptis libentius intelliges. Genitorem Petri Nannem hortare, ut quae sunt officii sui, compleat.

Vale. Ut supra.⁴

¹ DV, 86
² DV, 63r

³ DV, 264.

⁴ Vale. .. supra *omit.* F1, V5

622. Letter to Bartolomeo Pieri de Massa (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: As the preceding letters.¹

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Bartolomeo de Massa.

[1] I am now returning home, as you desired, and it will take more than six or seven weeks before I see you. Tell this to my sisters² and your wife³. If only you could have delivered the same news to my mother⁴, but she was taken from us before she could see me again. May God grant that, after this life, I will be where I trust she now is. You will understand the rest more easily from my words than from letters. Encourage Pietro's⁵ father, Nanni,⁶ to fulfil his duties.

Farewell. As above.

¹ On this letter, see RTA, 19/3: p. 778

² Caterina Piccolomini Guglielmi and Laudomia Piccolomini Todeschini.

³ Antonia Guglielmi de Massa.

⁴ Vittoria Forteguerra.

⁵ Pietro Todeschini, Piccolomini's nephew.

⁶ Nanni (Giovanni Todeschini), Piccolomini's brother-in-law, husband of Laudomia.

623. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, f. 40v¹; V5, 53, f. 70v **; V6, 53, ff. 61r-61v; V7, 53, f. 78v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 128v-129r².

Editions B: None.

{70v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Jacobo Ptolomeo, fratri suo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Post dies XII iter arripiam. Te Ferrariae, reliquos vero mei amantes vel Senis vel Romae visam. Hoc habui, quod nunc tibi scriberem.

Vale et Francisci nepotis usque ad meum adventum curam habeto. Conjugi tuae, honestissimae feminae, et omni familiae tuae bene esse cupio. Iterum vale. Ex Novacivitate, ut supra³.

¹ DV, 86

² DV, 264-265.

³ ut supra *omit.* V5

623. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: As the preceding letters.¹

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Jacopo Tolomei, his brother².

[1] After twelve days, I will begin my journey. I shall see you in Ferrara and the rest of my loved ones either in Siena or Rome. This is what I had to write to you now.

Farewell, and take care of our nephew Francesco³ until I arrive. I wish the best for your wife, that most honourable woman, and your entire family. Farewell again. From Neustadt, as above.

¹ On this letter, see RTA, 19/3: p. 778

² Cousin.

³ Francesco Todeschini (future Pope Pius III).

624. Letter to Stefano Caccia di Fara (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, f. 40v¹; V5, ff. 70v-71r **; V6, 53, f. 61v; V7, 53, ff. 78v-79r.

Editions A: HO, 129r².

Editions B: None.

{70v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Stephano Cacciae Novariensi salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Magna gesta sunt apud te his diebus, frater amantissime. Non tamen ad me quidquam scripsisti. Amisisti {71r} pontificem, qui te amavit. Creatus est alius, de cuius animo sum incertus. Revoluta est magna rota. Qui summi erant, infimi facti sunt. Alii creverunt, alii ceciderunt. Neque ex te quidquam sensi, neque parva apud nos interea emerserunt. Vindico me libenter, et qua³ mensura recipio, eadem retribuo. Non scribam tibi novitates harum partium – grandis vindicta – sed quid faciam: veniam brevi ad te, et quae modo non leges ex his litteris, ex verbis meis recipies. Sine molestia, ut arbitror, vel mea vel tua ulciscar injurias.

Interim vale et episcopo Novariensi commendatum me facito. Ex Novacivitate, ut supra⁴.

¹ DV, 86

² DV, 265

³ quae V7

⁴ Ex ... *supra omit.* F1, V5

624. Letter to Stefano Caccia di Fara (3 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: As the preceding letters.¹

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

[1] These days, great events have taken place where you are, my dearest brother, but you have not written anything to me. You lost a pope² who loved you, and another has been elected, whose mind I do not yet know. A great wheel has turned: those who were highest have become the lowest³; some have become great, others have fallen. I have heard nothing from you, and meanwhile, we too have experienced important changes. I avenge myself with pleasure, and I will return as much as I receive.⁴ So, I will not write to you about recent events in these parts – indeed, a great revenge! but what can I do? I will soon come to you, and what you do not read in this letter now, you will hear in my own words then. That way, I shall, without discomfort, avenge both my and your wrongs!

In the meantime, farewell, and please commend me to the Bishop of Novara⁵. From Neustadt, as above.

¹ On this letter, see RTA, 19/3: p. 778

² Nicolaus V.

³ Like Pietro da Noceto, closest collaborator of Pope Nicolaus V.

⁴ Here, Piccolomini is joking.

⁵ Bartolomeo Visconti.

625. Letter to Juan Carvajal (5 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 40v-41r¹; V5, 55, ff. 71r-71v **; V6, 55, ff. 61v-62r; V7, 55, ff. 79v-79v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 129r-129v.²

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 779-781.

{71r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Res gubernatoris Hungariae³ hoc modo gesta est: inductus est multis verbis, ut Viennam veniret, promisso salvo conductu in forma, quam petierat. Sub ea spe venit ad locum, qui vocatur Fischmund, per quattuor miliaria prope Viennam, mille et quingentis equitibus secum adductis. Illic biduo salvum conductum expectavit. Post haec venit ad eum quidam miles cognomine Lamberger, comitis Ciliae familiaris, dixitque gubernatori, ut repente equum conscenderet⁴, quia rex obviam ei⁵ processisset nec libenter in agro expectaret aestu fervente. Paruit gubernator et ultra per duo miliaria versus Viennam progressus est, cumque nullum {71v} obviantem offenderet, declinavit in villam, quae proxima fuit, expectans aut regis adventum aut publicae fidei litteras. Moxque comes Ciliae cum quadraginta equitibus ad eum venit dixitque regem prope urbem gubernatoris adventum praestolari festinumque jubebat gubernatorem esse. Interrogatus autem de salvo conductu penes regem omnia reperienda asseveravit. Tunc gubernator delusum se⁶ intelligens et multa improperans comiti indignatus retrocessit. Quae res multum conturbat mentes illorum, qui pacem cupiunt. Fit adhuc diligentia pro ejus reductione. Ille Budam et alia, quae obtinet, oppida castellaque munit⁷. Sic se minime procurante multos habet, qui rem suam procurant, Turcorum ductor.

Datum, die 5.⁸ Maji 1455.⁹

¹ DV, 86-87

² DV, 265-266

³ omit. V7

⁴ ascenderet V6, V7

⁵ obviam ei : ei obviam F1

⁶ delusus V7

⁷ minuit V7

⁸ 1. V5

⁹ omit. F1, V6, V7

625. Letter to Juan Carvajal (5 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: A conflict had been developing between János Hunyadi and Ulrich II of Celje, who was now plotting against the governor.¹

Subject: Piccolomini relates the latest episode in the plot, resulting in the governor's return to Hungary.

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

[1] The matter of the Governor of Hungary² unfolded in this way: he was persuaded with many words to come to Vienna, with a promise of safe conduct in the form he had requested. Trusting the promise, he came with 1,500 horsemen to a place called Fischamend, about four miles from Vienna. There, he waited for two days for the safe conduct. After this, a knight named Lamberger³, a familiar of the Count of Celje⁴, came to the governor and told him to quickly mount his horse because the king⁵ had come out to meet him and did not wish to wait in the field under the scorching heat. The governor complied and advanced for another two miles toward Vienna, but when he found no one coming to meet him, he withdrew to the nearest village, waiting either for the arrival of the king or the letter of safe conduct. Soon after, the Count of Celje arrived with forty horsemen and told the governor that the king was waiting for him near the city⁶ and urged him to hurry. When asked about the safe conduct, the count insisted that he would get it directly from the king. At this point, the governor realised he had been deceived. He became furious, reviled the count, and retreated indignant. This incident has greatly disturbed the minds of those who desire peace. Efforts are still being made to bring the governor back. Meanwhile, he is fortifying Buda and the other towns and castles he controls. Thus the leader of the Turks⁷ has many working for him, though it is not of his doing.

Given on 5 May 1455.

¹ See letters 614: 2 and 618: 1.

² János Hunyadi.

³ Friedrich von Lamberger. See RTA, 19/3, p. 780

⁴ Ulrich II.

⁵ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁶ Vienna.

⁷ Sultan Mehmed II.

626. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (5 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 69, ff. 55v-56r¹; V5, 69, ff. 96v-97r **; V6, 69, ff. 81r-81v, V7, 69, FF. 104v-105v.

Editions A: HO, ff. 147r-147v²

Editions B: AC, vol. 2/3, nr. 4343; RTA, 19/3: pp. 781-784.

{96v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Nicolao, cardinali Sancti Petri salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Redditae sunt mihi per hos dies litterae tuae, quibus res Athesinas³ ex ordine conscripsisti. Ostendi eas Caesari, qui lectis atque intellectis omnibus magnas gratias egit dignationi tuae, quae cum sinceritate erga suam majestatem se habet jussitque litteras tuas observari, ut, si contingat tractari concordiam, in promptu sint avisamenta. De domino Tridentino bene contentus est Caesar, et si huc venerit, quemadmodum pollicetur, obtinebit absque dubio regalia sua.

[2] Dux Sigismundus apud Viennam de Caesare querimonias agit, ubi non desunt, qui consilia male consulta consulant⁴ ac bellum quam pacem quaerunt. Non tamen terretur imperator, qui tantis fulcitus est cirographis bonis. Neque gubernatores Hungariae ac Bohemiae {97r} hi sunt, qui contra Caesarem bellum velint⁵. Gubernator autem Hungariae, quamvis prope Viennam ad duo miliaria se contulerit, quia tamen salvum conductum obtinere non potuit, ut optabat, quasi derisus indignatusque retrocessit.

[3] Conventio nostra sine fructu dissoluta est. Res, quae promissae fuerant pro hac aestate, in alteram delatae⁶ sunt, et cum spe modica, quod tunc gerantur, quemadmodum ex responso Hungaris dato, cujus exemplar cum praesentibus mitto, plenius intelliges. Utinam Romanus pontifex, qui jam electus est et, ut ajunt, coronatus, pro defensione fidei praedecessoris sui fervorem superet, namque si tepeat spiritualis apex, non est, quod temporales principes magna facturos sperare possimus⁷. Utinam Romae fuisses, dum vacavit apostolica sedes, pro bono rei publicae studia tua non defuissent. Habemus tamen, ut ajunt, pontificem sanctum, qui mederi velit infirmitatibus nostris.

[4] Ego intra octo aut decem dies jubente caesare ad eum iter arripiam, mansurus tamen⁸ in via apud Forum Julii nonnullis diebus propter litem, quam de finibus habent Veneti cum domo Austriae. Deinde recta via domum pergam ac Romam petam. Si non intendis hac aestate novum pontificem visitare, rogo, ut domum tuam saltem ad mensem mihi inhabitandam permittas meque tuis litteris summo praesuli commendatum facias.

Vale optime. Ex Novacivitate, die 5. Maji 1455.

¹ DV, 116-117

² DV, 301-302

³ F1, V5, V6; Athesmas V7

⁴ consultant V7

⁵ querunt V5

⁶ dilatae V6, V7

⁷ possumus V7

⁸ spatium V5

626. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (5 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Cardinal von Kues had reported on the tumultuous situation in the Etsch Valley to the emperor via Piccolomini.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks the cardinal on the emperor's behalf and sends news from the imperial court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Nikolaus, Cardinal of San Pietro [in Vincoli].

[1] I recently received the letter¹ with your account of the situation in the Etsch Valley². I showed it to the emperor, who, after reading and understanding everything, expressed his great gratitude to Your Grace for your sincere loyalty toward His Majesty. He has ordered that your letters be preserved so that, in case of peace negotiations, your advice will be readily available. The emperor is well satisfied with His Lordship of Trient³, and if he comes here, as he has promised, he will undoubtedly obtain his regalia⁴.

[2] While in Vienna, Duke Siegmund has been voicing complaints about the emperor, and there are those around him who advise him poorly and seek war rather than peace. However, the emperor is not intimidated, being supported by many good letters⁵. The governors of Hungary and Bohemia⁶ are not here. They appear to be inclined to wage war against the Emperor. The Governor of Hungary, though he advanced to within two miles of Vienna, withdrew in anger and frustration, feeling mocked when he could not obtain the safe conduct he had requested.

[3] Our diet⁷ ended without results. The matters that had been promised for this summer have been postponed to the next, but with little hope that they will be achieved even then, as you will understand more fully from the response given to the Hungarians⁸, a copy of which I am sending along with the present letter. I hope that the newly elected Roman Pontiff who, they say, has already been crowned, will surpass his predecessor⁹ in zeal for the defence of the faith. For if the spiritual leader is lukewarm, we cannot expect great deeds from the secular princes. I wish you had been in Rome when the Apostolic See fell vacant, for your efforts then would have greatly benefitted the public good. However, they say we now have a holy Pontiff, who desires to heal our infirmities.

[4] By the emperor's command, I will set out to go to the new pope within eight or ten days¹⁰. However, on the way, I shall remain for several days at Friuli due to a dispute over borders between Venice and the House of Austria.¹¹ Then I will proceed straight home and then to Rome. If you do not plan to visit the new pontiff this summer, I ask that you allow me to stay in your house¹² for a month, and I also ask you to commend me to the Supreme Pontiff in your letters. Farewell. From Neustadt, 5 May 1455.

¹ Not extant.

² RTA, 19/3: p. 782, n. 5

³ Georg Hack von Themeswald.

⁴ The rights to the diocese's temporal possessions.

⁵ From noble supporters.

⁶ János Hunyadi and Georg Podiebrad.

⁷ The Diet of Wiener Neustadt.

⁸ The oration "*Optasset*" of 23 April 1455 to the Hungarians at the Diet of Neustadt (COR, 5: 24).

⁹ Pope Nicolaus V.

¹⁰ On a mission to present the emperor's obedience to the new pope and to negotiate a number of sensitive matters like the issue if

first petitions. The emperor undoubtedly also wished to facilitate Piccolomini's appointment to the cardinalate.

¹¹ The conflict concerned the city of Pordenone. See CO, 29.

¹² In Rome.

627. Letter to Giovanni di Castiglione (7 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 83, ff. 60r-60v¹; V5, 83, f. 104r-104v **: V6, 83, ff. 87r-87v; V7, 83, ff. 112v-113r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 784-786.

{104r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni, episcopo Papiensi, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Recreat me spes tui reditus, si tamen ita erit, ut scribis. Solus namque mihi videbar esse, cum dissoluto conventu domi quiescerem otiosus. Quod si redibis intra octendium, confido, simul dulcem Italiam visitabimus et nova legemus ceresa². In Alpibus autem Germaniae, que mediae interjacent, fraga³ reperiemus, quibus inter equitandum refrigeremur.

[2] Sed plus sermo ille nos juvabit, quem de Hispano consolatore seremus⁴. Ille interim, ut arbitror, quo pacto nobis resistat, meditatur et domum communit. Largus est expromissor⁵, sed nihil facit. Non est murus, quem jacula nostra non praetereant; in {104v} thalamo ipso nostris confodietur sagittis. Nullum ei remedium est, nisi silentium. Credo id sibi praeparat, nam post obitum Nicolai summa taciturnitate utitur neque ad nos quidquam scripsit. Fortasse fiet ejus Firmana domus aut Bernarditarum coenobium, in quo signis sibi jurgia dicunt. Nec plura de hoc.

[3] Caesar nudiustertius ait velle me non expectato nuntio summi pontificis iter arripere, quando certa est illius electio sine competitore. Nescio, an propositum tenebit. Neque enim homines neque dii unius semper voluntatis habentur.

Vale optime. Non tamen balnearum voluptas prolixius te⁶ teneat. Ex Novacivitate, die 7. Maji 1455⁷.

¹ DV, 125-126

² nova legemus : legimus nova V7

³ fragra V6, V7

⁴ disseremus V7

⁵ et promissor V7

⁶ omit. V7

⁷ omit. F1, V5

627. Letter to Giovanni di Castiglione (7 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Castiglione had written to Piccolomini that he would soon be returning to Wiener Neustadt.

Subject: Piccolomini imagines their companionable return to Italy, makes jokes about their common friendly opponent, Cardinal Carvajal, and informs Castiglione that he will probably depart for Italy without awaiting the papal letter to the emperor informing him of his election as pope.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Giovanni, Bishop of Pavia.

[1] I am comforted by the hope of your return, if, indeed, it will happen as you write¹. I felt quite alone, resting idly at home after the diet. But if you return within eight days, I trust that we will visit sweet Italy together and pick the new cherries. And in the Alps of Germany, which lie in between, we will find strawberries to refresh us as we ride.

[2] But even more, I shall enjoy the conversation we shall have about the Spanish “consoler”². In the meantime, I believe he is thinking of ways to resist us and fortifying his home. He makes great promises, but he does nothing. No wall shall block our arrows; he will be pierced by our shafts in his very chamber. His only remedy is silence. I believe that this is what he is preparing for, since after the death of Nicolaus³, he has been completely silent and has written nothing to us. Perhaps his house will become like [the house of the Cardinal of] Fermo⁴ or a Bernadite⁵ monastery where they even quarrel using sign language! No more about that.

[3] The day before yesterday, the emperor said that I should set out without waiting for the messenger from the Supreme Pontiff⁶, since his election is now certain and uncontested. I do not know if he will hold to that plan, for neither men nor gods always stick to one plan.

Live well, but do not let the pleasures of the baths detain you too long. From Wiener Neustadt, 7 May 1455.

¹ Not extant.

² Cardinal Juan Carvajal.

³ Pope Nicolaus V.

⁴ Cardinal Domenico Capranica who apparently kept an austere and monastic-like household.

⁵ Cistercian.

⁶ Callixtus III.

628. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (8 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 84, ff. 60v-61r¹; V5, 84, ff. 104v-105v **; V6, 84, ff. 87v-88r²; V7, 84, ff. 113r-114r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 786-789.

{104v} Aeneas episcopus Senensis Jacobo, Treverensi archiepiscopo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Intellexi, quae scripsisti de meo ad te transitu. Omnia in meliorem partem recipio. Caesar indulserat mihi, ut ad te irem, si tamen sine periculo pateret iter. Ego libenti animo fuissem te allocutus, antequam domum repetisses, de rebus illis Romae gerendis, sed postquam id fieri nequit, expectabo scripta tua, et in rebus tuis pro viribus enitar, cum Romae fuero. Credo illic ero circa Kalendas Julias. Rogo, ut litteras illas, quas procurare tuapte ingenio principum colectorum³ decrevisti, ad me per illud {105r} tempus aut ante, si fieri potest, transmittas. Quod si ego absim, jube illas reddi magistro Henrico Senftleben, imperiali consiliario et apostolicarum litterarum scriptori, qui Romae degit.

[2] Unum volo cum confidentia⁴ dicere: vidi cedulam⁵ tibi transmissam ex Rheni partibus. Multum ille videtur optare, qui scribit, concilium⁶, in qua re duo pensanda sunt, alterum, quia nationi Gallicanae debetur hac vice synodus generalis, alterum, quia papam habemus aetate gravem et natione Hispanum, cui fortasse in Avinione non displiceret sedes. Nescio, quomodo de loco poterit esse concordia, neque concilia generalia sine magnis motibus fieri consueverunt: aut tollunt schisma aut inducunt generalia concilia. Dum viget unio, servanda est. Sed dicat fortasse aliquis, dicit et ille, qui scribit: gravata natio nostra est, nulla gens plus quam Teutonica premitur. Certe ego laudo, ut nationi debito modo consulatur, ut tollantur indebita gravamina, neque ordinariis fiat injuria neque apostolica sedes contemnatur. Servetur illa mediocritas, quae rei publicae mediatrix est.

[3] Tua dignatio inter principes electores praecipuum lumen esse dicitur. Quidquid agunt in communi consilio ceteri, tuo suasu factum creditur. Ob quam rem censeo dignationi tuae adnitendum, ne quid immoderate petatur ab illa sede Romana. Sic enim et natio Germanica suum decus suumque⁷ splendorem retinebit, et tua dignatio quasi praecipua quaedam columna reputabitur, quae hinc nationem, inde apostolicam sedem⁸ sustineat et facile cuncta obtinebit, quae pro se ac suis petierit.

¹ DV, 126-127

² DV, 89v-90r

³ electorum F1

⁴ fiducia V5

⁵ litteram *alias* cedulam F1

⁶ consilium F1

⁷ suum V7

⁸ apostolicam sedem : sedem apostolicam V7

628. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (8 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Sierck had invited Piccolomini to join him at the baths of Baden at Vienna.

Subject: Piccolomini politely declines the invitation, presumably not wanting to become involved in the designs of the archbishop that were probably not to the benefit of the emperor and the pope but certainly benefitted the archbishop himself.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Jakob, Archbishop of Trier.

[1] I have seen what you wrote¹ about my coming to visit you. I take everything in good part. The emperor had granted me permission to go, provided the journey could be made safely. I would have gladly spoken with you before you returned home about the matters to be taken up in Rome. But since that is not possible, I shall await your letters and do my utmost in your affairs when I am in Rome. I believe I will be there around the first of July. I ask that the letters, which you, on your own initiative, intend to secure from your fellow prince electors, be sent to me by then or sooner if possible. If I am no longer here, then have them delivered to Magister Heinrich Senftleben, the imperial councillor and writer of apostolic letters, who lives in Rome.

[2] One thing I can confidently say: I saw the note sent to you from the Rhineland. The person who wrote it seems most eager to have a council, but in this matter, two things must be considered. First, that this time, the general synod² is due to the French nation; second, that we have a pope³ of advanced age and Spanish origin, who perhaps would not be displeased to reside in Avignon. I do not know how there could be agreement on the location, and usually, general councils are not held without great disturbances: they either end schisms or result in new general councils.⁴ While unity prevails, it must be preserved. But perhaps someone might say, as the writer does, “Our nation is oppressed, and no people is more burdened than the German nation.” Indeed, I agree that due consideration should be shown to that nation and that undue burdens should be removed, but this must be done without injury to the ordinaries⁵ and with no disrespect for the Apostolic See. A middle course must be followed, which serves the public good.

[3] Your Grace is considered to be the chief light among the prince electors. Whatever the others do by common counsel is believed to have been done at your advice. For this reason, I consider that Your Grace should strive to ensure that nothing immoderate is asked of the Roman See. Thus, the German nation will retain its honour and splendour, and Your Grace will be regarded as the main pillar supporting both the nation and the Apostolic See and will easily obtain whatever you request for yourself and for those who depend on you.

¹ Letter not extant.

² Council.

³ Callixtus III.

⁴ In its decree *Frequens* from 1417, the Council of Konstanz sti-

pulated that councils should be held every ten years.

⁵ An Ordinary in ecclesiastical language, denotes any person possessing or exercising ordinary jurisdiction connected permanently or

at least in a stable way with an office, whether this connexion arises from Divine Law, as in the case of popes and bishops, or from positive church law (The Catholic Encyclopedia).

[4] Ego, cum Romae fuero, studebo ea de te apostolico culmini suadere, quae digna censeo, et, quippe si me audierit sua beatitudo, alia erit de te existimatio¹, quam praecessoris tempore fuerit. Existimo dominum patriarcham, qui nunc² magnus habetur et quasi navis apostolicae ductor, tibi magnopere fauturum. Neque ista pro dulcibus verbis dico, ut is putat, qui tibi scribit, sed quia ita est. Et vereor, ne novitates inducantur, quae scandala pariant³, nam unio facilius quam scissio tollitur.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 8. Maji 1455.

¹ existimo V7

² *omit.* V6

³ parant V7

[4] When I am in Rome, I shall endeavour to persuade His Apostolic Highness¹ to do for you what I consider worth it. If His Holiness heeds me, they will think differently of you [in Rome] than they did during the time of his predecessor². I believe that the Lord Patriarch³, who is now held in high regard and seen as the master of the apostolic ship, will be most favourable to you. I do not say these things as mere pleasantries, as the person who writes to you suggests, but because they are true. I fear that radical new ideas may be introduced, which could lead to scandals, for unity is much easier to destroy than schisms.

Farewell. From Wiener Neustadt, 8 May 1455.

¹ Pope Callixtus III.

² Pope Nicolaus V.

³ Ludovico Scarampo, Patriarch of Aquileja.

629. Letter to Dietrich von Mörs (8 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 85, f. 61r¹; V5, 85, 105v-106r **; V6, 85, ff. 88r-88v; V7, 85, f. 114r.

Editions B: None.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 789-790.

{ 105v } Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Theoderico, Coloniensi archiepiscopo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Orator tuus, qui cum Caesare fuit superioribus diebus, reddidit mihi litteras tuas, quibus negotia quaedam mihi commendata fecisti. Parui mandatis; sic enim et debeo et volo. Feci apud Caesarem verba, quae credidi necessaria, quamvis in conspectu suae majestatis² commendatore rerum tuarum non sit opus. Dictavi litteras, quae apostolico culmini mitterentur. Interea decessit Romanus pontifex Nicolaus, jamque successor illi³ substitutus est Calixtus tertius. Ego⁴, ut arbitror, propediem Romam petam. Sic enim Caesarea majestas instituit, nisi propositum derelinquat. Haec scribere volui, ut, si quid sit, quod me Romae facere velis, pro arbitrio me utaris, neque enim labor ullus⁵ mihi gravis erit, quem vel pro te vel pro tua ecclesia subierim.

Ex Novacivitate, die 8. Maji 1455⁶.

¹ DV, 127

² magestatis F1, V5

³ successor illi : illi successor V5

⁴ et V7

⁵ ullius V7

⁶ Die ... 1455 : ut supra F1; etc.
V5

629. Letter to Dietrich von Mörs (8 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The Archbishop of Cologne had written to Piccolomini in a matter possibly touching on the Kollegiatsstift Sankt Andreas in Cologne.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the archbishop that he has arranged the matter with the emperor. He also offers to promote his affairs in Rome.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Dietrich, Archbishop of Cologne.

[1] Your envoy,¹ who was with the emperor in recent days, delivered your letter² to me, in which you entrusted certain matters to my care. I have followed your instructions, as I both should and wish to do. I spoke to the emperor on the matters as I deemed necessary, though with His Majesty, your affairs need no other advocate. I also dictated a letter to be sent to His Apostolic Highness³. Meanwhile, Pope Nicolaus has passed away and has now been succeeded by Callixtus III. Unless the emperor changes his mind, I expect to go to Rome shortly, as His Imperial Majesty intends for now. I wanted to write this to you,⁴ so that if there is anything you would like me to do while I am in Rome, you may use me as you wish, for no task will be burdensome for me if it is on your behalf or for your church.

From Neustadt, 8 May 1455.

¹ Possibly, Johann Zeuwelgin, Dean of Sankt Andreas, see letter 609:3 and 630:1.

² Not extant.
³ The pope.

⁴ This letter was presumably given to Johann Vront to deliver to the archbishop, see letter 630.

630. Letter to Johann Vront (8 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 86, f. 61r¹; V5, 86, f. 106r **; V6, 86, f. 88v²; V7, 86, ff. 114r-114v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{106r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, dominom Johanni Frunt salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Praepositus Sancti Andreae Coloniensis hodie me tuo nomine convenit. Ex eo accepi, quod mandasti. Quidquid id fuerit, signatum est apud illum manu mea. Credo itidem domino Gurcensi exhibitum esse. Quantum in me est³, abunde intelligo satisfactum tibi⁴ cunctis in rebus bene succedere cupio⁵.

Vale, et litteras his alligatas pontifici magno Coloniensi reddito, cum veneris ad eum. Datum in Novacivitate, die 8. Maii 1455⁶.

¹ DV, 127

² DV, 90v

³ et *add.* V7

⁴ *ibique* V7

⁵ *omit.* V7

⁶ *omit.* F1, V5

630. Letter to Johann Vront (8 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: As the preceding letter.

Subject: The matter of the Dean of Sankt Andreas in Colgone has been brought to a happy conclusion.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Johann Vront¹.

[1] The Provost of Sankt Andreas in Cologne² met with me today on your behalf. From him, I received your written mandate, which I signed with my own hand and in his presence.³ I believe the same mandate has been shown to His Lordship of Gurk⁴. I believe I have fully carried out your wishes as far as possible, and I hope all your affairs will go well.

Farewell, and deliver the attached letter⁵ to the Archbishop of Cologne when you meet with him. From Neustadt, May 8, 1455.

¹ Johann Vront was apparently still in Vienna, see letter 605:1.

² Johann Zeuwelgin.

³ Was this matter related to the matter mentioned in letter 609:3?

⁴ Bishop Ulrich Sonnenberger.

⁵ Letter 629.

631. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (10 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 87, ff. 61r-61v¹; V5, 87, f. 106r-106v **; V6, 87, ff. 88v-89r; V7, 87, ff. 114v-115r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 790-791.

{106r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, domino Procopio, cancellario Bohemiae, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Curasti probe et amice, quae volui ex te. Gratias facto quam verbo reddere malim. Quae gerenda sunt Romae pro inlyto regno Bohemiae tam mihi cordi sunt quam tibi. Adhibebo², quidquid {106v} erit in me studii, officii ac diligentiae, ut mos claro viro domino gubernatori geratur. Assint tantum mihi benignae summi pontificis aures. Iter meum propediem maturabo; nihil est in me morae. Solus princeps est, cui procrastinationes placent; duplomatarii sibi, qualis Guido est, accepti sunt. Fratrem tuum Bononiae visam, si faverit Deus, ac veluti filii curam ejus geram. Si quid est, quod sui causa facturum me signanter velis, id scribito, priusquam abeam. Nihil est, quod tibi petenti negare possim. Nomen tuum, etsi meo semper in ore³ dulce fuerit, cum ero⁴ in Italia, dulcius fiet et apud cardinalem Sancti Angeli, qui de te curiose pervestigabit, dulcissimum.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 10. Maji 1455.

¹ DV, 127-128

² adhibeo F1, V7

³ in ore : more V7

⁴ eo F1

631. Letter to Prokop von Rabenstein (10 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Piccolomini's imminent return to Italy.

Subject: Piccolomini ensures the Bohemian chancellor that he will raise the matter of papal recognition of the Hussite communion under both species with the new pope in Rome. The matter is so sensitive that he does not dare to refer to it openly.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Lord Prokop, Chancellor of Bohemia.

[1] You have taken good and amicable care of the matters I asked of you. I would rather repay you in deeds than words. I have the matters¹ to be raised in Rome on behalf of the illustrious Kingdom of Bohemia at heart as much as you do. I will apply all the energy, effort, and care I can muster to ensure the noble governor's² will is carried out, if only I have the benevolent ear of the Supreme Pontiff.³ I shall be leaving shortly; nothing keeps me here. The only one who enjoys procrastination is the prince⁴ and messengers like Guido⁵. I shall visit your brother⁶ in Bologna, God willing, and will care for him as if he were my son. If there is anything specific you want me to do for him, please write to me before I leave. There is nothing I could refuse you. Your name, always sweet on my lips, will be even sweeter when I am in Italy, and it will be particularly sweet to the Cardinal Sant'Angelo⁷, who will be eagerly inquiring about you.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 10 May 1455.

¹ Papal recognition of the Bohemian practice of communion under both species and the reunification of Bohemia with the Roman Church. The matter had been negotiated between the Bohemian Governor, Georg Podiebrad, and Piccolomini at the Diet of Wiener Neustadt, and it had the approval of the two Habsburg monarchs,

the emperor and his cousin, Ladislaus the Posthumous, King (i.a.) of Bohemia. See Piccolomini's memorandum/oration "*Res Bohemicas*" (COR, 6: 28).

² Georg Podiebrad.

³ Pope Callixtus III.

⁴ The emperor.

⁵ Piccolomini's earlier enthusiasm for the papal messenger Guido had

been replaced by scepticism and frustration, see his letter to Cardinal Carval of 13 October 1449 (EPI, 5: 235, 1).

⁶ Johan von Rabenstein, Dean of Visegrad, who was studying at the University of Bologna, see letter to Niccolò Lisci of December 1454 (EPI, 7: 580, 1).

⁷ Juan Carvajal.

632. Letter to Niccolò Lisci (10 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 88, f. 61v¹; V5, 88, ff. 106v-107r **; V6, 88, f. 89r; V7, 88, f. 115r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 792-793.

{186v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Nicolao Liscio, iurisconsulto, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Litteras regias te procurante recepi. Habeo tibi et magnifico cancellario gratias, qui, ut amicis mos est, amici causae manum admovetis². Expecto in dies idipsum ex Varadiensi praesule, priusquam³ iter arripio, quod propediem facturus sum, quamvis curia nostra nihil accelerat. De mutatione nominis, quam sperat cancellarius, contraria mihi sententia est, neque enim senatus ille Romanus facile augmentum⁴ admittit, et multi sunt, quos praecedere par fuerit. Placet tamen mihi intelligere summum {187r} praesulem, quae magni regis de me sit opinio, neque id minoris facio, quam si vocibus efferar primi cleri. De praeposito⁵ Vicegradensi faciam, quod scribis; de quo tamen, quae sint, quae singillatim⁶ expectantur, certum me reddito. Non deero, quoad possim, desiderio cancellarii. Tu quoque, si qua me apud Italiam curare cupis, ut mihi rescribas, velim tuae⁷ petitioni nulla in parte refragaturo.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 10. Maji 1455⁸.

¹ DV, 128

² admonetis V7

³ prius V7

⁴ augmentum V6

⁵ proposito V7

⁶ singulatim V

⁷ tui F1

⁸ Ex ... 1455 : ut supra F1, V5

632. Letter to Niccolò Lisci (10 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Niccolò had procured a letter from King Ladislaus to Pope Callixtus III recommending Piccolomini for the cardinalate.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks Lisci and Chancellor von Rabenstein for their efforts on his behalf.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Niccolò Lisci¹, Jurist.

[1] I received the royal letter you procured for me. I thank both you and His Magnificence, the Chancellor,² who, as is the custom among friends, are lending hands to my cause.³ I am expecting the same from the Bishop of Varad⁴ any day, before I depart on the journey I will be undertaking shortly, though our court delays everything. Regarding the change of title⁵ that the chancellor⁶ hopes for, I do not share his optimism, for the Roman senate⁷ does not easily consent to being increased, and there are many others who would justly come before me. Nevertheless, I am pleased that the Supreme Pontiff⁸ should hear of the great king's⁹ high opinion of me, and I value this no less than being praised by the highest clergy. As for the Dean of Visegrád¹⁰, I will do as you write. However, please inform me of any specific matters I should take care of. I will not fail to fulfil the chancellor's desires to the best of my ability. You, too, if there is anything you want me to do for you in Italy, please write to me, and I shall absolutely fulfil your request.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 10 May 1455.

¹ A close collaborator and friend of Chancellor Rabenstein.

² Prokop von Rabenstein, King Ladislaus Bohemian chancellor.

³ Both the emperor and King Ladislaus (both as King of Bohemia and as King of Hungary) had written to Pope Nicolaus V to request

Piccolomini's appointment as a cardinal. Now that the pope had died, it was necessary to procure letters from both to the new pope, Callixtus III.

⁴ János Vitéz, King Ladislaus' Hungarian chancellor.

⁵ From bishop to cardinal.

⁶ Prokop von Rabenstein.

⁷ The College of Cardinals.

⁸ Pope Callixtus III.

⁹ Ladislaus the Posthumous,.

¹⁰ Johann von Rabenstein, the chancellor's brother.

633. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (10 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 41v¹; V5, 57, ff. 72r-72v **; V6, 57, f. 62v-63r; V7, ff. 80v-81r.

Editions A: HO, 130r.²

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 793-795.

{78v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Jacobo, Treverensi archiepiscopo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Viserem balnea percupide, ut requiris, non lavandi, sed colloquendi causa, sed adversatur desiderio meo tuoque conditio temporis, quae nihil tuti relinquit. Petrus Knor exemplo nobis esse potest, quem neque regia fides tueri potuit. Cautiores nos aliena pericula reddunt. Quod si marchio ad comitem venerit, fateor, quia sub alis eius possem securus iter habere, sed id mihi minime convenit. Crederet enim homo exploratorem fortasse me secum ire. Non enim omnia ita, ut sunt, recipiuntur. Ob eas res puto melius esse rescribi mihi, quae dicenda fuerunt, aut, si tuto scribi nequeunt, mitti³ aliquem, qui ea verbo ad me referat. Studebo pro mea virili, quaecumque jusseris sive hic apud Caesarem sive Romae cum pontifice maximo pro tuo desiderio complere. De bello contra Turcos gerendo, quantum intelligo, tantum fiet anno sequenti quantum praesenti actum est, quando de pace inter Caesarem ac vicinos silentium est neque Bohemicum neque Lutzelburgense litigium componitur. Fortasse ita Deo placitum est corrigere plebem suam; non tam Turci concordēs quam Christiani discordēs⁴ sectam Maumethi promovent.

Tu vale in Christo feliciter. Ex Novacivitate, die 10. Maji 1455.

¹ DV, 88

² DV, 267. *Not collated.*

³ mitte F1

⁴ quam Christiani discordēs *omit.*
V7

633. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (10 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Archbishop Sierck had invited Piccolomini to join him in Baden.

Subject: Piccolomini politely declines the invitation.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Jakob, Archbishop of Trier.

[1] I would gladly visit the baths, as you ask, not for washing but for talking. However, the condition of the times leaves nothing safe and thus opposes both my desire and yours. Peter Knorr¹ can serve as an example for us, as not even the king's² safe conduct was able to protect him. The dangers faced by others make us more cautious. If the margrave³ were to visit the count⁴, I confess that, under his wings, I could travel safely, but such a thing would not be appropriate for me.⁵ For the man might believe I was following him as an observer⁶. Not everything is perceived as it is. For these reasons, I think it would be better if you could write to me about what needs to be said, or, if it cannot be safely written, send someone to relay it to me in person. I will strive, to the best of my ability, to fulfil whatever you order, whether it be here with the emperor or in Rome with the pope⁷, as you wish. As for the war against the Turks, as far as I see it, next year will see as little progress as this year since there is silence regarding peace between the emperor and his neighbours and neither the Bohemian conflict⁸ nor that of Luxembourg⁹ are being resolved. Perhaps it is God's will to correct His people, for it is not the united Turks as much as the divided Christians who advance the sect of Muhammad.

Farewell happily in Christ. From Neustadt, 10 May 1455.

¹ Peter Knorr (c. 1410-1478): Dean of Marienkiche in Wetzlar (1445), parish priest. Councillor and chancelleor of Margrave Albrecht III. Achilles. See RTA, 19/3, p. 794, n. 1.

² Ladislaus the Posthumous.

³ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁴ Ulrich II of Celje.

⁵ They were to represent their respective londs (king and emperor) at a meeting in Baden bei Wien 26 May 1455 (RTA, 129/3: p. 794, n. 5

⁶ "explorator": spy.

⁷ Callixtus III.

⁸ The war between the Bohemians and Saxons.

⁹ The conflict between King Ladislaus and Duke Philippe III le Bon concerning the duchy of Luxembourg.

634. Letter to Giovanni di Castiglione (10 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 89, f. 61v-62r¹; V5, 89, f. 107r **; V6, 89, f. 89r-89v; V7, 89, ff. 115r-115v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{107r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni, Papiensi episcopo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Gurcensis episcopus heri a me venit atque se Romae obligatum esse in aureis quinquaginta et ducentis, quos eo missurus esset. Quaesivit ex me tutum mittendi modum. Persuasi sibi eos tuae dignationi crederet, quae ante me Romam petitura esset. Respondit sibi placere² consilium. Si litteris tuis cautior fiat, pecuniam Romae ad praestitutam diem iis, quibus debetur, solutum iri. Haec volui, ut scires.

Vale, ut optas. Ex Novacivitate, die 10. Maji 1455.

¹ DV, 128-129

² sibi placere : placere sibi F1, V6, V7

634. Letter to Giovanni di Castiglione (10 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Ulrich Sonnenberger had to pay a sum to the papal curia,

Subject: Piccolomini proposes an arrangement where Sonnenberger would give the money to Castiglione who would then be responsible for its payment when he returned to Rome.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Giovanni¹, Bishop of Pavia.

[1] Yesterday, the Bishop of Gurk² came to me and said that he is obliged to pay 250 ducats in Rome, which he was to send there. He asked me for a safe way to send them. I persuaded him to entrust the money to Your Grace who will be going to Rome before me. He agreed with the proposal. If you confirm it by letter, the money will be thus paid in Rome on the appointed day to those it is owed to. I wanted to inform you of this.³

Farewell as you wish. From Neustadt, on the 10th of May, 1455.

¹ Giovanni di Castiglione, Papal legate.

² Ulrich Sonnenberger.

³ Such arrangements were necessitated by the absence of international banking firms in Vienna

and Wiener Neustadt (personal communication, Dr. Kurt Weissen).

635. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (11 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, f. 56^l; V5, 70, f. 97v **; V6, 70, ff. 82v-82r; V7, 70, f. 105v-106r.

Editions A: HO, 147v-148r².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 795-796.

{97v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Jacobo Treverensi archiepiscopo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Vehementer affligor, quia desiderio tuo ac meo nequeo facere satis. Id cur acciderit, paucis absolvam. Fueram hoc mane cum Caesare de meo ad urbem transitu multa locutus. Domum reversus ac prandio facto recepi litteras tuas, quae me Viennam vocavere. Volui Caesarem accedere neque potui. Misi litteras tuas ac meas per marescallum ad imperialem majestatem voluntatemque suam requisivi. Responsum datum est velle Caesarem die crastina post prandium habere consilium tumque dicere, quid sui animi sit. Hoc ego intelligo negativum esse responsum, nam et mores Caesaris cognosco et te feria tertia omnino recessurum autumo, antequam ego illuc applicare possem. Eam ob causam supplex oro, ne quid mihi imputes, quia certe³ libenti animo tuae voluntati⁴ gessissem morem. Sed mihi necesse est imperatori parere. Scholasticus fidelis est dignationi tuae et in rebus magnis secretissimus. Per ipsum aut alioquin litteris tuis⁵ instruere me poteris de omni voluntate tua, quam ego et hic et Romae bona fide et omni studio adimplere conabor.

Ex Novacivitate, die 11. Maji 1455⁶.

¹ DV, 117

² DV, 302-303. *Not collated.*

³ si *add.* F1; *del.* V5

⁴ tuae voluntati : petitioni tuae V6,
V7

⁵ litteris tuis : litteras tuas V6;
corr. ex litteras tuas V7

⁶ *omit.* F1, V5

635. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (11 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Archbishop Sierck had invited Piccolomini to meet with him in Vienna.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the archbishop that he does not expect the emperor to give him permission.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Jakob, Archbishop of Trier.

[1] I am terribly sorry that I am unable to fulfil both yours and my own wish. I shall briefly explain why. This morning, I had a long conversation with the emperor about my journey to the City¹. After returning home and finishing lunch, I received your letter inviting me to Vienna. I wanted to see the emperor but was unable to. So, I sent your letter as well as a note from me through the [court] marshal² to His Imperial Majesty, asking for his wish in the matter. The response was that the emperor would hold a council meeting tomorrow after lunch and then let his decision be known. I understand this as a negative response because I know the emperor's ways, and I assume that you will have certainly left by Tuesday, well before I could arrive there. Therefore, I humbly beg you not to hold anything against me, for I would have willingly complied with your wishes. But I am compelled to obey the emperor. Your scholar³ is loyal to you and discreet in important matters; you can inform me of your wishes through him or through letters. Both here and in Rome, I will endeavour to fulfil them in good faith and with all diligence.

From Neustadt, 11 May, 1455.

¹ Rome.

² Zöbing, Walther von [Zebinger] (ca. 1456): Hofmarschall. See Heinig 1: p. 69.

³ Nikolaus Quiddenbaum: Scholasticus of Jakob von Sierck. see Miller, pp. 235-236.

636. Letter to János Vitéz (15 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 90, f. 62r¹; V5, 90, ff. 107r-108r **; V6, 90, ff. 89v-90r; V7, 90, ff. 115v-116r.

Editions A: None

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 796-798.

{107r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni, Varadiensi episcopo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Intellexi plane, quae Johannes Troster ad me detulit. Ita sunt tempora, ut nihil prae se stabile ferant. Nobis nihil conducit magis, quam ut tempori {107v} vitam coaptemus nostram et utamur sapienter foro. Utinam homo ille, e cuius manu res publica pendet, ita paci consulat, ut quiete inter Christianos parta² contra Turcos arma sumere valeamus. Ego hic, quantum mihi licebit et quantum voci meae pondus inerit, concordiae semper consulam, cuius fructum sentire magis quam praedicare voluerim.

[2] Cum Romam venero, quod propediem est futurum, si pietas divina fauerit, de classe Italica sollicitus ero atque, ut Caesar jubet, nervos intendam meos. Persuadeo mihi rem facile apud Italicos cursum habituram. Utinam³ Germani simili ferantur impetu et spei faciant satis, quam dederunt regio culmini simulque tuae dignationi.

[3] Scio, quantum⁴ teneor pro litteris ad me missis: officio quam verbo gratias, ubi facultas assit, agam libentius. Homini, qui similia scripta secum attulit, nihil invideo. Dignus est enim, cui omnes faveant. Vereor tamen, ne qui duobus honorem quaerit, neutri prosit. Neque enim parva res est, que petitur, neque pluribus concedenda. Sed infectum esse nequit, quod factum est. *In stadio multi currunt, at⁵ uni bravium datur.* Quod si non accipit is, cui potissime faveas, bene est, si ei palma cedit, quem loco secundo diligis.

Vale in Christo optime, et si quae sunt⁶, quae me Romae curare⁷ velis, non est, cur labori meo ignoscas. Reliqua ex Johanne cognosces, quem tibi carissimum esse cupio. Ex Novacivitate, die⁸ 15. Maji 1455.

¹ DV, 129

² parca *em.* RTA

³ *omit.* V7

⁴ quam V6, V7

⁵ et F1

⁶ sint F1

⁷ curata V6, B7

⁸ *omit.* F1, V5

636. Letter to János Vitéz (15 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Through Johann Tröster, János Vitéz had informed Piccolomini about some confidential matters of the Hungarian court as well as about a letter from King Ladislaus to the pope requesting the cardinalate for both Piccolomini and Giovanni di Castiglione.

Subject: Piccolomini thanks for the information but doubts the wisdom of nominating two persons for the cardinalate.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to János,¹ Bishop of Várad.

[1] I fully understood the matters that Johann Tröster² conveyed to me. These are times in which nothing seems stable. For us, the best thing is to adapt our lives to the times and wisely navigate the public sphere. I wish that the man³ upon whom the commonweal depends⁴ would act for peace in such a way that, having secured tranquillity among Christians, we could take up arms against the Turks. Here, as much as I am able and as much as my voice carries weight, I will always seek concord, the fruits of which I prefer to experience rather than preach.

[2] When I arrive in Rome, which will happen soon if divine mercy allows, I will be concerned about the Italian fleet, and I shall exert my efforts as the emperor orders. I am confident that the matter will proceed smoothly among the Italians. May the Germans advance with similar zeal and fulfil the hopes they have given His Royal Highness and Your Grace.⁵

[3] I know how much I owe you for the letter you sent me. I will gladly repay the debt in deeds rather than words when the opportunity arises. As for the man⁶ who brought the letter, I bear him no ill will. He is worthy of everyone's favor. Yet, I fear that those who seek honourable advancement for two persons will benefit neither, for it is not a small thing that is being requested, and it is not granted to many. However, what has been done cannot be undone. *Many run in the race, but only one receiveth the prize*⁷. If the one you favour the most does not win, it is still well if the prize goes to the one you hold in second regard.

Live well in Christ, and if there are matters you would like me to take care of in Rome, do not spare my labour. You will learn the rest from Johann, whom I hope you will hold dear. From Wiener Neustadt, on the 15th of May, 1455.

¹ Having participated in the Diet of Wiener Neustadt, Vitéz left before mid-May to rejoin King Ladislaus' court in Vienna.

² Tröster, Johann (-1485): Secretary in the imperial chancery. Assistant teacher of the young King Ladislaus. Possibly 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*; Helmrath: *Vestigia*, p. 116; RTA, 19/3: p. 797, n. 2. Piccolomini had previously sent a recommendation of him to Vitéz, which seems to have worked since Tröster was apparently now in Vitéz' service, see letter to Vitéz of 31 July 1454 (EPI, 7: 546).

³ Governor János Hunyadi?

⁴ Cf. Cicero: *Ad Atticum*, 374: 3.

⁵ See Piccolomini's oration "*Optasset*" of 23 April 1455 to the Hungarians at the Diet of Neustadt (COR, 5: 24).

⁶ Giovanni di Castiglione, Papal legate, see letter 637.

⁷ 1. Corinthians, 9, 24.

637. Letter to Niccolò Lisci (15 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 91, ff. 62r-62v¹; V5, 91, f. 108r **; V6, 91, f. 90r; V7, 91, ff. 116r-116v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 799-800.

{108r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Nicolao Liscio, jurisconsulto, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Litteras regias ex cancellaria Hungarica te procurante suscepi. Miror ejus rei notitiam illi factam esse, de quo scribis. Puto ex eo rem processisse, qui ad Rhenum litteras Bohemicas ferre voluit. Sic natura instituit, ut quod² ultra duos cognitum est, secretum esse non possit. Sed punitus³ est in eo, in quo deliquit, qui mea negotia tam diligenter perscrutatus est, nam me minime quaerente eius sollicitudo patefacta est mihi, et scio scripta regia data esse sibi ad patriarcham. Nihil invideo virtuti suae, quemvis honorem deberi puto. Scio tamen scripta minoris fieri, quae⁴ pro pluribus emittuntur. Exemplar epistolae regiae, quam Varadiensis dictavit, rogo, ad me mittas sequestratis nominibus propriis, ne cognosci possint, si manus alienas inciderint. Credo adhuc sex diebus hoc in loco⁵ perseverabo. Si veniant ad Romanam curiam legati regis, curato, ut ea res eis committatur, quod pluris erit quam litterae.

Vale et magnifico cancellario commendatum me facito. Ut supra.

¹ DV, 129-130

² quid F1; *corr. ex quid* V5

³ penitus V7

⁴ quam V7

⁵ hoc in loco *omit.* V7

637. Letter to Niccolò Lisci (15 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Lisci had sent King Ladislaus' letter of recommendation (see letter 636) to Piccolomini.

Subject: Piccolomini regrets that the substance of the letter was revealed to the carrier, presumably Giovanni di Castiglione, and regrets that two persons were recommended by the king for the cardinalate.¹

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Niccolò Lisci, jurist.

[1] I received the royal letter, which you procured, from the Hungarian chancellery. I am surprised that the matter² was revealed to the person³ about whom you write. I think it must have been due to the one who wanted to carry the Bohemian letters to the Rhine. It is in the nature of things that anything known to more than two people can no longer remain a secret. But the one who so diligently investigated my affairs has been punished in the matter where he erred, for even though I was not seeking it, his interest was revealed to me, and I know that royal letters were given to him for the patriarch⁴. I do not begrudge him his virtue, for I think it deserves every honor. However, I know that letters, which are issued for more than one person, count for less. I ask that you send me a copy of the royal letter dictated by the Bishop of Várad⁵, with the proper names removed so that they cannot be recognised if they fall into the hands of others. I believe I shall remain in this place for another six days. If the king's envoys come to the Roman curia, ensure that the matter is entrusted to them, which will carry more weight than the letters.

Farewell, and please commend me to His Magnificence, the chancellor⁶. As above.

¹ On this letter, see Nowak, p. 207, n. 180.

² Ladislaus the Posthumous' recommendation for the cardinalate, see letter 636.

³ Giovanni di Castiglione, see letter 636.

⁴ Cardinal Ludovico Scarampo.

⁵ János Vitéz.

⁶ Prokop von Rabenstein.

638. Letter to Juan Carvajal (16 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 92, ff. 62v-64r¹; V5, 92, ff. 108r-111r **; V6, 92, ff. 90r-92v²; V7, 92, ff. 116v-119v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 800-805.

{108r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Johanni, cardinali Sancti Angeli, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Ancillarum, quae in Germania sunt, reverendissime pater³, hunc esse morem didici, ut, si quid reprehensione dignum commiserint, priores querelam faciant. Pueri quoque, si coetaneos pulsaverint ullos, primi plorant. Idem apud Hispanos accidere non dubitaverim. Servat hoc et nunc in litteris suis tua dignatio, quae, licet de novo pontifice, de coronatione sua, de magnis Italiae novitatibus, nihil ad me scripserit, arguit me tamen et negligentem esse contendit, qui res Germanicas silentio commiserim neque illius concilii, quod apud nos⁴ habitum est, aliquid significaverim, et praesertim super exercitu contra Turcos instituendo. Quod si verum esset, potuisset secordia mea cum tua desidia compensari. At cum ego diligenter omnia perscripserim, quae apud nos acta sunt, tu vero summa taciturnitate erga me usus sis, iniquum est⁵ me tuis litteris accusari. Sed patior aequo animo paternas correptiones. Scio moderni temporis esse, quod ille inquit non⁶ incelebratus poeta: *Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.*

[2] Verum ego⁷, pater amplissime, multis epistolis meis, postquam coepit hic conventus haberi, dignationem tuam edocui non esse hoc anno sperandam contra Turcos expeditionem, cum et illi, quorum maxime intererat, non modo remissi, sed tardi et negligentissimi {109r} viderentur, nec lites Alamaniae modum invenissent. Postremo misi et responsum Caesaris Hungaris datum, per quod plane intelligis negotia belligerendi in alterum annum esse prolata. Neque scripta mea Guidoni aut⁸ Saturno commisi, sed his cursoribus, qui felici diplomate uti consueverunt⁹, neque me dubium habet, quin tuas manus inciderint. Estis itaque jam certi omnes non opus esse hoc anno maritima classe. Credo id vobis commode accidit, qui cum nulla in parte parati essetis. Jam magnifice loqui potestis et ampullosa verba proferre, quasi classis Italica magna¹⁰ et potentissima in promptu fuerit, si Teutonicus exercitus non esset neglectus. Fero, haec cuilibet dicas et apostolicae sedis summam curam, summam diligentiam tollas in caelum. Nihil refragor, dum mihi haec, qui vos *intus et in cute novi*, persuadere non arbitreris. Nam ego certo sum certior neque Germanos neque Italos neque tuos Hispanos eo fervore teneri pro defensione nostrae religionis, quo vellem et dignum fuerat, quamvis rex Portugalliae, ut inter nos dicendum sit, solutionem dotis sorori¹¹ suae idcirco distulisse se dicat, quia contra Turcos arma sumpturus grandi sumptu opus habeat. Fuimus hactenus gravati somno et inertia sopiti, nec grandis illa Christianorum calamitas apud Graeciam suscepta nos potuit excitare. *Dormivimus Druso similes vitulisque marinis lethargum*, ut arbitrator, passi {109v} sumus. Nescio, quid post hac faciemus.

¹ DV, 130-133

² DV, 92r-94v

³ reverendissime pater : pater reverendissime V7

⁴ omit. V7

⁵ omit. V7

⁶ omit. F1

⁷ omit. V6, V7

⁸ ac V5

⁹ consuevere V6, V7

¹⁰ Italica magna : magna Italica V6

¹¹ sororis V7

638. Letter to Juan Carvajal (16 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Cavajal had written to rebuke Piccolomini for the emperor's tardiness in sending an embassy to Rome to declare obedience to the new pope.

Subject: Piccolomini defends himself and sends news from the Diet of Wiener Neustadt and the imperial court.

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

[1] I have learned, Most Reverend Father, that servant girls in Germany have this custom: if they do something they will be blamed for, they hurry to be the first to complain. Likewise, children, when they hit their peers, hurry to cry first. I do not doubt that the same happens among the Spaniards¹. In your letter, Your Grace observes the same custom, for although you have not written to me about the new pope, his coronation, or the great news from Italy, you nevertheless accuse me of negligence for not reporting on German affairs or the diet held here, and especially concerning the army to be raised against the Turks. If this were true, my laziness would have been offset by your own neglect. But since I have diligently written everything that has transpired here and you have responded with complete silence, it is unfair of you to rebuke me in your letter. However, I endure your fatherly corrections calmly, for I know that this saying by that well-known poet applies to modern times: *He acquits the raven and condemns the doves*².

[2] But, Most Excellent Father, ever since diet began, I have informed Your Grace, in many letters, that no expedition against the Turks should be expected this year. Even those whom this venture most concerns³ seem not only sluggish but utterly slow and negligent, and the conflicts in Germany have not been resolved. Finally, I also sent you the emperor's response to the Hungarians⁴, which clearly shows that military actions have been postponed to the next year. I did not entrust my letters to Guido⁵ or Saturn⁶, but to reliable couriers who usually carry messages safely, and I have no doubt they actually reached your hands. Therefore, you already know there is a need for a naval campaign this year.⁷ I believe this suits you [Italians] well, as you were entirely unprepared. Now, you can speak grandly and use lofty words as if a great and powerful Italian fleet would have been ready if the German army had not been put off. I accept that you may tell this to everybody and praise the great care and diligence of the Apostolic See [in this matter] to Heaven. I do not object as long as you do not expect me, who knows you *within and on the skin*⁸, to believe this. For I am certain that neither the Germans nor the Italians nor your Spaniards are as fervently committed to defending our religion as I would wish and as the matter deserves, although the King of Portugal⁹ claims, between us, that he delayed paying his sister's¹⁰ dowry because he needed significant funds for a campaign against the Turks. So far, we have been weighed down by sleep and inertia, and not even the great disaster of the Christians in Greece could wake us. Suffering from lethargy, we have slept *like Drusus and sea calves*¹¹, I think. I do not know what we will do from now on.

¹ Carvajal's nation.

² Juvenalis, 2: 63

³ The Hungarians, directly threatened by the Turks.

⁴ The oration "*Optasset*" of 23 April 1455 to the Hungarians at the Diet of Neustadt (COR, 5: 24).

⁵ Papal messenger.

⁶ Not identified. Another papal messenger or the God in his supremely unhurried detachment?

⁷ The military strategy depended on a Hungarian/German land army combined with an Italian fleet.

⁸ Persius, 3: 30: "*all too well*".

⁹ Afonso V

¹⁰ Empress Leonora.

¹¹ Juvenalis, 3: 238: *eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis*

[3] Res mala est, spes vero multo deterior, nisi moderni pontificis solertia nostris langoribus medeatur. Laudat tua dignatio¹ sanctitatem suam, probat omnis ecclesia mores et vitam suam². Fama est maxima suae probitatis; dicunt eum³ integrae vitae fore, utroque jure peritissimum, scientiam callere universam bene ac beate vivendi, desiderium ejus ad protegendam ecclesiam ferventissimum esse, idque votum eius in assumptione sua prolatum magnifice patefacit. Fortasse hic erit, qui res afflictas restaurabit et hoc⁴ sedente splendorem suum Christi ecclesia vendicabit. Quod si querimus, necesse erit, alio itinere incedamus quam hactenus processum sit, dicerem nunc, quae via mihi tenenda videretur, sed quoniam propediem Romam confido visere, loqui malo quam scribere.

[4] Petit is magnopere, id curem, ut imperator, qui primus est inter Christianos principes,⁵ Romano pontifici primus mittat oboedientiam ac suo exemplo provocet alios. Mirabile dictu est, quanta sit vestrae curiae tarditas. Mirabilius illud est, quod cum tardissimi sitis, alios tamen cupitis esse veloces, et increpatis, si qui sunt plus justo tardiusculi. Ecce jam paene mensis abiit post coronationem Romani praesulis, neque adhuc aut ejus litteris aut sacri senatus scriptis certiorata est maiestas imperatoria seu electum seu coronatum esse, qui Nicolao pontifici successerit. Et quomodo {110r} vos, obsecro, primum esse Caesarem, qui praestet obedientiam, vultis, quando ultimum eum esse sinitis, cui de more summi praesulis electio significetur. Non tamen haec pensitat Caesar, neque⁶ de sua devotione quidquam imminuit vestra tarditas. Plus eum sua religio trahit quam preces illorum, qui nunc in Germania novitates quaerunt.

[5] Neglectus, ne dicam spretus, mittere tamen statuit tuum Aeneam, qui pro veteri more suo et imperii sacri nomine novum Christi vicarium, ut credibile est datum divinitus, veneretur. Multa apud eum quaesita sunt, temptatae quoque diversae viae, si quomodo fieri posset, ut mea missio impediretur, quemadmodum haec latius dignationi tuae praesens reserabo⁷. Rugiunt enim nonnulli more ferarum in hac natione Teutonica et⁸ omnia nunc vulnera commemorant, quae priscis temporibus perpassi sunt, jamque⁹ tempus advenisse confidunt, quo seipsos in libertatem vendicent. Sed obstat eorum conatibus Caesar et integra fide primae sedis statum atque honorem tuetur.

¹ tua dignatio : dignatio tua F1

² ejus V6, V7

³ enim F1

⁴ omit. V7

⁵ princeps V5

⁶ nec V7

⁷ reservabo V6

⁸ omit. V7

⁹ jam V7

[3] The situation is bad, but expectations are much worse, unless the skills of the present pope heal our ailments. Your Grace praises his holiness, and the entire Church approves of his morals and way of life. His reputation for integrity is outstanding; they say he will lead a life of purity, is highly skilled in both laws¹, has deeply knows how to live virtuously, and is fervently committed to protecting the Church. His desire for this cause was magnificently expressed in the vow he made upon his election.² Perhaps he will be the one to remedy our present troubles, and under his rule, the Church of Christ will reclaim its former glory. If we seek this, we must follow another path than the one we have followed thus far. I would now explain this further, but since I trust I shall visit Rome soon, I prefer to speak with you rather than write.

[4] You are strongly urging me to ensure that the emperor, the first among the Christian princes, is also the first to send his [declaration of] obedience to the Roman Pontiff and, by his example, incite others [to do the same]. [However,] it is astonishing how slow your own court³ is. Even more astonishing is it that, although you yourselves are the slowest of all, you still wish others to be quick and rebuke those who are somewhat slower than reasonable. Almost a month has passed since the coronation of the Roman Pontiff, and still, neither the pope nor the Sacred Senate⁴ has informed His Imperial Majesty that a pope has been elected to succeed Nicolaus and been crowned.⁵ How, I ask, can you want the emperor to be the first to declare his obedience when you inform him, in the hallowed manner, of the election of the supreme pontiff after all others have been informed? Yet the Emperor does not dwell on this, nor has your tardiness diminished his devotion in the slightest. His own piety weighs more heavily than the pleas of those who now seek innovations in Germany⁶.

[5] Though neglected, not to say scorned, he has nonetheless decided to send your Enea, who, according to hallowed custom and in the name of the Holy Roman Empire, will reverently honour⁷ the new Vicar of Christ, who is, as we believe, divinely appointed. Many approaches were made to the emperor, and various means attempted to somehow prevent my mission, as I will explain more fully to Your Grace in person. For some in this German nation roar like wild animals, and they now recall all the wounds suffered in past times, confidently believing that time has come for them to reclaim their liberty. But the emperor stands in the way of their efforts and, with unwavering loyalty, defends the status and honour of the Holy See.

¹ Canon and civil law.

² Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 18, gives a brief and a long version of the oath. See Piccolimini's oration "*Solent plerique*" of 13 August 1455 (COR, 6: 25, 27).

³ The papal curia.

⁴ The College of Cardinals

⁵ The pope's declaration was dated 8 April and the cardinals' 15 April. It is not known why it had not yet reached the emperor.

⁶ Like Archbishop Sierck of Trier, who wanted something like that

French Pragmatic Sanction if Bourges (1438) to be passed in Germany to free it from the papal domination and exorbitant money transfers from Germany to Rome.

⁷ I.e., declare the imperial obedience.

[6] Nunc pauca subjicienda sunt de his¹, quae noviter emersere, ut omnem tibi querelam adimam. Postquam conventus hic noster Novae Civitatis dissolutus est², apud Viennam coram inclyto rege Hungariae hec acta sunt: Bohemi ac³ Saxones decreverunt convenire inter se circa regni limites⁴ ac de concordia transigere. Interea manus continebunt, sed parum momenti, ut mihi videtur, haec res habet, {110v} quando nec⁵ tempus statutum est, quo fiat conventio, neque delecti sunt arbitri⁶, qui partes componant. Inter regem Ladislaum ac⁷ ducem Burgundiae plus actum est. Nominati sunt enim Ludovicus Bavariae et Albertus Austriae duces, qui litem Luczelburgensem aut amico more aut juris⁸ tramite diffiniant. Inter imperatorem et regem etsi quaesita concordia est, non tamen in hanc usque diem inveniri potuit impediens illis, quorum crescunt opes ex discordia. Hodie tamen apud Balnea conventuri ex nostris marchio Brandeburgensis, episcopus Gurcensis et magister camerae, ex altera parte comes Ciliae, comes de Magdeburga et Roggerius de Sterenberg. Faxit deus, ut boni aliquid afferant atque inveteratae liti modum ponant, ne, qui⁹ sanguine proximi sunt, voluntate amplius disjungantur. Rex Ladislaus reclamantibus Bohemis, qui se in regnum suum repetebant, ad diem post nativitatem Johannis Baptistae Hungariam petiturum se affirmavit.

[7] Despotus Rasciae plenus maestitia¹⁰ maerens et squalidus multa questus est, quia nullum reperit opem sibi laturum. Testatus est palam superos atque inferos et mediostimos¹¹ se destitutum ab omni populo Christiano non posse Turcorum ferre furorem; necessarium sibi esse, ne pro infamia regiae dignitatis mendicare cogatur, quas Turci praebeant leges subire, atque ita dolens et lacrimans multis miserantibus, sed nullis ignoscentibus {111r} ex Vienna recessit. Gubernator Hungariae, cum secure Viennam petere nequivisset, Budam concessit. Si rex eo veniat, restitutum¹² se et gubernationem et castra pollicetur eo proviso, ne, quod ipse dimittit, exteris committatur. Impensas¹³ quoque in annum ex propriis facultatibus regiae curie promittit.

[8] Habes omnium rerum, quae his in partibus gestae sunt, verum summarium. Noli deinceps accusare negligentiam, ubi diligentia est. Noli mordere, nisi et remorderi vis. Ego enim, etsi non moveor reprehensionibus tuis et omnia in partem recipio meliorem, nequeo tamen retinere calamum, et, quae vera scio, reticere non possum, neque aliena vulnera tego, quando mea retegi¹⁴ video.

Vale in Christo optime¹⁵, et libertatem meam loquendi noli indigne ferre. Ex Novacivitate, die 16. Maji 1455.

¹ iis V5

² omit. F1, V6, V7

³ et V7

⁴ milites F1

⁵ non V7

⁶ omit. V7

⁷ et F1

⁸ litteris V7

⁹ quid V7

¹⁰ mestitiae V7

¹¹ Classical: medioximos

¹² restitutum V6

¹³ expensas V7

¹⁴ detegi V7

¹⁵ omit. V7

[6] Now, a few recent developments must be mentioned to counter all your complaints. After our diet at Neustadt ended, these matters were discussed in Vienna before the Illustrious King of Hungary¹: the Bohemians and Saxons have agreed to meet to negotiate about the borders of the kingdom² and peace. In the meantime, they will refrain from hostilities, but I think this is of little importance since no date has been set for the meeting, nor have arbitrators been selected to resolve the differences. More has been done [concerning the conflict] between King Ladislaus and the Duke of Burgundy³. Dukes Ludwig⁴ of Bavaria and Albrecht⁵ of Austria have been appointed to resolve the Luxembourg conflict either amicably or through legal means. Although there has been some effort to achieve peace between the emperor and the king, as of today, no agreement has been reached due to the obstruction of those who benefit from the conflict⁶. However, today, the Margrave of Brandenburg⁷, the Bishop of Gurk⁸, and the *Kammermeister*⁹ will meet with the Count of Celje¹⁰, the Count of Maidburg¹¹, and Roggerius von Sternberg¹² in Baden. May God grant that they achieve something good and put an end to this long-standing conflict so that those who are close in blood are no longer separated in will. Despite the protests of the Bohemians, who are demanding King Ladislaus' return to their kingdom, he has declared that after the Feast of John the Baptist, he will set out for Hungary.

[7] The despot of Rascia¹³ lamented much, full of sorrow, grieving, and dishevelled, for he found no one to bring him aid. He publicly invoked the heavenly beings, the underworld, and the in-between, declaring that he had been abandoned by all the Christian people and could not sustain the fury of the Turks. He would have to submit to the Turkish conditions, lest he be forced to go begging - to the disgrace of his royal dignity. Thus, grieving and weeping, he had the sympathy of many, but no one came forth to support him, and so he departed Vienna. The Governor of Hungary,¹⁴ unable to go to Vienna in safety, withdrew to Buda. He promised that if the king came there, he would restore both governance and the fortresses to him, provided that what he relinquished was not handed over to foreigners. He also promised to finance the royal court for a year from his own resources.

[8] You now have a true summary of all the events that have occurred in these parts. Do not rebuke me for negligence where there is diligence. Do not bite unless you want to be bitten in return. Although I am not troubled by your criticisms and take everything in the best way, I cannot restrain my pen, and I cannot remain silent about what I know to be true nor bind up the wounds of others when I see my own being reopened.

Live well in Christ, and do not take offence at my freedom of speech. From Neustadt, 16 May 1455.

¹ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

² Bohemia.

³ Philippe III le Bon.

⁴ Ludwig IX der Reiche.

⁵ Albrecht VI.

⁶ Like Count Ulrich II of Celje.

⁷ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁸ Ulrich Sonnenberger.

⁹ Hans Ungnad.

¹⁰ Ulrich II.

¹¹ Probably, Michael von Maid-

burg, presently *Landmarschall* of

Austria and councillor of King Ladislaus.

¹² Possibly, Zdenko z Sternberk.

¹³ Durad III Brankovic.

¹⁴ János Hunyadi.

639. Letter to Ludovico Scarampo (16 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, 93, f. 64r-64v¹ ; V5, 93, f. 111r-112r **; V6, 93, 92v-93r; V7, ff. 119v-120r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 806-808.

{111r} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Ludovico, patriarchae Aquilegiensi² salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Quae gesta erant his in³ regionibus usque ad penultimam diem aprilis superioribus litteris a me scriptum est. Adjiciam nunc, quae deinceps emergerunt nova. Sic enim apud sanctissimum dominum nostrum, quid facto opus sit, certius et⁴ melius consulere poteris.

[2] Coram rege Ladislao haec acta sunt: Bohemi et Saxones inter se convenire statuerunt ac de concordia transigere, sed neque tempus conveniendi dictum est neque mediatores {111v} deputati sunt, neque certitudo est, in qua possit quisque pedem figere. Inter Bohemos autem et ducem Burgundiae super controversia Luczelburgensi Ludovicus Bavariae et Albertus Austriae delecti sunt arbitri. Rex Ladislaus ad dictam diem⁵ post nativitatem Johannis Baptistae Hungariam se petiturum affirmavit, quamvis Bohemi contradixerint, qui personam eius in Moraviam reposcebant⁶. Despotus Rascie plenus maerore recessit, quia sibi nullum praesidium promissum est, comminatusque fertur pariturum se Turcis, quando a Christianis deseritur⁷.

[3] Inter imperatorem et regem Hungariae de concordia nihil adhuc transactum est. Hodie tamen convenient apud Balnea ex nostris marchio Brandeburgensis, episcopus Gurcensis et magister camerae, ex altera parte comes Ciliae, comes⁸ de Magdeburga et⁹ Roggerius de Sterenberg. Si quid me sciente boni peregerint, non latebit dignationem tuam. Gubernator Hungariae Budae se continet resignaturumque regi gubernationem et castra pollicetur, si cautum sit, ne suscipiant¹⁰ exteri, quod ipse dimissurus est. Promittunt Hungari nequaquam se treugas cum Turcis habituros, si ante Kalendas Octobris certi fant, quod in futurum annum terrestres simul ac maritimae copiae contra Turcos eant. Vestrum est igitur curare, ut quae sedis apostolicae incumbunt officio quam celeriter procurentur. Dominus Papiensis et ego infra sex dies hinc iter arripiemus et {112r} annuente divina gratia dignationem tuam Rome videbimus ac super his aliisque¹¹ quampluribus¹² alloquemur.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, die 16. Maji 1455.

¹ DV, 133-134

² Aquilegiensis F1, V6, V7

³ his in : in his F1

⁴ ac V6, V7

⁵ omit. F1

⁶ respondebant V7

⁷ disseritur V6; diseritur *corr. ex*

deseritur V7

⁸ omit. V7

⁹ omit. V7

¹⁰ excipiant V5

¹¹ aliis F1; *corr. ex aliis* V5, V6

¹² plurimis V7

639. Letter to Ludovico Scarampo (16 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Piccolomini keeps up his attempts to “cultivate” Scarampo, who had regained his influential position at the papal curia¹.

Subject: Piccolomini sends the cardinal news from the imperial court.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Ludovico, Patriarch of Aquileia.

[1] I have already written to you in previous letters about what has occurred in these regions up until the penultimate day of April. I will now add some new developments so that you may advise Our Most Holy Lord² more accurately and wisely about what needs to be done.

[2] This was done before King Ladislaus: the Bohemians and Saxons decided to meet and negotiate a settlement, but no date for the meeting has been set, nor have mediators been appointed, nor is there any certainty on which anyone can rely. Regarding the Luxembourg conflict between the Bohemians and the Duke of Burgundy³, Ludwig⁴ of Bavaria and Albrecht⁵ of Austria have been chosen as arbitrators. King Ladislaus has declared that he will travel to Hungary by the appointed day after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, despite opposition from the Bohemians, who demanded his presence in Moravia. The despot of Rascia⁶ left full of sorrow because no aid was promised to him, and he has reportedly threatened to submit to the Turks since he has been abandoned by the Christians.

[3] Nothing has yet been resolved in the conflict between the emperor and the King of Hungary⁷. However, today at Baden, our representatives - the Margrave of Brandenburg⁸, the Bishop of Gurk⁹, and the *Kammermeister*¹⁰ - are scheduled to meet with the Count of Celje¹¹, the Count of Maidburg¹², and Roggerius de Sterenberg¹³. If I learn that they accomplish anything beneficial, I shall inform Your Grace. The Governor of Hungary¹⁴ remains in Buda and has promised to relinquish governance and fortresses to the king, provided it is guaranteed that what he surrenders will not fall into the hands of foreigners. The Hungarians also promise that they will in no way make truces with the Turks if they are assured before the first of October that combined land and naval forces will go against the Turks in the coming year. Therefore, it is your responsibility to ensure that the tasks falling to the Apostolic See are handled with all possible speed. The Bishop of Pavia¹⁵ and I will set out from here within six days, and, God willing, we shall see Your Grace in Rome, where we can speak [further] about these and many other matters.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 16 May 1455.

¹ See letter 616.

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ Philippe III le Bon.

⁴ Ludwig IX der Reiche.

⁵ Albrecht VI.

⁶ Durad III Brankovic.

⁷ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁸ Albrecht III Achilles.

⁹ Ulrich Sonnenberger.

¹⁰ Hans Ungnad.

¹¹ Ulrich II

¹² Probably Michael von Maidburg.

¹³ Possibly, Zdenko z Sternberk.

¹⁴ János Hunyadi.

¹⁵ Giovanni di Castiglione.

640. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (23 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 41v-42r¹; V5, 58, ff. 72v-73r ***; V6, 58, f. 63r; V7, 58, ff. 8r-81v.

Editions A: HO, f. 130r-130v².

Editions B: RTA, 19/3: pp. 808-810.

{72v} Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, Jacobo, Treverensi archiepiscopo, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Venit ad me scolasticus tuus lateque mecum de singulis et hic et Romae gerendis locutus est. Conabor pro virili mea voluntati tuae morem gerere. Vidi memoriale tuum, in quo multa et magna petis. Vellem omnia concedi et plura etiam, quam quaeras, sed novi mores hominum: omnes recipere quam dare volunt. Prudentiae tamen³ fuerit, in utraque parte moderationem praeferre atque illius comici meminisse dicentis: *Ne quid nimis*. Fateor dignationem tuam multum servire posse Romanae sedi, et id spero, facies. Cavendum tamen⁴ est, ne illud de tua dignatione dici possit, quod de beato Martino Francorum regem dixisse tradunt. *Martinus*, enim inquit ille, *bonus in auxilio, carus in negotio*. Haec pro mea devotione erga paternitatem tuam dixisse voluerim, non quia laborem tuis in rebus diffugiam, sed quia ita et honori tuo et commodo conducere arbitror. Cras Deo favente versus urbem iter arripiam.

Vale in Christo optime. Ex Novacivitate, die 23. Maji 1455⁵.

¹ DV, 88-89

² DV, 267-268

³ *spatium* V5

⁴ *spatium* V5

⁵ Maji 1455 *omit.* F1, V5

640. Letter to Jakob von Sierck (23 May 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The Archbishop of Trier had sent a close collaborator to Piccolomini to discuss with him his pending affairs at the imperial and papal courts.

Subject: Piccolomini assures the archbishop that he will do everything possible to further his cause but also warns him to show moderation.

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Jakob, Archbishop of Trier.

[1] Your *scholasticus*¹ came to me and spoke extensively with me about everything that needs to be done here² and in Rome³. I will do my best to comply with your wishes. I have seen your memorandum, in which you request many important things. I would like to see everything granted and even more than you ask for, but I know the ways of people: everyone prefers to receive rather than give. So, it would be wise to exercise moderation on both sides and to remember the saying of the Comic⁴ playwright: *Nothing in excess*.⁵ I acknowledge that Your Grace can be of great service to the Roman See, and I trust you will do so. However, we must be careful that it cannot be said of you what was of Saint Martin⁶ by the King of the Franks: "*Martin is good for help, but dear in business*".⁷ I say this out of my devotion to Your Paternity, not because I shy away from working on your behalf, but because I believe it is both honourable and advantageous for you. Tomorrow, God willing, I will set out for the City⁸.

Live well in Christ. From Neustadt, 23 May 1455.

¹ Nikolaus Quiddenbaum: Scholasticus of Jakob von Sierck. see Miller, pp. 235-236.

² See RTA, 19/3: p. 809, n. 2.

³ A reference to Sierck's designs on the diocese of Metz? See letter 600: 7.

⁴ Terentius.

⁵ Terentius: *Andria*, 62

⁶ Saint Martin of Tours

⁷ After the Gothic victory, Clovis made rich offerings to St. Martin of Tours. He wished to redeem his war-horse by the gift of one hundred pieces of gold, but the enchanted steed could not move from

the stable till the price of his redemption had been doubled. This miracle provoked the king to exclaim, *Vere B. Martinus est bonus in auxilio, sed carus in negotio*. (*Gesta Francorum*, c. 17).

⁸ Rome.

641. Letter to Callixtus III (1 June 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, f. 58r¹; V5, 76, ff. 100v-101r **; V6, 76, ff. 84r-84v; V7, 76, f. 109r.

Editions A: HO, ff. 149v-150r².

Editions B: None.

{ 100 v } Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, beatissimo papae Calixto III. salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Sicut obitus sanctae³ memoriae domini⁴ Nicolai papae V. me graviter afflixit, ita et assumptio tua ad summi pontificatus apicem laetitia affecit. Tunc ecclesiam bono pastore orbatam indolui, nunc beati Petri naviculam bono rectori commissam gaudeo. Spero sub⁵ tuo regimine religionem nostram contra Turcorum impetum magnifice posse defendi, idque sibi tota Christianitas persuadet. { 101r } Obsequium meum quemadmodum praecessori⁶ tuo praebui, ita et tibi fidele ac promptum exhibeo, paratus⁷, quoad vixerim, oboedire mandatis tuis.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate Austriae, Kalendis Juniis 1455⁸.

¹ DV, 121

² DV, 306-307

³ pie V5

⁴ omit. V5

⁵ de V5

⁶ predecessori F1

⁷ paratum V7

⁸ omit. F1, V6, V7

641. Letter to Callixtus III (1 June 1455, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The emperor had appointed Piccolomini his ambassador to present his declaration of obedience to the new pope.

Subject: Piccolomini assures Pope Callixtus that he will serve him faithfully.

Eneas, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to His Holiness Pope Callixtus III.

[1] Just as the death of the late Pope Nicolaus V of holy memory greatly afflicted me, so too your elevation to the summit of the Supreme Pontificate has filled me with joy. Then, I grieved that the Church was deprived of a good shepherd, but now I rejoice that the Bark of St. Peter has been entrusted to a worthy captain. I hope that under your leadership, our religion can be magnificently defended against the attacks of the Turks, and indeed all of Christendom believes this to be true. As I faithfully served your predecessor, so too do I offer you my loyal and willing service, ready to obey your commands for as long as I live.

Farewell. From Neustadt in Austria, 1 June 1455.

642. Letter to the City of Siena (2 August 1455, Asciano).

Manuscripts: T1, 6r^l **.

Editions A: None

Editions B: None.

{13} Magnifici et potentes domini, amici honorandi.

[1] Adventum reverendissimi patris domini, episcopi Novariensis, ad praesentiam vestram audio libentissime. Spero enim non sine fructu illud iter aget. Aedes meas patere sibi non solum patior, sed peto et cupio vehementer, et ago gratias magnificentiis vestris, quae domum meam tali hospite honorandam putaverunt. Illi quoque debitorem me putavero, si hospitium apud me acceperit. Si secus fiat, moleste feram, neque enim praelatus est in ecclesia Dei, quem pro benevolentia Novariensi pontifici anteponam.

Datum, in Asciano die 2 Augusti 1455 hora noctis tertia. Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis et imperialis consiliarius.

¹ DV, 15. *Autograph*

642. Letter to the City of Siena (2 August 1455, Asciano).

Context: Two months had lapsed since the last letter Piccolomini wrote from the imperial court before leaving it forever (letter 641). In the meantime, he had travelled from Wiener Neustadt to Siena via Friuli, Venice and possibly Ferrara, and had been in Siena to settle his episcopal and personal affairs. Then he left Siena to go to Rome via the large road from the North to Rome. On the way, shortly afterwards, he had stopped in the town of Asciano where he received a message from the city government of Siena that the Bishop of Novara had arrived there and been given lodgings in the episcopal palace.

Subject: Piccolomini expresses his entire agreement with the city government's dispositions.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords, Honourable Friends,

[1] I was delighted to hear about the arrival of the Most Reverend Father, the Bishop of Novara¹, in Siena. I trust that his journey² will be fruitful. Not only do I allow my house to be open to him, but I even eagerly request and desire it, and I offer my thanks to Your Magnificences, who deemed my home worthy of being honoured by such a guest. I will consider myself indebted to him if he accepts lodging in my home. Should it turn out otherwise, I shall much regret it, for there is no prelate in the Church of God whom, thanks to his benevolence, I would place above the Bishop of Novara.

Given at Asciano on 2 August 1455, in the third hour of the night. Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena and Imperial Councillor.

¹ Bartolomeo Visconti.

² In July 1455, Pope Callixtus had sent the bishop to Castiglione della Pescaia, where Jacopo Piccini-

no, at war with Siena, had entrenched himself. The city belonged to King Alfonso V, who himself had designs on Toscana and

used Piccinino as an instrument to further his plans.

643. Letter to the City of Siena (20 August 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: SAS / Concistoro 1985, c. 82¹ **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: Saviano (*large extracts*).

Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.²

[1] Commiserunt mihi vestrae magnificentiae, cum Senis discessi, ut postquam essem ad pedes sanctitatis domini nostri magnificentias vestras totumque populum Senensem beatitudini suae commendarem ac gratias agerem pro immensis beneficiis vestrae rei publicae praestitis narraremque belli statum et quanta celeritate opus esset ad vincendum hostem pro mea facultate demonstrarem una cum reverendo patre episcopo Clusino.

[2] Parui jussioni vestrae, et, cum primo sanctum dominum nostrum adivi, attigi quam brevissimam commissionem mihi factam, dicens me alio tempore cum episcopo Clusino compariturum et mandata vestra latius expositurum. Beatitudo sua id gratanter audivit et multa dixit de sua benevolentia erga civitatem Senensem. Postea fui occupatus in negotiis imperialibus et intervenerunt festa beatissimae matris domini. Itaque non potuimus, episcopus et ego, pro nostro desiderio sanctitatem domini nostro praesentiam habere. Interea supervenit dominus Bindus, cum quo accessimus dominum nostrum duabus vicibus et in summa tam per dominum Bindum quam per episcopum Clusinum et me omnia fuerunt exposita, quae commissa nobis erant. Dominus Bindus, quia instructor erat de statu rerum et recentius a vobis discesserat latiore sermonem habuit. Quae fuerit responsio ipsius domini nostri non dubito vestris magnificentis per episcopum et dominum Bindum latissime rescriptum iri. Ejus tamen sententiam quam brevissime recensebo, quae hujusmodi fuit: respondit sanctus dominus noster se attentissimum esse ad tutelam vestrae civitatis et ad suppressionem communis hostis, quem latrunculum appellavit, idque se jure merito facere ait tam ex Innocentii auctoritate quam ex dicto quodam speculatoris, quia cura esse debet ecclesiae non solum subditorum sed etiam vicinorum ac advenientium, et multa commemoravit se fecisse contra Jacobum Piceninum, qui se ducem Senarum instituerat appellare.

¹ *Autograph. The manuscript is somewhat damaged.*

² Domini honorandi : [domini] post recommendationem Saviano

643. Letter to the City of Siena (20 August 1455, Rome)¹.

Context: The imperial embassy of obedience reached Rome on 10 August, and on 13 August 1455, Piccolomini presented the imperial declaration of obedience to the new pope, and afterwards he and the other imperial ambassador had negotiations with the pope concerning the imperial first petitions (*primariae preces*) and a number of other matters. He had not yet returned to Siena.

Subject: Piccolomini reports on recent meetings between the Siennese representatives and the pope, who had great affection for Siena and was strongly opposed to Jacopo Piccinino and his attempt to become lord of Siena.²

[1] When I left Siena, Your Magnificences entrusted me with the task of - upon reaching the feet of our Lord, His Holiness³ - commending Your Magnificences and the entire people of Siena to His Holiness and thanking him for the immense favours granted to your republic. Additionally, I was, together with the Reverend Father, the Bishop of Chiusi⁴, to report on the state of the war and demonstrate, to the best of my ability, how urgently necessary it is to defeat the enemy.

[2] I obeyed your command, and when I first approached Our Holy Lord, I touched on the commission that had been given to me as briefly as possible, stating that I would return at another time with the Bishop of Chiusi to more fully expose your instructions. His Holiness heard this gladly and spoke at length about his goodwill towards the city of Siena. Afterward, I was occupied with imperial business, and the festivities of the Most Blessed Mother of Our Lord intervened. Thus, the bishop and I were not able, as we had wished, to meet Our Holy Lord. Meanwhile, Ser Bindo⁵ arrived, and with him, we visited Our Holy Lord twice. First, Ser Bindo, the Bishop of Chiusi, and I gave a summary of everything entrusted to us. Then Ser Bindo, being more knowledgeable about the situation and having departed from you more recently, gave a more detailed speech. I do not doubt that the response of Our Holy Lord will be relayed to Your Magnificences in great detail by the bishop and Ser Bindo. However, I will briefly summarise the pope's sentiment, which was as follows: Our Holy Lord responded that he is fully intent on the protection of your city and the elimination of the common enemy⁶, whom he called a "bandit." He said that he is entirely justified in doing this not only under the authority [proclaimed by] Pope Innocent⁷ but also by the report of a certain informer. Indeed, it is the Church's responsibility to care not only for its own subjects⁸ but also for its neighbours and foreigners. He also mentioned the many actions he had taken against Jacopo Piccinino, who had begun to call himself "Duke of Siena."

¹ Saviano, 1.

² COM, 1: 31. On this letter, see Saviano, p. 432

³ Pope Callixtus III.

⁴ Alessio de Cesari.

⁵ Bindo Bindo. Siennese ambassador in Rome.

⁶ Jacoppo Piccinino (COM, 1: 31, 3).

⁷ Innocentius III [Lotario dei Conti di Segni] (1161-1216): Pope from 1198 to his death. Held that the popes had supreme (but conditional) on Earth, also in secular

matters. See Piccolomini in his oration "*Sentio*" of December 1452 (COR, 4: 20, 27)

⁸ In the Church states.

[3] De gentibus armorum, quae molestissimae sunt agro Senensi et commeatus diripiunt, dixit id genus hominum sui natura noxium esse tolerandaque multa incommoda pro libertate tuenda, quam sanctus Petrus nostrae civitati peperisset. Se tamen non dubitare ait, quin hostis brevissimo tempore aut moreretur aut caperetur aut fugeret; se scripsisse et Venetis et regi Aragonum et aliis pluribus contra eum.

[4] De comite Fundorum querelam fecisse regi, qui juvaret Jacobum Piceninum, illum aliquando redditurum rationem ecclesiae, a qua domus sua incrementa suscepisset. De comite Pitiliani et de Monte Agutulo ait se facturum pro desiderio vestro, sed videri sibi, quod ille verba, non facta det. Conquestus est et de oratore Veneto, qui vestro in senatu pacem suaserit cum hoste, et suasit papa, ne credatis omni spiritui et confidatis, quia prospere cuncta succedent, nec [puta]tis regem Aragonum, quamvis nolit omnino destrui Jacobum, velle ipsum nimis potentem esse.

[5] De frumento petito gratissimum dedit responsum. ... contentatur, ut quantum vultis, possitis extrahere. Haec in effectum responsio sua fuit [quam]vis alia multa dixerit, quae per dominum Bindum latius vestro senatui referentur. Habetis, ut inte[lligitis], [pa]pam affectissimum vestrae reipublicae. Sciatis uti tanto patre. Animus ille magnus est et recta ...tas. Nihil ei praeter justitiam cordi est. Alia non occurrunt scriptu digna.

Recommendo me vestris magnificentiis. Ex Roma, die 20. Augusti 1455. Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis et imperialis [consiliarius].

[3] Regarding the mercenary forces that have caused great harm in the Sienese countryside and looted provisions, he said that this kind of man is harmful by nature, and many troubles must be endured to preserve the freedom that Saint Peter¹ brought to our city. However, he said he did not doubt that the enemy would either die, be captured, or flee in the very near future. He mentioned that he had written to Venice, the King of Aragon², and many others against him.

[4] Regarding the Count of Fondi³, the pope had complained to the king that the count had been helping Jacopo Piccinino and would one day have to answer to the Church, which had granted his house its rise. Regarding the Count of Pitigliano⁴ and Montagutulo⁵, he said he would act according to your wishes, but it seemed to him that the count offered only words and no action. He also complained about the Venetian ambassador, who, in your senate, had advocated for peace with the enemy. The Pope advised that you should not trust everyone but be confident that everything would turn out well. He also assured you that, although the King of Aragon might not want Jacopo completely destroyed, he certainly did not want him to become too powerful.

[5] Regarding the grain you had requested,⁶ he gave a most favourable response. ... He consents to your obtaining as much as you need. This, in essence, was his response, although he said many other things, which will be more fully reported to your senate by Ser Bindo. As you see, you have a pope who is very well disposed toward your republic. You should know how to make use of such a great Father. He has a great and upright spirit. Nothing is closer to his heart than justice. No other matters occur to me that are worthy of writing.

I commend myself to Your Magnificences. From Rome, 20 August 1455. Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena and Imperial Councillor.

¹ I.e., the Papacy.

² King Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

³ Caetani, Onorato II (1414-1491): Count of Fondi from 1441.

⁴ Orsini, Aldobrandino II (-1472): Count of Pitigliano. Condottiero.

⁵ Given by Piccinino to Pitigliano.

⁶ There was a lack of grain in Siena. The pope had given Siena

permission to import as much grain as they needed from the Papal States (COM, 1: 31, 5).

644. Letter to the City of Siena (10 September 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: SAS / Concistoro 1985, c. 93 **

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

Magnifici ac potentes domini honorandi, post recommendationem.

[1] Redditae sunt mihi per hos dies duplicatae litterae vestrae, et in primis quidem requisivistis, ut monasteriorum sanctimonialium curam, quae aliorum est, ad me transferre curarem. In secundis vero de officio sancti Bernardini apud vos confecto per sanctissimum dominum nostrum confirmandum mentionem fecistis. De re prima sum allocutus sanctissimum dominum nostrum, qui verbo quam libentissime annuit, sed litteras adhuc non extraxi nec scio, quam facile erit illac extractio propter adversantes, qui praesentes sunt. De officio vero sancti Bernardini nihil adhuc sanctitati apostolicae referre potui, quia praeventus febre domi detineor. Restituente autem domino sanitatem conabor desiderio vestro satisfacere, si modo res erit, quae videatur admittenda, quam petitis. Est enim mihi dubium, quia jam aliud officium et confectum et approbatum fertur. Sed non habeo rei certitudinem. Nec alia modo. Recomendo me vestris magnificentiis, quibus parere praesto sum.

Ex Roma, die 10 Septembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis ac imperialis consiliarius.

644. Letter to the City of Siena (10 September 1455, Rome).

Context: The city government of Siena had written to Piccolomini concerning two matters: the responsibility for nuns' convents and the confirmation of an office for the Feast of San Bernardino of Siena.

Subject: Concerning the first matter, there seemed to be some opposition at the papal court. And concerning the second, another office for the saint appeared to have already been composed in Rome, possibly by the Order of Observantist Franciscans, to which San Bernrdinio had belonged.¹

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable lords. After recommendation.

[1] I recently received duplicate letters from you. In the first, you requested that I take on the care of the monasteries of the nuns, which presently belongs to others.² In the second, you mentioned that the office of San Bernardino, which was composed in your city, needs to be confirmed by Our Most Holy lord.³ Regarding the first matter, I spoke with him, and he gladly agreed to it verbally, but I have not yet been able to obtain a letter, nor do I know how easy it will be to get it due to the opposition of some here. As for the office of San Bernardino, I have not yet been able to raise the matter with His Apostolic Holiness, as I have been confined to my home with a fever. However, once the Lord restores my health, I shall endeavour to fulfil your wish, provided your request can be granted. I am uncertain of that, as I have heard that another office has already been composed and approved. However, I am not sure about the matter. There is nothing else at the moment.

I commend myself to your excellencies, whom I am always ready to serve. From Rome, 10 September 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena and Imperial Councillor.

¹ In 1462, Pius II would personally compose an office for the Feast of Saint Catherine of Siena, whom he himself canonised.

² They may not have been taking their responsibilities seriously since the city government wanted a change.

³ The pope.

645. Letter to the City of Siena (17 October 1455, Radicofani)¹.

Manuscripts: T1, 6r² ³

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{6} Magnifici domini honorandi.

[1] Quia mansurus sum Corsignani et in aliis meis villis, antequam Senas repetam, statui, quae mihi per sanctissimum dominum nostrum papam commissa fuerunt vestris magnificentiis scribere. Ne quid mora mea praeiudicii afferat rebus agendis, quamvis non magni pon[deris] apud aliquos videri possint. Cum visitassem in recessu meo ex urbe suam sanctitatem, interrogavi, an aliquid mandaret vestrae rei publicae referendum. Respondit “Dicis his, qui regunt, ut forti animo sint neque permittant se verbis dimoveri. Nos temptati multi modis sumus, ut Senenses deseran[di] sunt omnes huiusmodi conatis. Nos vita comite Senensibus numquam deerimus constantes. Nos erimus constantissimi. Jam pecunias novas milium ordinamus de restaurando campo. Frumenta iussimus ministrari ex ... quantum Senenses ipsi voluerint. Speramus, quia denique defic... quem quaecumque agimus, quia contra Turchum agere putamus. Dic... societate illius damnati de Corrigia pecunias ministrent. Nos ... retinebimus.” Haec sunt, quae sua sanctitas in summa referri iussit. ... Nunc vestrum est boni consulere. Credo delatam esse famam ad vos gravissime ... [dominum] nostrum. Fuit aegrotus ex podagra et genu doluit dominus noster, sed meo in recessu ex parte convaluerat et cessavere omnino dolores. Itaque nihil est de mor[te aut] infirmitate timendum, quamvis multi aliam famam fecerunt. Ego, quid vidi certiora in dies vobis reserabit. Ego illum non habui ob[viam] ..., quia mihi rectum iter fuit, ipse per civitatem Caste...

[Radico]fani, die 17. Octobris 1455. Aeneas [Dei gratia episcopus Senensis] imperialis[que consiliarius].

¹ Saviano 2.

² DV, 15. Autograph

³ This manuscript is mutilated and has many lacunae.

645. Letter to the City of Siena (17 October 1455, Radicofani)¹.

Context: Having finished his business in Rome, Piccolomini returned to Siena via Corsignano, possibly intending to return to the imperial court in Austria². In the meantime, some momentous events had taken place, not mentioned by Piccolomini in the present letter: On 6 September, Giberto da Correggio, the leader of a mercenary troop of mounted soldiers, in the pay of the Sienese government, had been executed, in Siena, for treason³. And on 15 October, Jacopo Piccinino's troops seized the coastal city of Orbetello⁴, which greatly strengthened his position in Sienese territory.

Subject: Piccolomini reports on his last audience with the pope in which the pope expressed his strong support of the Sienese and exhorted them to resolutely resist the attempts of Piccinino to take over their state,

Magnificent and Honourable Lords.

[1] Since I inten to stop over in Corsignano and in my other villages before returning to Siena, I have decided to write to Your Magnificences what Our Most Holy Lord Pope asked me to, lest a delay on my part cause prejudice to the matters at hand, even though they may not seem of great importance to some. When I visited His Holiness before my departure from the City⁵, I asked if there was anything he wished me to convey to your republic. He replied, "Tell those who govern to remain strong and not let themselves be swayed by words. We have been solicited in many ways to abandon the Sienese. However, as long as we live, we will never fail the Sienese. We will remain unwavering. We are already arranging new funds in the thousands to restore the camp. We have ordered the provision of grain, as much as the Sienese desire. We hope that everything we are doing will succeed since it is ultimately aimed against the Turk. Tell them to provide funds for the company of that damnable man from Correggio⁶. We shall keep [our own troops sent to help the Sienese⁷]. These are, in essence, the instructions His Holiness asked me to report. Now it is up to you to make wise dispositions. I believe news of our lord's⁸ serious illness has already reached you. He was suffering from gout, and his knee was in pain, but by the time I left, he had partially recovered, and the pain had completely subsided. Therefore, there is nothing to fear regarding his death or any illness, even though many have spread other rumors. I am reporting what I have seen, and I will provide you with more reliable information as the days go on. I did not encounter [your messenger] on my journey because I took the direct route, while he was heading towards the city of Castel....

Radicofani, 17 October 1455. Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena and Imperial Councillor.

¹ Saviano 2.

² Saviano, p. 433.

³ Banchi, pp. 225-229.

⁴ COM, 1: 31, 4. Banchi, pp. 234-236.

⁵ Rome.

⁶ The troop of soldiers led by the now defunct Giberto da Correggio. Later just called the Correggians.

⁷ ?

⁸ The pope's.

646. Letter to the City of Siena (27 October 1455, Viterbo).

Manuscripts: T1, 7r¹ ² **: VI, ff. 27r-27v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{17} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi. Post recommendationem.

[1] Credo jam dominationes vestras certiores factas esse de recessu illorum de Corrigia ex campo vestro. Ego hic Viterbii complures ex iis obviam habui, qui dicuntur in Lombardiam iter agere. Fama est eos esse supra ducentos equites. Hi viam meam dubiam fecere, quos audio infensos esse nomini Senensi. Consului eorum causa gubernatorem patrimonii hic praesentem, qui et suos equites et se ipsum ad tutelam meam obtulit, itaque suasere ipso recto itinere Romam petam. Hic cognovi galeaziam Florentinorum onustam tritico per Cathelanos interceptam esse, novem milia modiorum tritici deferentem. Commendavi gubernatori rem frumentariam, ut civitati Senensi, quantum posset, subveniret. Ait id sibi a summo pontifice commissum esse fierique modo descriptionem in toto patrimonio, ut notum sit, quantum et retineri possit et extra mitti. Quo facto dicit se non defuturum civitati vestrae, quoad possit, cum sciat statum vestrum ad ecclesiae tutelam pertinere.

[2] Rocchius, caballarius vester, ad Montem Faliscum obviam mihi fuit ex Neapoli rediens. Is affirmat regem Aragonum non bono animo erga vos esse³. Audietis eum ante receptionem praesentium: non est, cur de hoc plura dicam. Qui Rocchius ait regem Aragonum accusare capturam cujusdam naviculae suae per Nannem Bracam. Bonum est me reddi certiore de facto et de responsione, quamvis intelligo causam quaerere solere, qui ab amico cupit discedere.⁴

¹ DV, 17.

² *Autograph.*

³ Audivistis jam eum *seq.* T1

⁴ Qui Rocchius ... discedere *add. in fine* T1; *omit.* V1

646. Letter to the City of Siena (27 October 1455, Viterbo).

Context: Shortly after Piccolomini's return to Siena, the republic, on 25 October, appointed him ambassador to the pope with the mission to obtain papal permission for a Sienese embassy of peace to King Alfonso V.¹ Piccolomini immediately set off for Rome, and on the way, he made a stop in Viterbo, where he received news that he immediately forwarded to the Sienese city government.

Subject: Piccolomini sends news about the departure of the Correggians, the Neapolitan seizure of a Florentine grain ship, King Alfonso's hostility against the Sienese, and the need for Siena to inform the emperor about their appointment of Piccolomini as ambassador.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable lords. After recommendation.

[1] I believe Your Lordships have now been informed of the departure of the Correggians² from your camp. I met several of them here at Viterbo, who are said to be travelling to Lombardy. It is rumoured that they number over two hundred horse soldiers. These people made my road uncertain, for I hear they are hostile to Siena. Because of them, I consulted the governor of the Patrimony³ present here. He offered both his own horse soldiers and himself for my protection and advised me to travel directly to Rome. Here I learned that a Florentine ship, loaded with wheat, had been intercepted by the Catalans, carrying nine thousand measures of wheat. I recommended to the governor that he support the city of Siena in the matter of grain as much as possible. He said he had already received this charge from the pope⁴ and that a survey would be conducted of the entire Patrimony so that it would be known how much can be retained and how much can be exported. Once this is done, he says he will not fail to assist your city, as far as he is able, knowing that your state is under the protection of the Church.

[2] Your horseman, Rocco, met me at Montefiascone on his way back from Naples. He relates that the King of Aragon⁵ is not kindly disposed toward you. Since you will hear this from himself before receiving this letter, I need to say no more about it. Rocco also says that the King of Aragon accuses Nanni Bracca of capturing one of his small ships.⁶ Please inform me of the facts and your response, although I am quite aware that it is customary to seek some pretext when one wishes to give up a friend⁷.

¹ COM, 1: 31, 6.

² The cavalry company of now defunct Giberto da Correggio.

³ Patrimony of Saint Peter, name of a large part of the Papal State.

⁴ Callixtus III.

⁵ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁶ At Gaeta. On this affair, see Banchi, pp. 237-239 and the following letters.

⁷ Which is what King Alfonso was doing towards the Sienese.

[3] Si non est missus ad imperatorem cursor, operae pretium existimo eum mitti quantocius, et si commode fieri potest, duplicari litteras ...¹ per oratorem, qui Venetias mittitur. Non erit difficile. Ille enim in fundaco Theutones² inveniet, qui et mittat et reportet litteras. Alia modo non occurrunt scriptura digna.

Recommendo me vestris magnificentiis. Ex Viterbio, die 27. Octobris 1455. Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis et imperialis consiliarius³.

¹ que *dub.* T1; ... V1

² ... V1

³ Et ... consiliarius *omit.* V1

[3] If a courier has not yet been sent to the emperor, I believe it is worth sending one as soon as possible, and if it can be done conveniently, duplicating the letters ... through your ambassador being sent to Venice. It will not be difficult, for he will find Germans who can send and receive letters [to and from Austria] at the Fondaco¹. There are no other matters worthy of writing.

I commend myself to your Magnificences. From Viterbo, 27 October 1455. Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena and Imperial Councillor.

¹ The Fondaco dei Tedeschi ("Warehouse of the Germans") situated

on the Canal Grande in Venice. It functioned as the headquarters and

restricted living quarters of the city's German merchants.

647. Letter to the City of Siena (29 October 1455, Baccano).

Manuscripts: T1, 8r¹ 2 **: VI, ff. 29r-29v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{29r} Magnifici ac potentes domini honorandi. Post recommendationem.

[1] Scripsi ex Viterbio magnificentiis vestris intellexisse me regem Aragonum conqueri de quodam navigio subditorum suorum per vestros capto et direpto. Id nunc verum esse comperio, nam dominus Baptista, orator apostolicus, qui vestrum in campum proficiscitur, ostendit mihi exemplar litterarum illius regis, in quibus rex ipse papae de vestra communitate querelas exponit et ait se velle³ ulcisci, nisi de damnis satisfaciatis, intenditque mittere et petere restitutionem. Sed, ut orator apostolicus ait, petit rex pro damno illato 6 milia ducatorum. Hac de causa utile reor vos me de singulis gestis reddere certiores. Putarem quoque ipsi regi excusationem faciendam esse, et offerre illi viam honestam, quia determinationi velitis stare aut papae aut duorum triumve cardinalium communi consensu eligendorum. Scribere quoque veritatem rei, et oblationem vestram non erit absurdum tam papae {29v} quam duci Mediolani ac Venetis et Florentinis, quia rex ipse de vobis apud omnes con[queritur].⁴

[2] Intelligo etiam Romae legatum esse regis, qui fortasse ad vos veniet damna⁵ repetiturus, sed hoc non habeo exploratum. Alia non occurrunt. Significate⁶ mihi quantocius dominationes vestrae voluntatem suam, quam super hoc navigio capto et quomodo res gesta est, quia hinc rex fundamentum et colorem recipit belli vobis faciendi.⁷

Ex Baccano, die 29. Octobris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis et imperialis consiliarius.

¹ DV, 19

² *Autograph.*

³ vellem codd.

⁴ *Lacuna in codd.*

⁵ *Lacuna in VI*

⁶ significere ... VI

⁷ *dub. T1; Lacuna in VI*

647. Letter to the City of Siena (29 October 1455, Baccano).

Context: On his way to Rome, Piccolomini had reached Baccano by 29 October.

Subject: King Alfonso's complaints about the ships seized by the Sieneze, his demands for restitution, and veiled threats of war.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords. After recommendation.

[1] From Viterbo, I wrote to Your Magnificences that I had learned the King of Aragon¹ was complaining² that a ship of [one of] his subjects was seized and plundered by your people. I now find this to be true, as Ser Battista³, the papal envoy who is heading to your camp⁴, showed me a copy of the king's letter. In it, the king expresses his grievances to the pope⁵ about your commune, stating that he intends to seek revenge unless compensation for the damages is made. He also plans to send demand for restitution, and, according to the papal envoy, the king is demanding 6,000 ducats for the damages incurred. For this reason, I think it would be wise for you to keep me informed about everything related to this matter. I also believe it would be advisable to offer an apology to the king and to propose an honourable resolution. Perhaps you could agree to abide by a decision either from the pope or from two or three cardinals to be chosen by mutual consent. Writing the truth of the matter and making this offer to the pope, as well as to the Duke of Milan⁶, the Venetians, and the Florentines, would not be unreasonable, especially since the king is complaining about you to everyone.

[2] I also understand that the king's envoy⁷ is in Rome and may come to you seeking restitution for the damages, but I do not know this for sure. There is nothing more at the moment. Please inform me as soon as possible of Your Lordships' intentions regarding this seized ship and how the event transpired, as the king is using this as a basis and pretext for waging war against you.

From Baccano, on 29 October 1455. Eneas, Bishop of Siena and Imperial Councillor.

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

² King Alfonso had written to Siena on 18 October in this matter, practically threatening the republic with war. It was, however, only received in Siena on 9 October.

In the meantime, the pope had informed the Sieneze about the king's reaction. This caused the Sieneze to send a letter of refutation to the king of 30 October (Banchi, p. 238).

³ Baptista de Brendo.

⁴ At Orbetello.

⁵ Callixtus III.

⁶ Francesco I Sforza.

⁷ Matteo Malferito.

648. Letter to the City of Siena (1 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: VI, ff. 41r-42r **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {41r} Romam ingressus, magnifici et potentes domini, comperi advenisse ex Neapoli oratorem regis, virum nobilem Aragonensem, apud regem in primis acceptum. Ejus legatio, sicut accepi, hunc tenorem habuit: regem, qui velit contra Turcos classem ducere, pacem post se cupere in Italia relinquere; videri sibi ex re publica veniam dari Piccinino eumque restituis, quae abstulit civitati vestrae, mittendum esse in ...¹ Albaniam contra Turcos ...² -ccessumque esse de stipendio sibi provideri, quae res, ne sedem apostolicam nimis premat, inter potentias de liga dispartienda sit. Quod autem transiturus sit primo ...³ Jacobus in provinica sibi decretam, rex ipse vadem se praebet. Ubi autem medio tempore hiemandum illi sit, nondum didici, quamvis eum neque in Tuscia neque in Romandiola neque in terris ecclesiae remansurum affirmet. Papa cum domino cardinali Sancti Marci, cum legatis ducis Mediolani ac Florentinorum de hac ipsa re consultavit, et heri sero {41v} cum legato regis his praesentibus verbum habuit. Ego non interfui, quia nondum potueram audientiam habere. Interfuit dominus Bindus, quem non dubito singula quaeque vestro collegio rescripsisse. Hodie iterum de negotio ...⁴ consultabitur, et ego interero, quia papa ita praecepit.

[2] Heri post emissum legatum regis fui vocatus ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum et praesente domino Bindo exposui papae causam mei adventus et de transitu ad Neapolim. Papa respondit se non negare transitum ...⁵ quando de novo emergunt, novo indigent auxilio. Cum legatus regis adesset, videri sibi superaddendum, donec haberetur conclusio, quia fortasse ita res se haberent, ut non esset opus Neapolim peti. Dixi me facturum imperata suae sanctitatis, et ita expectabo conclusionem, et secundum illam me geram. Dominus Bindus et ego fecimus mentionem de mutatione campi, qui longe abesset ab Urbetello. Papa respondit se novam ordinationem fecisse et mandasse, ut exercitus omnino {42r} adhaereat Urbetello, quia velit interim hostem totis viribus impugnari.

¹ lacuna in cod.

² lacuna in cod.

³ lacuna in cod.

⁴ lacuna in cod.

⁵ lacuna in cod.

648. Letter to the City of Siena (1 November 1455, Rome).

Context: Piccolomini had arrived in Rome after a 5 to 6 days travel from Siena. In the meantime, an envoy from King Alfonso V had arrived with a proposal for a settlement of the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino.

Subject: Piccolomini reports on ongoing negotiations in Rome.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] Upon my arrival in Rome, I learned that an envoy¹ from the King of Napoli² had arrived, a nobleman from Aragon who is highly esteemed by the king. As I understand it, his mission is the following: the king wishes to lead a fleet against the Turks and, therefore, desires to have peace behind him in Italy. He believes it to be in the republic's³ interest to pardon Piccinino⁴ and that he should be sent to Albania against the Turks after restoring what he had seized from your city. Additionally, arrangements should be made for his stipend, which, to avoid burdening the Apostolic See excessively, should be divided among the powers in the League. The king has also guaranteed that Piccinino will proceed to the province designated for him. However, I have not yet learned where Piccinino will spend the winter, though it is said he will not remain in Tuscany, Romagna, or any of the lands of the Church. Yesterday The pope⁵ consulted with the Cardinal of San Marco⁶ and the envoys from the Duke of Milan⁷ and Florence on this matter, and yesterday evening, they discussed it with the king's envoy⁸. I did not attend the meeting, as I had not yet had my audience⁹. However, Ser Bindo¹⁰ was present; I have no doubt he has already written to your college in detail. Today, there will be a new meeting on the matter, and – on the pope's order – I shall participate.

[2] After the king's envoy was dismissed yesterday, I was called to Our Most Holy Lord, and in the presence of Ser Bindo, I explained the purpose of my coming here and the issue of travelling to Napoli¹¹. The pope responded that he did not refuse my journey but said that when new issues arise, they require new remedies. Since the king's envoy was here, the pope said we should postpone the decision, as the situation might not require my trip to Napoli after all. I told him I would follow His Holiness' orders, await the decision, and then act accordingly. Ser Bindo and I also mentioned the matter of moving the military camp, which was now far from Orbetello¹². The pope replied that he had already issued new orders and commanded that the army should remain quite close to Orbetello, as he wants the enemy to be attacked with full force in the meantime.

¹ Matteo Malferito.

² Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

³ Siena's.

⁴ Jacopo Piccinino.

⁵ Callixtus III.

⁶ Cardinal Pietro Barbò.

⁷ Francesco I Sforza.

⁸ Matteo Malferito.

⁹ In his capacity as ambassador of Siena.

¹⁰ Bindo Bindì.

¹¹ On a peace mission for Siena to King Alfonso.

¹² Now occupied by the troops of Jacopo Piccinino while he himself remained in Castiglione della Pescaia.

[3] De re frumentaria scribit dominus Bindus, quod dictum accepturaque sit. In hoc tractatu regis oratoris sunt, qui putant magnam vim esse et rem serio geri, alii verentur verba dari, quia longum sit expectari, quod Veneti et alii colligati contribuant. Interim cum transibit hiems et advenitante vere, nova belli consilia capientur. Ego, quid iudicem, sum dubius. Intelligam magis in dies hoc negotium et, quid sentiam, significabo vestris magnificentiis, quibus me facio commendatum.

Ex Roma, die prima Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[3] Ser Bindo writes about the grain supply; what was said on the matter must be accepted. In the current discussions with the king's envoy, some believe the situation is important and should be taken seriously, while others fear it may be mere words, as it will take time for the Venetians and other allies to contribute. In the meantime, winter will pass, and by the arrival of spring, new war plans will be devised. For now, I am uncertain about what to think of the matter, but I will know more about it during the coming days, and I shall then inform Your Magnificences about my thoughts.

I commend myself to you. From Rome, 1 November 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

649. Letter to the City of Siena (3 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro 1986, c.30 **: VI, ff. 43r-44v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{30r} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi. Post recommendationem.

[1] Fuimus in die omnium sanctorum cum reverendissimis dominis cardinalibus Firmano et Sancti Marci ac ducis Mediolani et Florentinorum oratoribus ad conferendum cum oratore serenissimi regis Aragonum¹, ut intelligeremus, quaenam esset mens regis illius in facto comitis Jacobi, et audito oratore tres conclusiones assumpsimus ex dictis suis, quas scripsimus ipso consentiente easque cum praesentibus vestro collegio mittimus. Dixit tamen pleraque alia orator praedictus, ut ait, non ex jussu regio, sed ex se ipso, ut concordiae pacisque cupido.

[2] Ejus verba hunc habuere sensum: dicebat enim, si Jacobo Piccinino redderetur venia, oportere eum substineri in aliquo loco cum gentibus, quas habet, per hanc hiemem, cum interim non posset artem suam militarem exercere, et quod adveniente vere conduceretur ab ecclesia contra Turcos in Albania, sive alibi militaturus. Quod si domino nostro papae grave onus videretur horum sumptuum, posset invitare dominos de liga, ut secum onera partirentur.

[3] Tetigit quoque inter loquendum idem orator Matthaeum Malferitum² scripsisse regi per Senenses impeditam fuisse cum Piccinino concordiam, multumque idcirco vestram rem publicam orator onerare videbatur, cui nos obviavimus, et narrata facti serie monstravimus Malferitum³ a veritate procul abiisse, quodque per Jacobum fuisset spreta concordia, qui nolisset Castilione recedere, nisi prius modum vivendi suum ex rege certum haberet. Cardinalis etiam Firmanus magnifice Senensium facta defendit, accusando Piccininum, qui nulla injuria lacessitus causa civitatem offenderat, quae patri suo fuerit amicissima. Quibus auditis non habuit orator, quid contra diceret.

¹ ad conferendum ... Aragonum
omit. V1

² Malferitum V1

³ Malferitum V1

649. Letter to the City of Siena (3 November 1455, Rome).

Context: In Rome, negotiations were going on to end Piccinino's attack against Siena. The partners to the negotiation were Milan, Venice, Florence, Siena, and King Alfonso V of Naples, who had recently sent a letter proposing terms for a settlement of the conflict.

Subject: Piccolomini and Bindo Bindi report on the discussions at the papal court with the envoy of King Alfonso¹
2.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords. After my recommendation.

[1] On All Saints' Day, we met with the Most Reverend Cardinals of Fermo³ and San Marco⁴, along with the envoys of the Duke of Milan⁵ and the Florentines, to confer with the envoy of the Most Serene King of Aragon⁶. The purpose was to hear the king's position concerning the matter of Count Jacopo Piccinino. After hearing the envoy, we came to three conclusions, which we have written down with his consent and are sending to your College with the present letter. The envoy, however, mentioned several other points, which, as he stated, did not come from the royal instructions but from his own desire for peace and concord.

[2] The essence of his words was as follows: He said that if a pardon were granted to Jacopo Piccinino, he should be maintained in some place with his forces over the winter since, in the meantime, he could not practice his military profession. Then, when spring came, he could be hired by the Church to fight against the Turks in Albania or elsewhere. If this burden seemed too heavy for Our Lord Pope, he could invite the lords of the League to share in the expenses.

[3] During the conversation, the envoy also mentioned that Matteo Malferito had written to the king, saying that the peace agreement with Piccinino had been obstructed by the Sienese. As a result, the envoy blamed your republic heavily, but we countered this by explaining the true course of events. We showed that Malferito had strayed far from the truth and that it was Jacopo who had rejected the agreement, refusing to leave Castiglione unless he first received confirmation of his livelihood from the king. The Cardinal of Fermo also magnificently defended the actions of the Sienese, accusing Piccinino of having attacked the city without any provocation, despite the fact that it had been a loyal friend to his father⁷. After hearing this, the envoy had no rebuttal.

¹ Saviano, 3

² On this letter, see Saviano, p. 433.

³ Domenico Capranica.

⁴ Pietro Barbò.

⁵ Francesco I Sforza.

⁶ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁷ Niccolò Piccinino.

[4] Post haec vocati a summo pontifice, quae ab oratore audiveramus, retulimus, qui conclusit die sequenti illum ad se vocare, sciscitari, an plura dicturus esset, et denique respondere. Quod cum heri fecisset, iterum nos accersivit¹ dixitque² oratorem illum nihil aliud habuisse in mandatis quam id, quod scriptum erat, et ideo sua sanctitas responsum in scriptis ordinasset, quod hic interclusum mittimus. Retulit etiam nobis idem sanctissimus dominus noster se cum oratore multa locutum, qui inter cetera dixisset regem nolle comitem Jacobum ad regnum suum vocare propter regni caristiam, et ne suspicionem ingereret dominis de liga, quasi eum ad se vocasset denuo instruendum et adversus aliquem mittendum. Sed quod locum, in quo idem comes usque ad Aprilem mansurus esset, papa et domini de liga eligere possent.

[5] Cum ergo aliud non posset haberi ab hoc oratore, decrevit sanctissimus dominus noster unum ex suis secretariis ad regem mittere, qui plene intelligat mentem ejus, et ibit, ut putamus, Matthaëus Johannes, nam hunc papa nominavit tamquam illum cui rex fidem habet. Haec cum ita essent conclusa, quaesivi ego Aeneas de meo transitu, quid placeret beatitudini apostolicae. Respondit, quod vellet hodie plenius conferre mecum et assignavit horam XXII. quia³ tunc suam mentem mihi aperiret. Sanctitas sua non videtur multum laudare hunc transitum, tamen non vult negare, ut ait. Quoad concordiam sua beatitudo {30v} satis inclinata est, et sperandum est, quod aliquid boni fiat, et maxime si, ut fertur, rex cruce signetur contra Turcos profecturus, de qua re hodie certitudo habebitur, nam in festo sanctorum omnium id fieri debuit. Summus pontifex mandavit, quae acta sunt cum oratore regio, significari per legatos omnibus de liga.

[6] In re frumentaria allocuti sumus dominum nostrum, qui vellet frumentum recipi ex his partibus citra Tiberim, ubi multum esse dicit. Nobis videtur difficile, quia terra longum iter est, et mari timendus est rex. Ego tamen Bindus sollicitudinem omnem adhibeo, ut satisfiat necessitati nostrae, et puto aliquam viam invenire papae gratam et vestro desideris correspondentem. Ego Aeneas cupio fieri certior, an tabellarius cum vestris et meis litteris ad caesarem missus sit, et quid me respondere velitis regi, si de navigio Caetano⁴ per vestros intercepto conqueratur. Alia non occurrunt.

Recommendamus⁵ nos⁶ vestris magnificentis ad earum mandata paratos⁷. Ex Roma, die 3. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis, et Bindus, utriusque juris doctor, oratores vestri.

¹ accessivit V1

² *em.*; dixique codd.

³ *Lacuna in V1*

⁴ Cajetano V1

⁵ *recommendo* V1

⁶ *me* V1

⁷ *paratus* V1

[4] After this, we were summoned to the Supreme Pontiff and reported to him what we had heard from the envoy. The pope decided to call the envoy to him again the next day to enquire if he had anything further to say and to give him a response. After doing so yesterday, the pope had us summoned again and told us that the envoy had no other instructions beyond the written ones. Therefore, Our Most Holy Lord had prepared a written response, which we are sending enclosed here. The pope also informed us that during their long conversation, the envoy mentioned, among other things, that the king did not wish to invite Count Jacopo¹ to his kingdom due to the scarcity of resources there and to avoid raising suspicion among the lords of the League that the king had summoned Jacopo to rearm and send him against someone. However, the pope and the league leaders could choose a place where Jacopo could stay until April.

[5] Since no further information could be obtained from this envoy, Our Most Holy Lord has decided to send one of his secretaries to the king to fully learn of his intentions. We believe that Mateu Joan will be the one to go, for the pope mentioned him by name as someone the king trusts. With these matters concluded, I, Enea, enquired about my own journey and what would please His Apostolic Holiness. He replied that he wished to confer more thoroughly with me today and set the meeting for the 22nd hour, at which time he would reveal his mind to me. His Holiness does not seem particularly enthusiastic about my journey, yet he does not wish to refuse it either, as he said. His Holiness seems rather inclined towards peace, and there is hope that something good will come of it, especially if, as is rumoured, the king will take the cross and set out against the Turks. We should have confirmation of this today, as it was supposed to happen on All Saints' Day. The Supreme Pontiff has ordered that what has been discussed with the royal envoy² be communicated to all [the members] of the League through their envoys.

[6] Concerning the matter of grain, we spoke with Our Lord, who wanted us to get grain from the regions across the Tiber, where he says there is an abundance. We find this difficult because the land route is long, and by sea, we must fear the king³. Nonetheless, Bindo and I are doing everything we can to meet our needs, and I believe we will find a solution that pleases the pope and agrees with your desires. I, Enea, wish to be informed whether the messenger carrying both your letters and mine to the emperor has been sent and what you would like me to respond to the king if he complains about the ship intercepted by your people at Gaeta. There is nothing else for now.

We recommend ourselves to Your Magnificences, ready to serve at your command. From Rome, 3 November 1455. Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena, and Bindo, Doctor of Both Laws, your ambassadors.

¹ Jacopo Piccinino.

² Juan de Hajar (Saviano, p 459).

³ The navy of King Alfonso.

650. Letter to the City of Siena (4 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro 1986, c. 31¹ **; VI, ff. 45r-48v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{31r} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi. Post recommendationem.

[1] Quae gesta sunt cum oratore serenissimi regis Aragonum, heri dominus Bindus et ego collegio vestro ex ordine significavimus. Scriptum quoque a me est sanctissimum dominum nostrum horam mihi assignasse, qua sibi causas exponere mei transitus ad Neapolim, quia vellet sua sanctitas de hoc ipso itinere mecum loqui.

[2] Heri ergo ad horam XXII. intravi palatium, et cupiens habere apud me dominum Bindum dedi operam, ut jussu domini nostri quaereretur, sed non potuit tunc reperiri in re frumentaria occupatus. Coepi ergo solus de transitu meo cum sanctissimo domino nostro verba facere denarravique suae sanctitati omnem effectum legationis meae, sicut in notula vestra continetur. Deinde subjunxi vestrae voluntatis et intentionis esse, ut ejus beatitudo adderet vel minueret, quemadmodum sibi melius videretur, et poneret verbum in ore meo, quod essem habiturus coram rege, quia magnificentiae vestrae nil aliud vellent, quam quod sanctitati suae placeret.

[3] Sanctissimus dominus noster postquam me plenius audivit, in hunc fere modum respondit. Ait enim, cum in adventu Matthaei Maleferiti quereretur², quod offensae tollerentur, suspectam sibi rem fuisse, et quia Senenses tantopere pacem quaerebant, posuisse in animo suo relinquere vos arbitrio vestro et permittere, ut pacem prout velletis amplecteremini. Tandem cum animadverteret omnia insidiarum plena, tamquam bonus pastor noluit oves relinquere, sed juvit et consuluit, quoad potuit, quia doleret illam civitatem Romanae ecclesiae vicinam et devotissimam decipi et in praedam dari. Nunc vero auditis, quae per me regi essent dicenda, non videri sibi iter meum necessarium, cum nihil essem dicturus, quod regi non esset prius et scriptum et dictum. Ait quoque sanctitas sua³, cum audivisset ex domino Bindo meam missionem, sibi non placuisse et tunc dixisse me non sapienter egisse, qui talem legationem acceptassem. Nunc autem, quoad iter meum, dixit illud non esse necessarium, quia mitteretur Matthaeus Johannes ad intelligendam voluntatem regis, et infra octo dies haberetur responsum; regem autem talis esse naturae, ut secum non verbis supplicibus sit agendum, sed ostendendum sibi fortem animum et paratum ad resistendum. Denique vero conclusit, quod iter meum non impediret, sed suspenderet, donec intelligeremus, quid proficeret legatio Mathei Johannis, qui esset in crastinum profecturus.

¹ *Autograph*

² quaereretur?

³ sanctitas sua : sua sanctitas VI

650. Letter to the City of Siena (4 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As letter 649.

Subject: Piccolomini reports from his conversation with the pope that the captured ship is only a pretext for Alfonso V. The king's real motivation is to keep Piccinino in readiness for an armed conflict with the Duke of Milan and to have his maintenance paid for by others than himself. Moreover, the pope did not, at the time, approve of Piccolomini being sent on a mission to King Alfonso¹.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords. After recommendations.

[1] Yesterday, Ser Bindo² and I reported³ to your College what happened concerning the envoy of the Most Serene King of Aragon⁴. I also informed you that Our Most Holy Lord⁵ had set an hour for me to explain to him the reasons for my journey to Napoli, as His Holiness wished to discuss this trip with me.

[2] So, yesterday, at the 22nd hour, I entered the [papal] palace. Wishing to have Ser Bindo with me, I took steps to have him summoned by Our Lord, but he could not be found at the time as he was occupied with the matter of grain. Therefore, I began the conversation with Our Most Holy Lord about my journey on my own, explaining the full purpose of my mission to His Holiness, just as it is outlined in your note. I then added that it was your wish and intention that His Holiness either expand or limit the mission as he saw fit and tell me what to say to the king, for Your Magnificences desired only what would please His Holiness.

[3] After hearing me out fully, Our Most Holy Lord responded more or less in this way: He said that when Matteo Malferito⁶, upon his arrival, complained that past offences had not been resolved, the matter seemed suspicious to him. And because the Sieneese were so eager for peace, he had considered leaving you to your own judgement and permitting you to embrace peace in whatever way you wished. However, when he realised that everything was fraught with treachery, he did not, like a good shepherd, want to abandon his flock but instead offered help and counsel as best he could, for he would be pained to see such a city, a devoted neighbour to the Roman Church, deceived and made prey. Now, having heard what I was charged to say to the king, he did not see my journey as necessary, since I would only be saying things to him that had already been written and spoken. His Holiness also said that when he first heard from Ser Bindo about my mission, he did not approve of it and remarked that I had not acted wisely in accepting such a legation. As for my journey now, he said it was not necessary because Mateu Jovan⁷ would be sent to ascertain the King's intentions, and we would have a response within eight days. The king's character was such that he should not be addressed with deferential supplication but rather shown strength and readiness to resist him. Finally, His Holiness concluded by saying that while he would not stop my journey, he would postpone it until we learned what progress Mateu Jovan might accomplish on his mission, as he was set to depart the next day⁸.

¹ Saviano, 4

² Bindo Bindi.

³ Letter 649.

⁴ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁵ Pope Callixtus III.

⁶ Aragonese envoy.

⁷ Papal secretary.

⁸ On this passage, see Saviano, p. 434.

[4] Ex quibus verbis quattuor annotavi: primum, quod sanctitati domini nostri aegre est vestrum collegium tantopere pacis cupidum videri, quia timet inde fieri regem duriorem. Secundo, non placere instructiones mihi datas, quia supplices viderentur. Tertio, quod ego insulse fecissem acceptare legationem hanc et per consequentiam nec deliberationem vestram ei placere. Quarto, quod iter meum omnino suspendendum esset, usquequo videretur, quid sequetur ex tractatu pendenti.

[5] Eapropter dixi et supplicavi sanctissimo domino nostro ne miraretur, si Senenses pacem cuperent, quia omnibus his carerent, quae sunt ad bellum necessaria, argento, commeatu et fidelibus militibus, et nunc bellum durius esset adjuncto rege potentissimo, qui si non flectatur alio modo, magno malo sit affecturus illam rem publicam. Quoad instructiones, si nimis viderentur molles, petivi, quod sua sanctitas eas reformaret, et quae vellet dici mandaret, quia non timerem loqui coram rege, quae sanctitati suae placerent, quamvis essent regi dura. Dixi quoque, cum jam rex propter navicularium illum captum novas Senensibus inimicitias gerere videatur, utile esse placari eum, antequam fieret asperior. Quoad autem ego insulse legationem acceptassem confessus sum hebetis me esse ingenii neque nosse omni tempore, quae sint magis expedientia. Cum tamen civis essem Senensis et episcopus, quamvis indignus, putabam {31v} [quae¹]situm² me non debere patriae meae aut plebi mihi commissae negare laborem, et praesertim cum legatio ad pacem committeretur, quae est res episcopo digna. Tum vero libentius acceptavi, quia nihil jubebar agere nisi ex consilio et mandato suae sanctitatis. De suspensione mei transitus respondi me velle cum collega verbum facere et deinde sanctitati suae³ latius loqui. Quia fortasse non esse inutilis transitus meus eunte Matheo Johanne, forsitan et verba mea aliquid juvarent illius legationem, quia inter loquendum multa cum rege possem dicere, quae flecterent ejus animum. Et existimarem regem illum gratum hoc ex Senensibus accipere, qui legatum ad se mitterent episcopum suum. Intellexisse me quoque dixi regem subiratum (**irritated**) esse Senensibus, quia pacem se inconsulto ratificaverint, et alia quaedam intervenisse, quae ego possem diluere, et putarem aliquid momenti esse in eo, quod de imperatoris voluntate nonnihil referrem. Habito tamen cum domino Bindo colloquio redirem et nihilominus a voluntate suae beatitudinem non discederem.⁴

[6] Tunc sua sanctitas ait: “Credito, episcope, quia neque pax ratificata per Senenses neque alia causa regem contra civitatem illam movit, nisi quod ei persuasum fuit alendum esse Piccininum, ut cum opus esset, haberet quem objiceret duci Mediolani, et cum nollet eum suis expensis nutrire, permisit eum ire supra debiliorem partem, et hic est⁵ totum fundamentum. De domino Bindo non est cur ejus consilium quaeras, quia jam sumus de hoc locuti, et sibi placet, quod tu expectes, quid respondeat rex Matthaeo Johanni, antequam vadas.”

¹ *Lacuna in cod.*

² ... V1

³ De suspensione ... suae *omit.* V1

⁴ Habito tamen ... discederem V1

⁵ *omit.* V1

[4] From this, I noted four key points: First, that Our Holy Lord is displeased that your College appears too eager to have peace, as he fears this might cause the king to be more inflexible. Second, he did not approve of the instructions given to me, as they seemed too supplicatory. Third, he thought I had acted foolishly in accepting this legation, which implies that he did not favour your plans either. Fourth, that my journey should be entirely postponed until we see the results of the pending negotiations.

[5] I then spoke and humbly asked Our Most Holy Lord not to be surprised if the Sieneſe deſired peace, as they lacked everything neceſſary for war: money, ſupplies, and loyal ſoldiers. Furthermore, the war had become more difficult with the intervention of a moſt powerful king¹, who, if not placated in ſome way or other, would cauſe great harm to the republic. As for the inſtructions, if they ſeemed too conciliatory, I requeſted His Holineſſ to reviſe them and command what he wiſhed to be ſaid, for I would not heſitate to tell the king anything that pleaſed His Holineſſ, even if thoſe words ſhould ſeem harſh to the king. I alſo ſaid that ſince the king ſeemed to be harbouring new enmity againſt the Sieneſe becauſe of the captured ſhip, it would be uſeful to placate him before he grew even more hoſtile. As for my fooliſh acceptance of this legation, I admitted that I was of ſlow intellect and did not alwayſ know what was moſt expedient. Yet, being a Sieneſe citizen and its biſhop, though unworthy, I felt it my duty not to reſuſe when aſked to do ſomething for my homeland and the people entrusted to me, eſpecially ſince this miſſion aimed at peace, which is a cauſe worthy of a biſhop. Moreover, I had accepted the taſk willingly, as I was to act only according to the counſel and command of His Holineſſ². Regarding the ſuſpenſion of my journey, I replied that I wiſhed to ſpeak with my colleague and then further conſult His Holineſſ, for perhaps my journey might not be entirely uſeſſ, even with Mateu Jovan already on his way. Perhaps my words might help his miſſion, as I could ſay many things in conveſation with the king that might ſoften his heart. I alſo thought the king would appreciate it if the Sieneſe ſent their biſhop as an envoy. I mentioned, too, that the king ſeemed annoyed with the Sieneſe for ratifying the peace³ without conſulting him, and that I could addreſſ certain other iſſues that had ariſen, which I believed would carry ſome weight, eſpecially if I could ſay ſomething about the emperor’s will in the matter. I would return when I had ſpoken with Ser Bindo, but under no circumſtances would I deviate from the will of His Holineſſ.

[6] To this, His Holineſſ ſaid, “Biſhop, I believe that neither the ratification of peace by the Sieneſe nor any other cauſe has annoyed the king with that city. His only motive is his determination to preſerve Piccinino⁴ ſo that, when neceſſary, he may uſe him againſt the Duke of Milan⁵. And ſince the king did not want to bear the expenſe of maintaining Piccinino himſelf, he allowed him to advance againſt the weakeſt party⁶, and that is the heart of the matter. As for Ser Bindo, there is no need to ſeek his counſel on this, for we have already ſpoken about it, and he agreeſ that you ſhould wait for the king’s reſponſe to Mateu Jovan before you depart.”

¹ Alſonſo V the Magnanimouſ.

² On this paſſage, ſee Saviano, p. 434.

³ The Italian Peace of 1454/1455.

⁴ Jacopo Piccinino.

⁵ Francesco I Sforza.

⁶ Siena.

[7] His igitur auditis, cum non videretur honestum menti sanctissimi domini nostri amplius adversari, dixi me facturum, quod sua sanctitas imperaret; scripturum tamen¹ collegio vestro, quae habuissem a sua beatitudine. In hunc igitur modum meus transitus impeditus est pro hac vice, et fortasse melius est consilium suae clementiae, qui melius cognoscit naturam regis quam nos ipsi. Puto etiam, cum jam tractatus concordiae coram sua sanctitate coeptus sit, non placere sibi, quod ad praesentiam regis deferatur, et certe dignius est hic coram papam tractari pacem, et honestius atque utilius pro vestra re publica, dummodo res non nimis ad longum trahantur, quod timeo esse de mente regis. Nam cum ipse dicat Jacobum expensis communibus sustinendum usque in Aprilem, id omnino obtinebit aut ex concordia aut ex discordia. Nisi enim componantur negotia, stabit ille in agro Senensi et sustinebitur usque ad novum tempus, etiam nobis invitis. Deinde quid sperandum quidve timendum sit vestrae circumspectiones melius norunt.

[8] Ego e re vestra puto instare diligenter apud Venetos, ducem et Florentinos, ut quam primum respondeant super his, quae eis jussu papae scripta sunt nec tempus labatur. De Cajetano illo capto locutus sum papae et omnem rei gestae seriem denarravi, qui rem publicam vestram justissimam sed nimis clementem censet in hac re. Sua tamen beatitudo, etiam si vera fuisset offensio, non existimat regem propterea tantopere exardescere debuisse, sed putat quaeri occasiones sicut lupus adversus agnum. Dixi alias utile esse ad imperatorem dari litteras. Nescio an factum sit. Nolite hoc spernere, quia adhuc in tempore responsum venire posset et conduceret rebus agendis. Postquam responsum ex Neapoli habitum fuerit, si non erit necesse eo me ire, vel si papa negaverit eundem, intendo Senas redire, quia hic graves expensae sunt, nec expedit vestrae rei publicae hic duos legatos habere. De cruce per regem Aragonum recepta nondum certitudo est. Utinam non decipiamur, ut superioribus temporibus, quando similis rumor evanuit. Nec alia modo.

Recommendo me vestris magnificentiss. Ex Roma, die 4. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis.

¹ in V1

[7] After hearing these points, it seemed disrespectful to further oppose the will of Our Most Holy, I said that I would do what His Holiness commanded. However, I also mentioned that I would write to your College about what I had heard from His Beatitude. Thus, my journey was hindered for the time being, and perhaps His Clemency's counsel is good since he knows the king's character better than we do. I also believe that, since the peace negotiations have already begun before His Holiness, it does not please him that they be moved to king. Certainly, it is more dignified for peace to be negotiated here before the pope, and it is more honourable and advantageous for your republic, as long as the process does not drag on for too long - which I fear is the king's intention. For since he insists that Jacopo Piccinino be maintained at common expense until April, he will surely obtain this either through peace or through conflict. If the matter is not resolved, Jacopo will remain in the Sienese territory, supported until the next season, even against our will. After that, you will, in your wisdom, know better what to hope for or fear.

[8] I believe it is in your best interest to urge the Venetians, the duke, and the Florentines to respond as soon as possible to the letters written to them at the pope's command, and not let time slip by. Regarding the ship captured at Gaeta, I spoke to the pope and recounted the entire sequence of events, and he deems your republic entirely justified, though perhaps too lenient in this matter. However, even if an offence had indeed been committed, he does not think the king would have become so angry it; rather, he believes this is a case of the wolf seeking an excuse against the lamb. I also said it would be useful to send letters to the emperor - I am unsure whether this has been done. Do not neglect this, as a timely response could still be received and would be helpful in the current negotiations. After receiving the response from Napoli, if it is not necessary for me to go there, or if the pope denies me permission to go, I intend to return to Siena, as expenses here are considerable and it is not in your republic's interest to maintain two envoys in Rome. There is still no certainty regarding whether the King of Aragon has taken the cross. Let us hope we are not deceived, as has happened in the past when similar rumours proved false. There is nothing else to report at present.

I commend myself to Your Magnificences. From Rome, on 4 November 1455. Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena.

651. Letter to the City of Siena (5 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro 1986, c. 32¹ **; VI, ff. 49r-49v **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{49r} Magnifici domini.

[1] Post litteras scriptas allata sunt certissima scripta, quae referunt serenissimum regem Aragonum cum grandi sollemnitate in die omnium sanctorum crucem accepisse, idemque multi et barones et nobiles factitarunt. Ob quam rem papa boni animi est, et putant omnes eum cum rege bonam concordiam habiturum, quia alter de altero confidit, nec dimittetur pax Italica conturbata. Matthaeus Johannes, qui hodie iturus erat ad regem, cras ibit, quia papa vult hodie regi manu propria scribere. Confido, nisi omnia me fallunt, civitatem² vestram brevi pacem habituram. Litteras ad ipsum regem Aragonum in facto Cajetani navicularii mitto ad eum per tabellarium, qui illas attulit, et ad filium ejus duces Calabriae. Rogo et precor, cogitetis de me, ne hic diutius morer, quia est tempus inaniter perdere {49v} et sumptus inutiles facere. Dominus Bindus dicit se pecunia exhaustum. Dignum est, ut oratori vestro et quidem provido ac diligenti subveniatis.

Valete optime. Datum Romae, die 5. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ *Autograph*

² cuntarem VI

651. Letter to the City of Siena (5 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As letter 649.

Subject: Confirmation that King Alfonso V has taken the cross and that, therefore, the prospects for peace in Italy, including Siena, have improved.

Magnificent Lords,

[1] After my last letter, more certain reports have arrived confirming that the Most Serene King of Aragon¹, with great solemnity, took the cross² on All Saints' Day. Many barons and nobles have done the same. Because of this, the pope³ is in good spirits, and everyone believes that he will have good relations with the king, as they trust each other, and that the peace in Italy will not be disturbed. Mateu Jovan⁴, who was supposed to depart for the king today, will go tomorrow, as the pope wishes to write to the king personally today. I am confident - unless completely mistaken - that your city will soon have peace. I am forwarding the letter to the King of Aragon concerning the case of the ship from Gaeta, which will be delivered to him by your messenger who brought them here, and also to his son, the Duke of Calabria⁵. I kindly ask and urge you to consider my situation so that I may not linger here any longer, as it is a waste of time and money and leads to unnecessary expenses. Ser Bindo⁶ says he is financially drained. It is only right that you should support your envoy, who is both prudent and diligent.

Live well. Given in Rome, on 5 November 1455. Eneas, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

² The sign of a crusader, meaning that the king was preparing for a crusade. Thus, going on a war a-

broad, he would not want to be at war at home (Italy).

³ Callixtus III.

⁴ Mateu Jovan, papal secretary.

⁵ Ferrante I.

⁶ Bindo Bindini.

652. Letter to the City of Siena (8 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, 9r^l **; V1, f. 51r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {51r} Carolus de Gonzaga, magnifici ac potentes domini, heri ad multam noctem pietatem apostolicam adivit. Quae dixerit quaeque suaserit, ex domino Bindo plenissime instruemini. Summa omnium est, quia Urbetellum ex integro obsidendum suadet et modos exponit. Id apostolicae sanctitati consonat maxime. Nihil est enim, quod sibi facilius suadeatur. Queritur tamen ad eam rem vestrum collegium non esse pro suo desiderio fervens. Excusavimus, quoad potuimus. Nunc vestrum est toto studio huic rei incumbere; fortissime namque pugnanti pax optatior cedit. Expecto hic, ex Neapoli quid afferatur ad concordiam per Matthaenum Joannem, nam orator regius idem² praestolatur.

Ex Urbe, die 8 Novembris 1455.

¹ DV, 21. *Autograph*

² *aut* eadem T1; eadem V1

652. Letter to the City of Siena (8 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As letter 649.

Subject: Carlo Gonzaga, a condottiero, advised the pope to lay a total siege to Orbetello, occupied by Piccinino's troops.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] Yesterday, late at night, Carlo de Gonzaga¹ visited His Apostolic Piety². What he said and advised will be fully explained to you by Ser Bindo³. The essence of it all is that he strongly suggested laying a total siege to Orbetello, and he outlines ways to do so. This is in full agreement with the pope's wishes. Indeed, nothing is easier than to persuade him of this [course of action]. However, the pope complained that your College is not seem as fervent in this matter as he desires. We excused you as best we could. Now it is up to you to fully embrace this venture, for the most favourable peace comes to the one who puts up the strongest fight. I am waiting here to see the news from Naples about Mateu Jovan⁴'s achievements regarding peace, for the royal envoy⁵ is awaiting the same.

From Rome, November 8, 1455.

¹ Carlo Gonzaga: A condottiero belonging to the Mantuan princely family.

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ Bindo Bindo.

⁴ Mateu Jovan: papal secretary

⁵ Juan de Hajar (Saviano, p 459).

653. Letter to the City of Siena (9 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: VI, f. 53r¹ **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] Caballarius vester ex Neapoli rediens, magnifici et potentes domini, sine litteris ad vos transit. Audietis ex eo, quae viderit quaeve didicerit. Custodienda sunt diligenti cura castella et arces, ne opprimamur pacem praestolantes. Bellum diligenter instructum et animis actum fortibus pacis leges meliores affert. Carolus de Gonzaga, nobilissimus belli ductor, apud Romanum pontificem longis sermonibus auditus affirmat hostem bimestri destitutum iri, si praeda prohibeatur, idque pontifex libens audit. Ego quoque id verum puto, nisi regiis auxiliis sustentetur, et doleo, quia rem protrahi longius intelligo, nam duo menses item duos pariunt. Expecto, quid jubeat collegium vestrum, quidque missus Neapolim asserat Matthaeus Johannes, et commendo me vestris magnificentiis. Dominus Bindus reliqua suis scriptis referet.

Ex Urbe, die 9. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ *Autograph*

653. Letter to the City of Siena (9 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As letter 649.

Subject: As the preceding letter.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords,

[1] Your courier¹ is returning from Naples without letters for you. He will tell you what he saw and learned. Your castles and fortresses should be guarded with diligent care lest we be overrun while waiting for peace. Boldness and a well-conducted war lead to better peace conditions. Carlo Gonzaga, a most noble captain of war, has had a long conversation with the Roman Pontiff². He maintains that the enemy³ will be defeated within two months if he is prevented from taking plunder, which the pope is only too happy to hear. I too believe this to be true on the condition, however, that Piccinino does not receive help from the king⁴. I regret that, as I see it, the matter is being drawn out, for two months lead two more. I await your College's commands and what Mateu Jovan, who was sent to Naples, will report.

I commend myself to Your Magnificences. Ser Bindo⁵ will report the rest in his letter. From the City⁶, 9 November 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ "caballarius"

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ Jacopo Piccinino.

⁴ Alfonsi V the Magnanimous.

⁵ Bindo Bindi.

⁶ Rome.

654. Letter to the City of Siena (12 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Balìa 489, c. 32^l **; VI, ff. 55r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi. Post recommendationem.

[1] Vidi heri noctu apud summum pontificem epistolam episcoporum, qui sunt in castris, quorum² sententia est, quia non possit obsideri Urbetellum nisi magnis provisionibus adhibitis, quas pontifici per dominum Carolum significavere. Multum autem episcopi illi vestram negligentiam accusant, qui neque commissarium apud eos haberetis neque ad bellum necessaria ministraretis, adjicientes illud vulgare³ dictum, quia *qui fecit te sine te, non solvabit te sine te*. Quid haec verba velint, plane cognoscitis. Papa etiam conqueritur, quia non videmini sibi ad rem prompti, ut necesse est. Dominus Bindus et ego impossibilitati cun[c]ta ascripsimus, voluntatem vestram ferventissimam asseverantes.

[2] Ego hic sum cum magno taedio: neque vestrae rei publicae prosum neque mihi bene consulo. Expectabo reditum Johannis Matthaei aut ejus responsum ex rege et videbo, an aliqua spes pacis sit. Deinde, si omnino papa in sententia perstat, ne mihi sit adeundus rex, revertar ad vos, nisi aliud jusseritis. Verum ego precor, ut consideretis, quam dispendiosa est haec mora mea in hoc loco, et quod rebus vestris parum consulo.

[3] Aliquae litterae ex Sena missae ad hostes et interceptae, quae me ad regem ire pacem omnino acceptaturus ab eo, quamcumque daret, falso narrabant. In suspicionem ac periculum erga Romanum pontificem me adduxere, quamquam egregie me purgaverim benignitate eorum, qui me certiore de talibus fecere. Deus illis ignoscat, qui talia scribunt. Matthaeus Johannes in via aegrotavit. Responsum tamen ejus infra biduum triduumve praestolamur.

¹ *Autograph*

² quarum codd.

³ *em.*; vugare T1; ungare V1

654. Letter to the City of Siena (12 November 1455, Rome)¹.

Context: As letter 649.

Subject: Piccolomini warns the city government that the papal episcopal commissioners at the siege of Orbetello had accused it of negligence in the warfare. He also informs them of some false accusations against himself in a letter that was intercepted by the pope's men and had caused him problems with the pope.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords. After recommendation.

[1] Last night, I [visited] the Supreme Pontiff², where I saw a letter from the bishops³, who are in the camp [at Orbetello]. Their opinion is that Orbetello cannot be besieged without significant provisions, as they have informed the pope through Lord Carlo⁴. These bishops accuse you strongly of negligence, saying that you neither sent a commissioner to them nor supplied the necessities of war. They added the common saying, "*He who made you without you will not save you without you.*" You clearly understand the meaning of these words. The pope also complains that you do not seem as ready for action as the situation requires. Ser Bindo⁵ and I have attributed everything to your lack of means and insisted on your fervent willingness.

[2] I remain here with great frustration since I am of no use to your republic, and I cannot take proper care of my own affairs. I will await the return of Mateu Jovan or his response from the king to see whether there is any hope for peace. After that, if the pope remains firmly convinced that I should not go to the king⁶, I shall return to you unless you give me other orders. But I pray that you consider how costly my stay here is and how little benefit it brings to your affairs.

[3] A letter sent from Siena to the enemy, which was intercepted, falsely claimed that I would go to the king to accept any peace he offered, whatever it may be. The letter put me under suspicion and in danger with the pope, though I have entirely cleared myself with the help of those who informed me of the matter. May God forgive those who write such falsehoods.⁷ Mateu Jovan fell ill on his journey⁸. Nonetheless, we expect his response within two or three days.

¹ Saviano, 6.

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ As papal "commissioners". One of them was Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara and an old friend of Piccolomini (DBI / Aicardi, Bartolomeo: *Nel luglio*

1455 l'A. andò al campo contro il Piccinino e vi restò fino all'autunno dell'anno seguente). See letter 642:1. The other once was Buon-giovanni da Recanati, Archbishop of Dubrovnik.

⁴ Carlo Gonzaga.

⁵ Bindo Bindi.

⁶ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁷ On this passage, see Saviano, p. 435.

⁸ The return journey from Naples to Rome.

[4] Legatus regis Aragonum heri affirmavit et papae et mihi¹ dominum suum misisse crucem ad Jacopum Piccininum, sed papa fidem non habuit. Is legatus negat verum esse, quod quinque galeae irent ad Piccininum subsidio, sicut nuntius ex Neapoli rediens affirmabat. Scripsit tamen legatus ipse regi admodum rigide videri contra honorem suum, si se Romae stante pro pace bellum acrius ange² instauraretur et scribit sibi se audisse legationes ex tota Italia ituras ad eum³ quasi ligae violatorem. Cavendam esse talem legationem, quae solo nomine sibi parit infamiam. Non alia modo scriptu digna habeo.

Ex Urbe, die 12. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis etc.

¹ in V1

² ?

³ *Lacuna in V1*

[4] The envoy of the King of Aragon yesterday told both the pope and me that his lord had sent the cross to Jacopo Piccinino, but the pope did not believe it. The envoy denies it is true that five galleys are coming to help Piccinino, as a messenger returning from Naples reported. Nevertheless, the envoy wrote to the king, insisting that it would be highly dishonourable for himself if the war was resumed, while he was negotiating for peace in Rome. He also wrote that he had heard that embassies from all of Italy would be coming to the king, accusing him of violating the league¹. The very mention of such an embassy would bring him infamy. I have nothing else at the moment worthy of writing.

From the City, 12 November 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena, etc.

¹ The Italian League for peace that Alfonso V had himself ratified earlier in 1455.

655. Letter to the City of Siena (15 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro, 1986, c. 39^l **; VI, ff. 57r-58v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {39r} Et quae mihi seorsum scribitis, magnifici et potentes domini, et quae in communi cum collegis mandatis plane accepi. Quae me tangunt, absolvam paucis, nam quid aliud dicam nisi quia facturus sum pro facultate imperata, quamvis minus in me multo, quam creditis, eloquentiae, prudentiae, consilii, auctoritatis. Quae communia cum collegis sunt, quamvis ad eos remitto. Attingam tamen ex illis illustriora quaedam et digna notatu. Cum enim graviter ac sapienter pro veteri more Jacobus Guidini legationem exposuisset, visus est pontifex vultu alacri audivisse sermonem. Cum tamen rogatus est pro sua sapientia modum rebus afflictis imponere, tamquam pax quereretur et ad regem transitus parumper obriguit. At exposita civitatis constantia, quae nullo pacto ab ejus voluntate recessura esset, a quo libertatem salutemque sese habere cognosceret, rursus gratia incaluit. Inter respondendum autem non pauca deprompsit digna relatu.

¹ *Autograph*

655. Letter to the City of Siena (15 November 1455, Rome).

Context: Siena had sent a new envoy to the pope to press him to accept that a Siennese embassy be sent to King Alfonso of Naples.

Subject: The pope was still opposed to such an embassy and, instead, advised the Siennese to oppose the king resolutely since that would result in better peace conditions.¹

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] I have quite understood both what you write to me separately and what you require of me and my colleagues² in common. I shall address only briefly those things that concern me personally, for what else can I say but that I will do what I can, though I have far less eloquence, prudence, counsel, and authority than you believe. The matters that concern us colleagues in common I mostly leave to them and only touch on some notable and important points. When Jacopo Guidini³, gravely and wisely explained his mission as custom dictates⁴, the pope⁵ appeared to listen to his speech with a pleasant expression. But when Guidini asked him to use his wisdom to settle the troubled affairs and spoke as if peace were being sought and a mission to the king⁶ were being planned, the pope's expression froze. Yet he thawed up again when Giudini spoke about Siena's determination and said it would in no way deviate from the will of him⁷, whom they acknowledged as the one who ensured its liberty and safety. In his answer, the pope said several notable things.

¹ Saviano, 5

² Piccolomini, Bindo Bindi, and Jacopo Guidini.

³ In the beginning of November, the city government of Siena sent

Jacopo Guidini as its third envoy to the pope (Banchi, p. 239, n. 2).

⁴ In an initial ambassadorial address.

⁵ Callixtus III.

⁶ Alfonso V the Magnanimous

⁷ The pope.

[2] Commemoratis enim suis in vestram rem publicam officiis ait regem illum potentissimum Aragoniae sine causa vobis adversari litterasque, quibus indicit bellum ad terrorem missas, ut populum vestrum in suam partem trahat territoriumque Senense stabulum equorum efficiat, quod facile eveniet, si per se vestra civitas absque foederatis principibus ac populis regis pacem accipiat; suadere igitur, ne quid agatur omissis sociis; se pacem velle veram, non simulatam atque insidiosam; pacem esse in promptu, si Jacobum ad veris usque tempus in agro suo Senenses substinere velint; regem promissurum, ut nihil interea Jacobum molestiae Senensibus illaturum; sed incertam esse plenamque periculi pacem; nihil tutum, nisi abeat hostis; Florentinos ecclesiamque hunc vicinum nolle (quis enim vadem se praebeat novo tempore nihil novitatis oriri?); sapituros Senenses, si caveant insidias solidamque mentem et fortem animum gerant, neque confoederatos pactique tenaces deserant; regem legatione Senensi non videri sibi petendum, namque si supplex et miserabilis legatio est, irridebitur et ad lacrimas genus femineum potius fuisse mittendum. Si minax, non esse Senenses, qui tantum regem terrere possint. At si pacem ex hoste quaerunt Senenses, quaecumque detur, existimandum esse, an deceat relictis his, a quibus adjuti sint, pacem quaerere et a reliqua Italia desciscere, quod sine gravi periculo fieri non posset eorundem Senensium; expectandum, quid afferat ex Neapoli Matthaeus Johannes. Si pacem, non esse opus legatione ulteriori; sin verba et belli minas, eundem cum ceteris confoederatis ad regem tumque plus momenti legationem habituram.

[3] Exposuit deinde belli gerendi consilia {39v} et quae praestare ad obsidionem Urbetelli Senenses oporteret maturarique omnia suasit; facile namque, si viri simus, exturbandum hostem. Toleranda omnia pro libertate. Corrigiani equitus pro numero, qui adesset, conducendos.

[4] De re frumentaria spem bonam fecit hortatusque est, ut properetis, quae sunt bello necessaria ministrare, nam ipse quasi pupillam oculi sui civitatem nostram amat et salvam esse cupit, neque sibi Roma quam Sena majori curae est. Ad haec respondit Jacobus, quae putavit ex usu, omnemque sinistram opinionem avertit. Tetigit quoque de mea legatione, quae sanctitas apostolica hilare audivit bonoque animo erga me remansit, cum superioribus diebus ex nonnullis scriptis sibi redditis mihi aliena esset. Sed vincit omnia veritas; mendaciorum lubrica fundamenta sunt. Audio libenter dominum Scevam huc venturum pacis nuntium, nam mihi amicus est atque, ut arbitror, Senensis populi amator. Reliqua ex domino Bindo et Jacobo collegis apertius cognoscetis.

Ex urbe, die 15¹ Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis. Manu propria.

¹ X T1 [possibly a -V. is missing from the digital version]

[2] After recounting his favours to your republic, he said that the Mighty King of Aragon had become your adversary without cause, and the letter¹ in which he declared war was sent only to inspire fear, to sway your people to his side, and to turn the Sienese territory into a stable for his horses.² This would easily happen if your city, without its allied princes and peoples, were to accept [on its own] the king's peace. Therefore, the pope advised that you do nothing without your allies. He wanted a true peace, not a feigned and treacherous one. Peace was within reach, he said, if the Sienese could, in their own territory, hold out against Jacopo³ until spring. The king would promise that Jacopo did not inflict harm on the Sienese in the meantime. But he warned that this peace would be uncertain and fraught with danger - nothing would be safe unless the enemy withdrew. The Florentines and the Church, your neighbours, do not want him near, for who could guarantee that no disturbance would occur at another time? The Sienese would be wise to guard against treachery and stay courageous and bold without abandoning their confederates who kept their pact. The Sienese should not send an embassy to the king, he thought, for if it were a humble and pitiable embassy, it would be ridiculed, and it would have been better to send women to weep. And if the embassy were a threatening one, the Sienese were not in a position to frighten such a great king.⁴ But if the Sienese sought peace from the enemy, they should consider what sort of peace was offered and whether it was right to seek it, abandoning those who had helped them and turning their backs on the rest of Italy, which could not be done without great danger to the Sienese themselves. They should wait to see what Mateu Jovan brought back from Naples. If it were peace, there would be no need for further embassies. But if it were mere words and threats of war, they should go to the king with the rest of their allies, and then their embassy would carry more weight.

[3] Afterwards the pope laid out plans for waging war and strongly advised the Sienese to prepare everything necessary for the siege of Orbetello⁵, urging them to hasten their preparations. For if we would act as men, we could easily drive the enemy out. Everything must be endured for the sake of liberty. All of the Corregian cavalry still present should be hired⁶.

[4] Regarding the grain supply, he gave good hope and urged you to speedily provide the necessities for war, for he loves our city as if it were the apple of his eye and desires it to be safe, caring for Siena no less than for Rome. To this, Jacopo⁷ responded as he thought useful and dispelled all negative opinions. He also touched on my mission, which the Apostolic Holiness listened to pleasantly, remaining well-disposed towards me, whereas in previous days, due to some reports given to him, he had been rather aloof. But truth conquers all; the foundations of lies are slippery. I am pleased to hear that Ser Sceva⁸ is coming here as a messenger of peace, for he is my friend and I believe he loves the Sienese people. You will learn the rest more fully from my colleagues, Ser Bindo⁹ and Jacopo,

From the City, 15 November 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena. In my own hand.

¹ Letter of 18 October 1455 (Banchi, p. 238, n. 2),

² On this passage, see Banchi, p. 239, n. 3.

³ Jacopo Piccinino.

⁴ On this passage, see Banchi, p. 239, n. 4.

⁵ Held by Piccinino's troops.

⁶ The rest had left to seek employment in Lombardy, see letter 646: 1.

⁷ Jacopo Giudini.

⁸ Curte, Sceva da (-1459): Milanese diplomat. Friend of Piccolomini.

⁹ Bindo Bindi

656. Letter to the City of Siena (16 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, 10r^l **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{23} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Fuimus collegae mei et ego ad multum noctem heri cum summo pontifice. Locuti sumus de re frumentaria, de praeda apud Vallem Clanarum facta, ac de praesidio equestri trans flumen opponendo Castroleonis, de quibus rebus latius hoc die ad vesperam sese nobis verba facturum pontifex ait. De raptu tamen equarum ac ...² demiratus est, cum Sigismundus Malatesta quieturum se affirmaverit, jussitque cum Firmano cardinali verbum haberemus, qui Sigismundi negotia apud se promovisset.

[2] Ingressus deinde materiam belli hortatus est constanti animo fortissimoque Senenses essent; sic enim pacem meliorem securioremque inventum iri, neque confoederatorum auxilia defutura, exposuitque legationem Scevae, ducalis legati, qui domini sui certissima praesidia polliceretur, etsi mandaret pontifex ipsum ducem in persona propria venturum affirmaret. Post haec ait ducem eundem ad regem Aragonum per aliam viam hujusmodi legationem fecisse: “Facit affinitas inter nos recens, optime rex, ut tecum, quae sunt ex usu, libere atque aperte loquar. Jacobum Piccininum adversus Senenses militantem et impia bella gerentem in tuis castris receptum³ pecunia, commeatu, armis juvas. Hoc Italia omnis damnat, nam et foedus irritum redditur et hosti Turcho ad invadendam religionem nostram ingens aperitur porta. Nisi desistis, omnem Italiam contra te provocabis, jamque legati confoederatorum delecti sunt, qui te adeuntes violatae fidei arguant religionemque jurisjurandi deposcant. Mea sententia honestius fuerit ante corrigere factum quam legationibus inviteris.”

¹ DV, 23-24. *Autograph*

² *One word illegible.*

³ *em.*; receptus cod.

656. Letter to the City of Siena (16 November 1455, Rome).

Context: The Duke of Milan had warned King Alfonso V of an imminent intervention from the other parties to the League of Italy.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the city government of the warning and, under the present circumstances, advises against a Sienese embassy to the king.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honorable Lords,

[1] My colleagues and I were with the Supreme Pontiff¹ late into the night yesterday. We discussed the matter of grain, the spoils taken at the Val di Chiana, and the defence of Castroleone by positioning cavalry across the river. The Pontiff said he would speak to us about these things in greater detail this evening. However, he was astonished by the seizing of horses since Sigismondo Malatesta had assured that he would remain peaceful, and the pope ordered us to speak with Cardinal of Fermo², who had been promoting Sigismondo's interests before him.

[2] The pope then began speaking about the war, exhorting the Sienese to remain steadfast and courageous, for by doing so they would secure a better and safer peace. He assured us that the assistance of the allies would not fail, and he mentioned the mission of Sceva³, the duke's⁴ envoy, who made firm promises of support from his lord. The envoy even affirmed that the duke himself would come in person if the Pontiff requested it. After this, the envoy said that his duke had directed a mission to the King of Aragon⁵ through another channel with a message that ran something like this: "The recent relationship between us, Best King, allows me to speak with you freely and openly for our mutual benefit. You are harbouring Jacopo Piccinino, who is waging war against the Sienese and leading impious campaigns, and you aid him with money, supplies, and arms in your camps. All of Italy condemns this, for it renders the League void and opens an immense gate for the Turkish enemy to attack our religion. Unless you desist, you will provoke all of Italy against you. The confederates have already chosen envoys who will come to you, accuse you of violating your oath, and demand that you observe your oath. In my opinion, it would be more honourable to correct this situation yourself before being requested to by the embassies."

¹ Pope Callixtus III.

² Domenico Capranica.

³ Sceva da Curte.

⁴ Francesco I Sforza.

⁵ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

[3] In hunc fere modum commonitum a duce regem sanctitas apostolica confirmavit addiditque: “Aut mutabitur rex pacique consentiet - neque enim puto adversus omnem Italiam caput eriget - aut, si permittente Deo quae sunt ex honore suo non viderit, ibunt legationes atque in faciem irritum foedus jusque jurandum exprobrabunt, tumque cum his ire poteritis ac legationem vestram magnificentius honestiusque obibitis.” His auditis diximus aliam esse nobis opinionem, neque enim videri nobis legatos Senenses regem adire, ne vel ludibrio sint vel in suspicionem adducantur; regem namque auditurum legatos ducis, Venetorum Florentinorumque ut foederis auctores, Senenses ante ostium¹ dimissurum aut seorsum vocaturum, quia cum eis aliquid haberet non commune cum reliquis. Itaque non putare nos ex usu Senensi legatione hoc tempore regem adiri, quando se hostem apertum ostendit. Hoc tamen nos remittere suae sanctitatis iudicio et arbitrio eorum, quorum hic vices ageremus. Papa hoc admodum probavit atque non aliter eventurum quam putavissemus.

[4] Vestrum nunc erit, quae meliora videantur amplecti atque jubere. {24} Mihi nullo pacto videtur, quod ego hanc legationem ad regem accipiam. Erit enim minax et indigna episcopo. Satius erit, nisi fallor nullum mitterem aut, si omnino mittendum est, quivis civis sat erit. Mihi quidem onerosum² eo cum talibus mandatis pergere, nisi adventantes Caesareae litterae, pro quibus misimus, id juberent. Velitis ergo hoc animadvertere ac me reddere certiore, qui sum ad vestras jussiones et promptus et volens. Quae a me scribuntur, cupio esse secreta.

Ex urbe Roma, die 16. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ hostium cod.

² honerosum cod.

[3] His Apostolic Holiness confirmed that the duke had warned the king more or less like this and added: "Either the king will change his ways and agree to peace (I really do not believe he will raise his head against all of Italy), or, if by God's permission he does not see his honour in this, the embassies will come to him and reproach him to his face for breaking the treaty¹ and violating his oath. Then, you may join these envoys and conduct your embassy with greater honour and dignity." After hearing this, we expressed our different opinion: we did not think it fitting for the Sieneese envoys to come to the king, lest they be made a mockery or fall under suspicion. The king, we said, would hear the envoys of the duke, the Venetians, and the Florentines as the leaders of the League and would send the Sieneese away or summon them separately, since he had business with them that was not common to the rest. Therefore, we did not believe it was in Siena's interest to send an embassy to the king at this time, when he openly showed himself as their enemy. Nonetheless, we deferred to the pope's judgement and to the judgement of those² whom we represented here. The pope highly approved this and said that it would indeed turn out as we had predicted.

[4] It is now for you to choose and order what seems best. In no way do I think that I should take on this embassy to the king, for it would be threatening and unsuitable for a bishop. It would be better, unless I am mistaken, to send no one, or if someone must be sent, any citizen would do. It would be difficult for me to go on such a mission unless the letter from the emperor, which we have requested, arrives with orders to do so. Please consider this and inform me of your decision. I am your obedient servant. What I have written here, I wish to remain secret.

From Rome, 16 November 1455. Eneas, Bishop of Siena.

¹ The treaty of the League of Italy.

² The city government of Siena.

657. Letter to the City of Siena (18 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, 12r¹ **.²

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {25} Nescio, quae causa sit, magnifici et potentes domini, cur ad obsidionem Urbetelli non dederitis efficaces operas.essetis expe... .. commissario. Papae dietim litteras ex castris accipit, quae mirum in modum manet dominus Bindus et ego commotus erat pontifex, ut revocare mox de agro neque amplius in hoc Piccinini negotio se intromittere, nisi quantum ecclesia Dominus Bindus et ego excusavimus, quoad potuimus, facta vestra, suppli... .. videret vos quovis modo a devotione sua declinare. Moram autem factam necessariis ad obsidionem Urbetelli diximus inde fortasse provenire quia balia³ non cienda fuisse, et coloravimus factum, quoad potuimus, astititque nobis Sceva et denique ceteri oratores id consulebant, ne rerum pretium⁴ concordiae cum rege Aragonum, quia si dissolveretur modo ... ecclesiae difficilior redderetur, obtulitque dominus Sceva iturum in castra et promisit tionis oriretur, donec ex Senis certa haberetur conclusio. Acquievit sanctissimus dominus noster quod dominus Bindus evestigio ad vos evolaret exponeretque vobis ad obsidionem et quae tractata sunt cum rege de pace. Venit ergo ad vos [dominus Bind]us jussu papae. Curate, ut fiant, quae ab eo audietis. Dominus Sceva expectabit responsum ejus, et si consentietis ad obsidionem praebere necessaria, dabit illam efficiendam. Sin autem, curabitur de mittendis ad hiberna gentibus. Timendum est, ne hostis difficilior ad concordiam habeatur. Dominus Johannes Dyser ... est ad regem pro finale conclusione. Utile esset medio tempore hostem acriter⁵ nam licet aliquid subsidii per naves regias, si tamen senserit leges pacis petet, non dabit. Velitis memores esse eorum, quae vestra causa [papa] fecerit, et usque ad finem perseverare cum eo, quia ipse res vestras melius con... quam ipsi possetis. Reliqua dicet vobis dominus Bindus, quem audire et exaudire conducibile [erit], nam ex fide sincera, quantum ego capio et video, civitatis et patrimonii ecclesiastici civis bonus praeservatur⁶.

Recommendo me vestris magnificentiis. Ex urbe, die 18. Novembris. Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis.

¹ DV, 25. *Autograph*

² The manuscript is badly damaged and in many places illegible.

³ *dub.*

⁴ *dub.*

⁵ *dub.*

⁶ *dub.*

657. Letter to the City of Siena (18 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: The pope was so upset at reports from the bishops in the camp of Orbetello that he threatened to recall his troops. Bindo Bindi would go to Siena to try to persuade the Siennese to act more effectively in the siege of Orbetello.

[The Latin text of the letter is so defect and illegible that a translation has not been attempted.]

658. Letter to the City of Siena (20 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro 1986, c. 42¹ **; VI, ff. 59r-61v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {42r} Receptis litteris vestris, magnifici et potentes domini, quibus nobis, hoc est collegis meis et mihi, significastis bellum quodammodo indictum esse civitati Senensi nomine potentissimi regis Aragonum a praefecto Castri Leonis, fuimus evestigio apud sanctissimum dominum nostrum, qui convocatis legatis confoederatorum, ait tria se colligere ex hac indictione belli: primo, quia colorem petit rex coeptis suis; secundo, quia nomen Jacobi augere vult, tamquam magni regis bellum gerentis; tertio, quia fortasse aliqua secrete agitata sunt, de alicujus castri vel magni oppidi prodicione. Fortasse sunt enim, qui se regi reddere volunt, Piccinino non volunt. Rex autem indictionem belli maturat, ne videatur more latronum aliena invadere.

[2] His ex causis consultum sibi videri dixit magnificum virum Jacobum Guidini in castra proficisci quantocius, convenire legatos exercitus, munire oppida, revisere Thelamonem et alia loca hosti finitima, vigilare, instare, ne quid loci pateat insidiis eique facultatem dedit, ut Jacobum de Monte Gemino trans flumen ducat Castilianique opponat. Egregium vero legum doctorem dominum Bindum ad serenissimum regem iter arripere multis rationibus suasit, qui et indicendi belli injustam causam ostenderet et mentem regis ab indignatione revocaret, quam induit contra Senensem populum.

¹ *Autograph*

658. Letter to the City of Siena (20 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: The pope wants one of the Siense envoys to go to Orbetello and the coastal region and another to go to King Alfonso.¹

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] When we received your letter informing us – that is, my colleagues² and I - that the commander of Castroleone³ had declared war on the city of Siena in the name of the Most Mighty King of Aragon⁴, we immediately went to Our Most Holy Lord⁵. Having summoned the envoys of the confederates⁶, he said that he gathered three things from this declaration of war: first, that the king is seeking a pretext for his actions; second, that he wants to raise Jacopo's⁷ status to captain of a great king; and third, that possibly there were secret dealings about the treasonous surrender of some village or big town. Indeed, there may be some who would rather surrender to the king than to Piccinino. The king has hastened the declaration of war lest he appear to invade foreign territories like a common bandit.

[2] Therefore, the pope considered it expedient that His Magnificence Jacopo Guidini should proceed to the camp⁸ as soon as possible, gather the officers, fortify the towns, review Talamone and other places close to the enemy, be vigilant and insistent that no place be vulnerable to plots, and not give Piccinino the possibility of sending Jacopo da Monti Gemelli across the river to attack the people from Castiglione. With many arguments, he urged that the distinguished Doctor of Laws, Ser Bindo⁹, should travel to the Most Serene King to show that the cause for declaring war was unjust and make the king turn away from his anger against the Siense people¹⁰.

¹ Saviano, 7

² Bindo Bindi and Jacopo Guidini.

³ Joan de Liria, the Aragonese governor of Castiglione della Pescaia.

⁴ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁵ Pope Callixtus III

⁶ In the Italian League: Milan, Florence, and Venice.

⁷ Jacopo Piccinino.

⁸ At Orbetello.

⁹ Bindo Bindi.

¹⁰ On this passage, see Saviano, p. 436

[3] Nos etsi utrumque probaremus, quia utile est regis iram, si fieri queat, frangere et maritimas terras omni arte tueri, dicebamus tamen neque dominum Bindum habere litteras ad regem neque Jacobum hinc abire injussu vestri magistratus decet¹. Indignabundus haec audiebat pontifex, et legati confoederatorum cum papa sentiebant, et idcirco quamvis admodum invitus eam provinciam dominus Bindus acciperet, consulimus tamen ei, ne voluntati summi praesulis adversaretur. Quando inter cetera jussi essemus ejus imperium sequi, quaecumque sua pietas juberet, placuisset nobis tribus Jacobum hoc iter ad regem agere, qui litteras publicas haberet, sed apostolico culmini suaderi non potuit. Itaque fuit necesse nos sequi sententiam ejus cum nihil hinc periculi possit emergere, et utilitas aliqua speretur, si rex aut diffidationem auferat aut differat, donec alia transigantur. Mihi autem grave est hic solum remanere, neque enim ego is sum, qui possim cubiculum cujusque secretarii frequentare, ut inde brevia apostolica extraham. Hoc egregie callebat dominus Bindus, et ego certe consultissimum puto, eum hic retineri cum redierit, sed provideri de stipendio, neque enim honori publico satisfacere potest excussus auro. Digna res est ei subveniri, qui res vestras utiliter gerit.

[4] De re frumentaria fecimus efficacissima verba sanctissimo domino nostro. Hoc exploratissimum habete, quia triticum extrahetis quantum libebit ex patrimonio, sive terra sive mari velitis, soluta tamen tracta, ut moris est, et ita praesentibus legatis aliis sanctitas apostolica confirmavit, non obstantibus quibusvis prohibitionibus, et in hanc sententiam {42v} apostolica brevia conficiuntur, de quibus commissio facta est.

[5] De comitiva Corrigiorum scripsimus alias collegae mei et ego mentem papae. Nunc quoque vestrum propositum suae pietati declaravimus, sed papa per legatos ducis instigatus perstat in sententia, quemdmodum ex Jacobo Guidini amplius intelligetis.

[6] Dominus Sceva festinabat regem adire, sed transitus ejus per pontificem retentus est, qui ait expectandam relationem Matthaei Johannis, ut si pax haberi possit, hoc in loco concludatur, sin autem, tunc pergant legati violatumque foedus exprobrent, et jurisjurandi religionem laesam. Neque placet papae legatos confoederatorum ire, nisi omnes simul pergant putatque sua pietas brevi legatos Venetorum affuturos. Orator regius graviter fert, dum hic de pace agit, regem suum bellum indicere, ac propterea suadente papa epistolas ad regem hodie dedit querelarum et consilii plenas, neque enim regium sibi videtur, dum pax quaeritur inimicitias ostendere. Reliqua ex collegis uberius cognoscetis. Haec a me cum venia dicta sint.

Ex Urbe Roma, die 20. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis. Manu propria.

¹ dicere V1

[3] Although we agreed on both counts (that it is expedient to still the king's anger and protect the coastal areas by any means), we said that Ser Bindo did not have letters for the king and that Jacopo could not leave here except at the command of your magistrate. The pope heard this indignantly, and the envoys of the confederates agreed with him. Therefore, although Ser Bindo was quite reluctant to accept this mission, we advised him not to oppose the will of the Supreme Pontiff. Since we¹ had - among others - been instructed² to obey the pope whatever His Piety might order, the three of us would have preferred for Jacopo³ to travel to the king since he held official letters, but His Apostolic Highness could not be persuaded. Consequently, it was necessary to comply with his decision since that would not entail any danger, and some benefit might be hoped for if the king either postponed or annulled the declaration of war until the other matters had been settled.⁴ However, it is problematic for me to remain here⁵ alone, for I am not the one to frequent the chambers of secretaries to extract apostolic briefs. Ser Bindo did that excellently, and I certainly consider that you would do very well in keeping him here when he returns⁶. However, you should give him a salary, for he cannot represent you decently without money. It is reasonable to support a man who represents you so effectively.

[4] We made very forceful arguments regarding the matter of grain to Our Most Holy Lord. Know this for certain: you will be able to import as much wheat as you wish from the Patrimony⁷, whether by land or sea, once the customs duties have been paid, as is customary. His Apostolic Holiness confirmed this in the presence of the other envoys, notwithstanding any prohibitions whatsoever, and apostolic briefs are being drawn up to this effect, for which a commission has been made.

[5] My colleagues and I previously wrote about the pope's mind concerning the Coreggian company. Now, we have also stated your intentions to His Piety, but the pope, urged on by the duke's envoys, remains firm in his decision, as you will understand more fully from Jacopo Guidini.

[6] Ser Sceva wanted to go speedily to the king, but his journey has been delayed by the pope, who said that we should wait for the report of Mateu Jovan, so that if peace is in reach, it will be concluded here. Otherwise, the envoys will proceed and denounce the violation of the treaty⁸ and the breaking of the sacred oath. The pope is not in favour of sending the envoys of the confederates unless they all go together, and His Piety believes that the envoys of the Venetians will arrive soon. The royal envoy⁹ is deeply disturbed that while peace is being discussed here, his king is declaring war. Therefore, at the pope's suggestion, he sent a letter full of complaints and counsel to the king today, for he does not think it befits a king to enter hostilities while peace is being sought. You will learn the rest more fully from my colleagues. Please allow me to say this.

From the city of Rome, 20 November 1455. Eneas, Bishop of Siena. In my own hand.

¹ The Sienese envoys.

² By the city government of Siena.

³ Jacopo Guidini.

⁴ See Banchi, p. 240

⁵ In Rome.

⁶ From Naples. Saviano, p. 436.

⁷ The Patrimony of Saint Peter [*Patrimonium Sancti Petri*] originally designated the landed

possessions and revenues of various kinds that belonged to the papacy. Until the middle of the 8th century this consisted wholly of private property; later, it corresponded to the territories under papal sovereignty, but from the early 13th century the term was

applied to one of the four provinces of the Church States.

⁸ The peace treaty establishing the League of Italy.

⁹ Juan de Hijar (Saviano, p 459).

659. Letter to the City of Siena (23 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, 13r^l **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {27} Revertitur ad vos, magnifici domini, spectatus et circumspectus vir Jacobus Guidini, quia sic placuit domino nostro. Ex eo cognoscetis, quae sunt apud nos acta. Dominus Bindus ex ordinatione pietatis apostolicae ad regem Aragonum profectus est, invitus quidem, ut mihi videtur, sed adversari papae non videbatur e [re] rei publicae nostrae. Conabitur indictum bellum auferre aut differre. Quod si fecerit, non erit supervacaneus ejus transitus. Vestrum est, nisi fallor, missionem litteris approbare. Scribo Jacobo Guidini, quae acta sunt cum sanctissimo domino nostro post ejus recessum et quae dicta sunt de collocandis militibus in oppidis vestris et de tritico emendo². Cuncta vobis palam fient. Litteras exinde vestras accepi, quarum mandata pro facultate complebo. Cupio Romam relinquere jussu vestro, neque enim mea mora aut vobis conducat aut mihi.

Ex urbe, die 23. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis etc.

¹ DV, 27. *Autograph*

² *em.*; emittendo cod.

659. Letter to the City of Siena (23 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: The pope has sent Jacopo Guidini back to Siena and Bindo Bindi on a mission to King Alfonso V.

Magnificent Lords.

[1] The esteemed and prudent Jacopo Guidini, is returning to you, at the decision of Our Lord¹. From him, you will learn what has been done here. Ser Bindo² has departed for the King of Aragon³, also at the decision of His Apostolic Piety. Bindo evidently did so reluctantly, but opposing the pope did not seem to be in the best interest of our republic. He will attempt to either obtain a cancellation or postponement of the declaration of war. If he succeeds, his journey will not have been in vain. If I am not mistaken, it is up to you to approve his mission with a letter. I am writing to Jacopo Guidini about what has been done with Our Most Holy Lord since his departure and what has been said regarding the placement of soldiers in your towns and the purchase of wheat. All will be made clear to you. I have received your letters from there, and I will carry out your instructions to the best of my ability. I wish to leave Rome at your command, for my stay here benefits neither you nor me.

From the City, 23 November 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena, etc.

¹ Pope Callixtus III.

² Bindo Bindi.

³ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

660. Letter to the City of Siena (25 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, 14v¹ **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{29} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi. Post recommendationem.

[1] Consideratis his, quae scribitis de facto frumenti, fui solus cum papa, quia Jacobus Guidini et dominus Bindus vias suas iverant, et narravi, quomodo res impedirentur per Jacobum de Roma, et quod non erat satis promittere frumentum extrahi, quod emptum dicebatur, quia re vera nullum frumentum recipiebatur emptum, quod non esset asportatum. Papa tunc mandavit scribi Jacobo de Roma, ut sive esset emptum sive non, permitteret exire, quidquid Senenses quaererent usque ad summam in bullis et brevibus expressum. Et sic mandavit fieri unum breve, quod hodie haberi debet. Reliquum frumentum vult papa extrahi de Corneto et illuc mitti pro eo. Atque ita se res habet frumentaria.

[2] De Corrigianis valde contentus est papa concordiam esse factam. Post haec dixit mihi papa se percepisse spectabilem virum Jacobum Guidini non bene tulisse, quod Senas remitteretur et dominus Bindus iret Neapolim, quia practica esset ipsius domini Bindi, mandavitque, ut scriberem magnificentiis vestris, ne aliquam sinistram opinionem contra ipsum dominum Bindum assumeretis, quia sanctitas sua motu proprio ita ordinasset, et numquam fuisset ab ipso domino Bindo requisita vel suasa; immo ipse dominus Bindus valde invitus ivisset. Ego conatus sum, quantum potui, rem ipsam parvifacere dicendo, quod domini Senenses remanerent contentissimi de omni eo, quod sua sanctitas ordinaret. Et certe, magnifici domini, mihi non constat, quod dominus Bindus hoc quaesiverit directe vel indirecte, scioque, quod ipse mihi conquestus est de suo itinere ad Neapolim, quod male libenter iret sine speciali commissione magnificentiarum vestrarum. Et jam puto bonum esse, ut per litteras vestras ejus missionem approbetis, ne videamini voluntati apostolicae adversari. Quod scio, hoc testor: meum non est uti praesumptionibus. Dominus Bindus mihi manifestavit, quando papa erat de me male informatus, itaque nullo pacto credo eum mihi adversatum esse. Papa quidem immo eum innocentem asserit esse et a se solo missum, quia visum sibi sit causam navicularii bene per doctorem absolvi posse.

¹ DV, 29. *Autograph*

660. Letter to the City of Siena (25 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As the preceding letters

Subject: Piccolomini reports news on the grain situation, the Corregian company, subsidies from the Dsiense clergy, news from Naples concerning the attitude of King Alfonso to Jacopo Piccinino, and some other matters.¹

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable lords, to be honored. After recommendation.

[1] Having considered what you wrote about the matter of the grain, I saw the pope² alone because Jacopo Guidini and Ser Bindo had gone their separate ways. I explained how things were being obstructed by Jacopo da Roma and that it was not enough to promise that the grain that had been bought could be exported, because in truth, all the grain that had been bought³ was being carried away. The pope then ordered that a letter be written to Jacopo da Roma to the effect that, whether the grain had been bought or not, he should allow whatever the Siense requested to be exported, up to the amount stipulated in the [papal] bulls and letters. And so he ordered that a *breve* be written, which should be ready today. The pope wants you to import the remaining grain from Corneto, to be sent to Siena on his behalf. This is the situation with the grain.

[2] Regarding the Corregians⁴, the pope is very pleased that an agreement has been reached. After this, he told me that he had heard that the esteemed Jacopo Guidini had not taken it well that he was sent back to Siena and that Ser Bindo⁵ went to Naples, because thus Naples business would become Bindo's⁶. He ordered me to write to Your Magnificences not to think badly about Ser Bindo since His Holiness had arranged this on his own initiative, and it had never been requested or advised by Ser Bindo. In fact, Ser Bindo went most unwillingly. I tried, as much as I could, to minimise the matter, saying that their Siense Lordships would be very content with whatever His Holiness decided. And indeed, Magnificent Lords, it is clear to me that Ser Bindo did not seek this assignment, either directly or indirectly, and I know that he complained to me about his journey to Naples, which he was loath to undertake without a special commission from Your Magnificences. I think it would be good if you now approve his mission through a letter, so that you do not seem to oppose the will of the pope. I only communicate what I know; it is not my place to make assumptions. When the pope had received false information about me⁷, it was Ser Bindo who warned me, so I have no reason whatsoever to believe that he has worked against me. Indeed, the pope asserts that Ser Bindo is innocent and that he was only sent him [to Naples] because it seemed to him that the case of the ship's captain⁸ could be well resolved by a doctor [of law].

¹ Saviano, 8.

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ By others?

⁴ The cavalry company of the now defunct Ghiberto da Corregio.

⁵ Bindo Bindi.

⁶ In spite of it having been entrusted by the Siense city government to Jacopo Guidini, see letter 658: 3.

⁷ See letter 654: 3.

⁸ Bracca, Nanni. Alfonso's pretext for declaring war on the Siense. See (among others) letters 647: 1 and 650: 4.

[3] Res autem campestris per dominum Jacobum. De subsidio habendo ex clero locutus sum papae. Is dicit se imposuisse decimam in facto Turcorum et quod nollet bis gravare clerum. Voluissem haec, cum erant hic collegae, tractata fuissent. Audivissetis ab eis, quid papa sentiat, et laicis fortasse magis quam mihi in hac re credidissetis. Certe ego putassem dignum esse subveniri in necessitatibus, sed etiam illud verum est quia bis urgeri clerum gravamine. Magnificentiae tamen vestrae poterunt iterum et iterum hoc quaerere et per alios quam per me, quia non est mihi competens (etsi dignum censeo), afflictam patriam per sacerdotes adjuvari.

[4] His explicitis, fecit verbum papa coram oratoribus ducis et Florentinorum de his, quae Matthaeus Johannes scripserat, quae in effectu haec sunt: rex Aragonum nullo pacto vult recipere Jacobum Piccininum in regno suo, sed videtur sibi bonum, quod persona ejus cum paucis remaneat in territorio Senensi usque ad ver. Societas autem ejus dividatur per territoria ecclesiae, Florentinorum et ducis Mediolani usque ad dictum tempus, itaque nocere non possint. Postea vero Jacobus (30), adveniente Majo mense, mitteretur in Albaniam contra Turcos. Scribit etiam dictus Matthaeus Johannes Antonium de Pensauro et Broccardium, qui sunt apud regem pro comite, pessime contentos esse, quia non sequitur pax, nam rex non mittit pecunias Jacobo Piccinino neque vult eum ad regnum ire. Negat quoque Matthaeus aliquas naves esse paratas, quae victualia seu praesidium aliquid Piccinino afferant, et adjicit se nihilominus cum rege amplius locuturum et deinde cum majori rerum certitudine reversurum. Ex rege nihil aliud est.

[5] Cum magnifico domino Alexandro Sfortia sum locutus, quia dixerat aliqua se velle referre scitu utilia, postquam papa adivisset. Scrutatus sum, quaenam essent. Dixit se advisatum de quodam tractatu, quem haberet Jacobus in Radicofano, et de hoc Jacobum Guidini instructum recessisse. Deinde ait se certioratum scripsisse Jacobum Piccininum regi Aragonum, quod aliquos conductores ad se trahere posset ex his, qui sibi obstant, si haberet pecuniam, sed noluit quemquam nominare dicens nec sibi cognita esse nomina. Forsitan istae sunt artes mundi.

[3] Matters at the camp are handled by Ser Jacopo¹. I spoke to the pope about obtaining a subsidy² from the [Sienese] clergy. He said he had already imposed a tithe for the Turkish venture³ and did not want to burden the clergy twice. I would have preferred that this matter had been discussed when my colleagues were here. Then you would have heard from them what the pope thinks about this matter, and you might have believed them more than me⁴. I certainly consider it fitting to provide aid in times of need, but it is also true that to impose a subsidy on the clergy now would be to burden it twice. Nevertheless, Your Magnificences may return to this matter again and again, and through others rather than through me, as it is not within my authority (although I do consider it appropriate) to allow the priests to help your afflicted country.

[4] With these matters settled, the pope spoke before the envoys of the duke⁵ and the Florentines about what Mateu Jovan had written, which essentially is this: The King of Aragon,⁶ under no circumstances, wants to receive Jacopo Piccinino in his kingdom. However, he thinks it would be good if Jacopo, with a few men, remains in the territory of Siena until spring. His company, on the other hand, should be divided among the territories of the Church, the Florentines, and the Duke of Milan until that time, so they cannot cause harm. Afterward, in May, Jacopo would be sent to Albania against the Turks. Mateu Jovan also writes that Antonio de Pensauero and Broccardo⁷, who are with the king on behalf of the count⁸, are very frustrated that peace is not forthcoming, for the king is not sending money to Jacopo Piccinino, nor does he want him to enter the kingdom⁹. Mateu also denies that any ships are ready to bring supplies or reinforcements to Piccinino. He adds that he will speak further with the king about these matters and then return with more reliable information. There is nothing else from the king.

[5] I spoke with His Magnificence, Lord Alessandro Sforza¹⁰, for he had said he wanted to report something useful once he had been with the pope. I enquired what it was. He said he had been informed of a certain negotiation that Jacopo¹¹ had in Radicofani and that Jacopo Guidini had left with information about it. Then he said he had learned that Jacopo Piccinino had written to the King of Aragon that he could win over some of the mercenary captains now opposing him¹², if he had the money. Alessandro did not want to name anyone, saying the names were not known to him. Perhaps these are the cunning tricks of the world.

¹ Jacopo Guidini.

² For the war.

³ The papal fleet against the Turks.

⁴ As Bishop of Siena, Piccolomini might be suspected of favouring the clergy and, in reality, not agreeing with the demand of a subsidy from it.

⁵ Francesco I Sforza.

⁶ Alfonso V The Magnanimous.

⁷ Broccardo Persico, secretary of Jacopo Piccinino.

⁸ Jacopo Piccinino

⁹ The kingdom of Naples.

¹⁰ Alessandro Sforza (1409-1463): Brother of Francesco I Sforza. Condottiero. Lord of Pesaro.

¹¹ Jacopo Piccinino.

¹² And presumably being in the pay of Siena or the pope.

[6] Scripseram jam haec, cum novae litterae vestrae redditae sunt, per quas requiritis habere a papa litteras, quae contra vestrum collegium et me scriptae fuere, e aliqua alia. Ibo captata hora ad papam et cuncta sibi exponam et perscrutabo litteras sibi directas, et quid dabitur responsi, significabo. Interim non velint magnificentiae vestrae aliquam novitatem contra aliquem facere aut hac de causa mittere huc oratores, nam papa non est malo animo, et restincta est omnis sinistra opinio, quamvis periculosissima res fuit contra collegium vestrum et me intentata. Sed isti sunt fructus mundi, et per hoc transire nos oportet! Significabo vestris magnificentiis, quaecumque occurrent.

Ex Roma, die 25. Novembris¹ 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ ~~de sero~~ seq. cod.

[6] I had already written this when your new letter was delivered, in which you request from the pope the letters that were written against your College and me, as well as something else. I will seize the right moment to go to the pope and explain everything to him. I shall carefully examine the letters sent to him and inform you of the response to be given. In the meantime, I ask Your Magnificences to refrain from taking any new actions against anyone or from sending envoys here in this matter, for the pope is not ill-disposed towards us, and all negative opinions have been dispelled, although it was a very dangerous intrigue that was mounted against your College and me. But such are the fruits of the world, and we must accept it! I shall inform Your Magnificences of whatever occurs.

From Rome, 29 November 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

661. Letter to the City of Siena (25 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro 1983, c. 75 II r **: VI, ff. 63r-63v **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {75r} Post haec scripta habuit sanctissimus dominus noster litteras et avisamenta ex curia regis Aragonum, quod rex quodammodo contentaretur Jacobum Piccininum reverti Castilionem et ibi hiemare et amplius non offendere quemquam, restituendo Urbetellum et alia occupata; sed vellet, quod interim pro sustentatione darentur comiti Jacobo XX milia ducatorum, de quibus papa V, Veneti totidem, Senenses et dux Mediolani reliqua ...¹ decem milia, et interrogavit, quid videretur. Oratores ducis dixerunt, quod dominus eorum faceret, quaecumque vellet papa, sed contra honorem suum nullo modo aliquid ageret, et quod domino duci est magna verecundia solvere unum obulum Jacobo Piccinino, quasi pro primo spoliis suorum. Libentius exponeret mille ducatos contra eum in bello quam sibi unum denarium ex pacto daret, et eodem fere modo locutus est orator Florentinorum. Haec habeant magnificentiae vestrae pro avisamento. Non potui adhuc loqui de facto litterarum interceptarum, sed hoc sero ero, ut credo, cum sanctissimo domino nostro et sibi rem exponam praesentatis litteris.

Ex Roma, ipsa die Sanctae Caterinae 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ One word illegible ASS; lacuna

VI

661. Letter to the City of Siena (25 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As the preceding letters

Subject: The latest news from Naples. King Alfonso had now proposed a financial settlement of the conflict, to be borne by the other members of the League.

[1] After I had written these things¹, Our Most Holy Lord² received letters and reports from the court of the King of Aragon³, stating that it would be enough for the king if Jacopo Piccinino were to return to Castiglione⁴ and spend the winter there, returning Orbetello and other occupied territories⁵ and without causing any further offence to anyone. However, the king desired that, in the meantime, 20,000 ducats be given to Count Jacopo for his maintenance, of which the pope should provide 5,000, the Venetians the same amount, and the Sienese and the Duke of Milan⁶ the remaining 10,000. The pope asked us what we thought. The duke's envoys said that their lord would do whatever the pope wished, but under no circumstances would he act against his own honour, and that it would be most disgraceful for the duke to pay even one *obol*⁷ to Jacopo Piccinino, as if a first installment of his spoils. He would rather spend a thousand ducats to fight against him in war than give him a single *denarius* in a settlement.⁸ The Florentine envoy spoke in almost the same way. Let Your Magnificences take this information under advisement. I have not yet been able to speak about the matter of the intercepted letters, but I think that I shall meet with Our Most Holy Lord this evening, and then I will explain the matter to him, along with your letter.

From Rome, on the day of Saint Catherine, 1455. Aeneas, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Letter 661.

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ Alfonso III the Magnanimous.

⁴ Castiglione delle Pescaia. Confirmation that Piccinino had been staying in Orbetello.

⁵ Top Siena.

⁶ Francesco I Sforza.

⁷ Meaning a coin of the smallest possible denomination.

⁸ Understandably, the duke would not pay for the maintenance of a

captain who might very well be fighting him next. See letter 650: 6.

662. Letter to the City of Siena (27 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro 1986, c. 53a-c¹ **; V1, ff. 65r-68v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{53a} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Heri ad multam noctem habita sanctissimi domini nostri ampla audientia, decrevi verbum facere de litteris, quae dicebantur interceptae, confictae in vestrum et meum scandalum, et quoniam scripta vestra ita copiosa, ornata et caute composita erant, ut nihil addi posset, statui ea ex ordine legere. Ibi enim et fraus innexa dolosorum hominum et vestra sincerrima fides et mea innocentia ita dcllarabatur, ut nihil opus esset alia oratione. Papa ubi² lecturam audivit, “Utinam,” inquit, “has litteras videret rex Aragonum, aliam enim opinionem indueret de Senensibus, quam nunc habet.” Exin loquens ad litteras interceptas, “Numquam ego,” inquit, “litteras illas veras esse credidi, sed malignorum hominum tegnas et dolos Satanae, qui non cessat humano generi illudere et insidias moliriri. Ac propterea mox litteras illas veluti confictas igni³ tradidi. De Senensibus quidem ac de te fidem indubiam gerimus. Facessat⁴ omnis suspicio, nihilque amplius vel tu vel Senenses ipsi de re hac mentionem feceritis. Nihil est enim, cur turbemini, et nos certe, quamvis de Senensibus semper bene sensimus, oblectamur tamen, nescimus quomodo magnopere, dum has litteras audimus tanto fervore plenas. Videmus enim Senenses fiduciam in nobis certissimam posuisse, neque frustrabuntur neque deserentur a nobis. Tantum forti animo perseverent neque ob hanc causam ad nos oratores mittere curent. Supervacaneum enim esset, et nobis, dum puro corde loquimur, non credere viderentur.”

[2] Ad rem autem frumentariam jussit, ut brevia quaecumque viderentur opportuna, conscribi mandarem, quia sua sententia esset omnem illam summam in brevibus et bullis expressam absque contradictione extrahi et ad vos deduci, quae extendit se circiter ad duo milia modiorum tritici. De Corneto autem contentatur, ut, quantum vultis, asportetis terra marique. Sed viam maris insecurem arbitratur, etiam si navigio papali frumentum veheretur, quemadmodum alias scriptum est. Atque in hunc modum res frumentaria sese habet.

¹ *Autograph*

² uti V1

³ qui V1

⁴ recessat V1

662. Letter to the City of Siena (27 November 1455, Rome).¹

Context: As the preceding letter.

Subject: Piccolomini reports on his latest meeting with the pope: The forged letter incriminating Siena and Piccolomini had had no influence on the pope; the grain problem appears to be settled; the matter concerning the siege of Orbetello has yet to be resolved; King Alfonso has postponed his declaration of war against the Siennese; a papal legate has gone to France; the Franciscans have offered to outfit three war galleys against the Turks.²

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] Yesterday, until late into the night, during a lengthy audience with Our Most Holy Lord³, I decided to speak about the intercepted letters, forged to bring scandal upon both you and me. And since your own letter is so abundant, ornate, and cautiously composed that nothing could be added, I decided to read it to the pope from the beginning to the end. For in it, both the fraud of deceitful men and your own most sincere loyalty, as well as my own innocence, were stated so clearly that no further speech was necessary. When the pope heard it, he said, "If only the King of Aragon⁴ could see this letter, for he would then form a different opinion of the Siennese than he now has." Then, speaking about the intercepted letters, he said, "I never believed those letters to be true, but rather the schemes and deceits of malicious men, and the tricks of Satan, who does not cease to deceive and lay traps for the human race. Therefore, I immediately had those clearly forged letters thrown on the fire. The people of Siena and you have my unshakeable trust. Away with all suspicion. Neither you nor the Siennese need make any further mention of this matter. There is no reason for you to be disturbed. And indeed, although we have always thought well of the Siennese, we are nevertheless delighted - we cannot say how greatly - hearing this letter, so full of fervor. For we see that the Siennese have placed the utmost trust in us, and they will not be deceived or abandoned by us. Let them only persevere with a brave heart and not trouble themselves to send ambassadors to Us on this matter. It would be unnecessary, and it would seem that they did not trust Us, despite our speaking with complete sincerity."

[2] As for the matter of grain, the pope commanded that I should request such briefs to be written that seemed suitable, because in his opinion, the entire sum, as stipulated in briefs and bulls (without any possible contradiction), could be exported and delivered to you, amounting to approximately two thousand bushels of wheat. As for Corneto, he is satisfied that you may take as much as you wish and transport it by land and sea. However, he considers the sea route unsafe, even if the grain were carried by the papal ship, as was previously written. And thus, the situation concerning the grain stands.

¹ Saviano, 9.

² On this letter, see Banchi, p. 240.

³ Pope Callixtus III.

⁴ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

[3] De Corrigianis placet concordatum esse. Querelas de vobis factis ab his, qui sunt in campo praesulibus, excusatas habere se pontifex ait putareque nihil in vobis deesse, quando res, ut scribitis, vestra geritur. De reductione campi versus Urbetellum, quamvis prius statuta res esset, postea tamen mutata sententia est, quia omnes de campo rem illam difficultant et cupiunt habere mansiones ad hibernandum. Super qua re modo consilia captantur, et alii hoc, alii illud suadent. Sed mihi non videtur hoc esse negotium, quod hic determinari possit, cum neque locorum, neque personarum conditiones noscamus. Dixi meo iudicio mittendum esse unum, qui cum episopis et ducibus exercitus ac commissariis Senensium rem hanc transigerent. Nescio, quid fiet. Sententia communis est, quia gentes utiles collocentur ex opposito Urbetelli in oppidis vicinis et in Grosseto atque Ischia, qui obviant Castri Leonis, {53b} si forte illic hostes aliqui remansissent, aut furtim illuc mari regrederentur. Alios autem homines, qui vel minus fideles sunt vel inutiles, in patrimonio ecclesiae reducendos putant. Nondum tamen scio, quid papa facturus sit.

[4] De commissariis in campo non retentis, audivit pontifex excusationem neque contra locutus est, aitque bonum esse, quod illic commissarius semper aliquis sit, et stat in proposito de Jacobo Guidini. De reditu Jacobi Piccinini ad Urbetellum jam diu pontifex certior factus est, atque idcirco non videtur illa ordinatio prior de campo illuc deducendo tenenda.

[3] Concerning the Correggians¹, the pope is pleased that an understanding has been reached. He said that he has accepted the excuses [you have presented] concerning the complaints against you by the bishops² in the camp, and he believes that nothing is lacking on your part since, as you have written, your affairs are being properly managed. Although it was previously decided to move the camp toward Orbetello, it was changed later because all in the camp thought it would be very difficult, and they wish to establish winter quarters. Various plans are currently being considered, with some advising one thing and others another. However, in my opinion, this is not a matter that can be decided here since we are not familiar with the conditions of the locations or the people. I suggested that someone should be sent to settle the matter with the bishops, the leaders of the army, and the commissioners of Siena. I do not know what will be decided. The common opinion is that suitable forces should be stationed opposite Orbetello in the neighbouring towns, as well as in Grosseto and Ischia, to defend against Castiglione in case any enemies have remained there or attempt to return by sea. As for the other men, who are either less loyal or useless, they think they should be sent back to the Patrimony of the Church³. However, I do not yet know what the pope will decide.

[4] Concerning your commissioners not being kept in the camp, the pope heard your excuse and did not contradict it, saying only that there should always be a commissioner there. He remains firm in his decision regarding Jacopo Guidini. The pope was informed long ago about the return of Jacopo Piccinino to Orbetello, and for this reason, it seems that the earlier plan to move the camp from there is no longer relevant.

¹ Correggan company. Cavalry company of the defunct Ghiberto da Correggo.

² The papal commissioners, including Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti (Aicardi).

³ Church lands.

[5] De Matthaeo Johanne, quantum habitum esset, in tempus exactum scriptum est. Nunc, quae secuta sunt, adjiciam. Heri dixit pontifex oratoribus Florentinorum et ducis Mediolani ac mihi se habuisse litteras Matthaei in hanc sententiam. Scribebat ille se fuisse cum rege ad longam horam, solum cum solo, atque inter loquendum vicisse quodammodo regem, ut Jacobum Piccininum ad se vocaret in regnum. Sed cum prope rex consentiret, pulsatum esse ostium, nuntiatumque litteras adesse ex praefecto Castri Leonis, tumque regem intromisso tabellario legisse epistolas praefecti cognitaque diffidatione missa Senensibus et responsione eorum, qui negassent quinque milia solvere, in grandem iram exarsisse vociferantemque dixisse “Siccine Senenses illudunt nobis, ut neque spoliato subdito nostro velint satisfacere, siccine nostra mansuetudine abutuntur. Adjumento erimus Jacobo Piccinino, commeatum ministrabimus, aurum dabimus, equos, arma, viros. Naves adversus Senenses armatas et admodum instructas mittemus, experiemurque Senenses, an rex Aragonum bello plus valeant.” Exinde inquit Matthaeus Johannes adversus iratum tumentemque regem se miti voce tot tantaque dixisse, ut aliquantulum irae diminuerit feceritque diligentia Matthaei, ut rex diffidationis effectum suspenderit promiseritque supersedere in prosecutione offensionis. Interrogatus tamen rex, quoad vellet differre offensas, noluit aliud dicere, nisi quantum sibi videretur, atque haec sunt, quae Matthaeus ex rege se habere scribit rogatque, ut¹ papa eum revocet. Ex his colligimus, quia rex adhuc tractatum cupit, quando suspendit offensas. Papa autem existimat dominum Bindum bona hora illuc ivisse. Sperat enim regem mitiorem fieri et ait se scripsisse Matthaeo Johanni et regi tali modo, quod dominus Bindus omnino et cito audientiam habebit.

[6] Praeterea dixit papa se remisisse thesaurarium suum ad regem cum mandatis hujusmodi: mirari se, quod rex potentissimus tam ferocem se ostendat contra humiliores Italiae potentiam: id quidem non esse regium; suadere, ut sineret Senenses in pace, aut revocaret ad se Jacobum Piccininum, aut eum desereret, sineretque papam, ducem Mediolani et reliquos adversus violatorem communis pacis agere. Quod si non annueret, expectaret ligam totam {53c} contra se indignari et requirere foederis observantiam. Melius esset, quod sua majestas revocaret ad se Jacobum, quod si faceret, speraret modum invenire, quod aliqua summa pecuniae sibi daretur, qua posset sustentari hoc hiemis reliquo, cumque his mandatis ivisse thesaurarium ad regem. Matthaeo vero scriptum, ne recedat illinc, sed juvet D. Bindum et studeat regis finale responsum habere. Haec sunt, quae hactenus in re bellica gesta sunt. Fama² tamen hic est regem Aragonum duas naves cum equis ad Jacobum misisse. Papa nihil horum habet, immo nescio, an credibile sit. Timendus tamen est hostis.

¹ rogat quod V1

² forma V1

[5] What we had previously heard regarding Mateu Jovan I wrote then. Now, I will add what has happened since. Yesterday, the pope told the ambassadors of Florence, the Duke of Milan, and me that he had received a letter from Mateu with the following content. Matteo wrote that he had had a long conversation with the king, under four eyes, and during their conversation, he had almost persuaded the king to summon Jacopo Piccinino to the kingdom. However, just as the king was about to agree, there was a knock on the door, and it was announced that a letter had arrived from the governor¹ of Castiglione. The messenger was admitted, and the king read the letter. Upon learning of the Sienese response to the declaration of war and their refusal to pay the five thousand ducats², he flew into a great rage and shouted, "Is this how the Sienese mock us, that they refuse to recompensate our subject³ whom they have despoiled? Is this how they abuse our leniency? We will support Jacopo Piccinino. We will provide supplies, gold, horses, arms, and men. We will send ships, fully armed and equipped, against the Sienese, and then we shall see who will be the strongest in war: the Sienese or the King of Aragon." Then Mateu Jovan spoke softly to the angry and excited king, and he was able to somewhat ease the king's anger. Through Mateu's efforts, the king agreed to suspend the execution of the declaration of war and promised to delay further attacks. However, when asked how long he intended to postpone the hostilities, the king refused to say anything other than that it would be for as long as he saw fit. This is what Mateu reports he got from the king, and he requests that the pope recall him. From this, we understand that the king still desires negotiations since he has suspended the hostilities. The pope believes that Ser Bindo went there at the right time, hoping that the king will become mollified, and says that he has written to Mateu Jovan and the king in such a way that Ser Bindo will undoubtedly and swiftly be granted an audience.

[6] Furthermore, the pope said that he had sent his treasurer to the king with the following message: he was surprised that such a powerful king would show such ferocity against the most humble power in Italy. That, indeed, was not kingly behaviour. He advised the king to leave the Sienese in peace; to either recall Jacopo Piccinino or abandon him; and to suffer that the pope, the Duke of Milan, and the others acted against [him as] the violator of the common peace. If the king did not agree, he should expect the entire League to rise against him in indignation and demand the observance of the treaty. It would be better if His Majesty were to recall Jacopo⁴. If he did so, the pope hoped to find a way for some sum of money to be given to Jacopo for his maintenance the rest of the winter. With these instructions, the treasurer went to the king. To Mateu, however, it was written that he should not leave but assist Ser Bindo and endeavour to obtain the king's final response. These are the developments in military matters up to this point. However, it is rumoured here that the King of Aragon has sent two pships with horses to Jacopo. The pope has no knowledge of this, and I do not know whether it is credible. In any case, the enemy must still be feared.

¹ Joan de Liria.

² In compensation for the ship previously seized by the Sienese.

³ Nanni Bracca.

⁴ Jacopo Piccinino.

[7] Post haec de rebus contra Turcos haec retulit nobis papa: legatum Galliarum in provinciam Provinciae profectum magnifice receptum, in dalphinatu magnificentius: dalphinum ei obviam venisse crucemque scapulis cardinalis affixam ter osculatum; decimas exigi, indulgentias praedicari jussisse seque gloriose obtulisse in Dei servitium; regem Franciae cupidum visendi legatum; conventionis die in oppido quodam prope Lugdunum dixisse; nec dubium esse, quin omnes Galliae excitentur.

[8] Eo sero ante nos fuere cum papa fratres aliquot S. Francisci de observantia petieruntque tria corpora galearum, quas mense Martio armatas in mari reddere promiserere, remigium ipsi ducerent, milites bello idoneos, arma et commeatus argento conducerent, quod apud pias personas custoditum haberent. Papa petitioni annuit. De Columbaria non ambigo ad vos famam esse delatam, ubi duo filii domini loci occisi sunt. Cardinalis de Columna eo profectus concordiam tractat, quae difficillima est in tanto scelere. Nec alia modo.

Commendo me vestris magnificentiis. Ex Roma, die 27. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[7] After this, the pope told us the following concerning the matters against the Turks: the legate to France¹ had gone to the province of Provence and was received magnificently and even more splendidly in the Dauphiné. The Dauphin² himself came to meet him and kissed the cross attached to the cardinal's shoulders three times. He ordered the collection of tithes and the preaching of indulgences, and he offered himself gloriously to the service of God. The King of France³ is eager to see the legate and has set a day for their meeting in a town near Lyon. There is no doubt that all of France will be stirred to action⁴.

[8] Late yesterday, several friars of the Observant branch of the Franciscans came before the pope while we were with him and requested three galleys, which they promised to arm and make ready for the sea by March. They themselves would hire the oarsmen, recruit soldiers fit for war, and supply arms and provisions with money they had collected from pious people. The pope granted their petition⁵. I do not doubt you have heard that two sons of the lord of Columbaria have been killed. Cardinal Colonna⁶ has gone there to negotiate peace, which is very difficult given such a heinous crime. There is nothing else [of note] at this time.

I commend myself to Your Magnificences. From Rome, 27 November 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville. See CRDM, 5: 8.

² Louis XI (1423-1483): King of France from 1461 to his death.

³ Charles VII (1403-1461): Ruler of France from 1422 to his death.

⁴ See Banchi, p. 240, n. 1

⁵ On this passage, see Saviano, p. 434

⁶ Prospero Colonna.

663. Letter to the City of Siena (30 November 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro 1986, c. 56^l **: VI, ff. 69r-72r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {56r} Videbitis, magnifici et potentes domini, quae praefecti castrorum episcopi sanctissimo domino nostro scribunt, et quomodo commotus exinde summus pontifex collegio vestro rescribit. Episcoporum litterae legatis ducis et Florentinorum lectae coram fuere, et inde non parum submurmuratum est, et praesertim de materia Corrigianorum, de quibus factam esse cum domino Baptista concordiam scripseratis. Multum eam ob causam turbata est pietas apostolica, quae sibi verba esse data existimat et timet recessum Corrigianorum, ne ad hostem proficiscantur, et videtur sua sanctitas nescio quid suspicari, ne parum constantes sitis. Legati Mediolanenses hoc negotium de Corrigianis multum extollunt et omnino retinendam societatem affirmant. Ego, quae potui, ad honestandas res vestras sum locutus dicens, quaecumque ex vobis deficerent, ab impossibilitate procedere, quoniam jam essetis exhausti, quodque praefecti castrorum libenter suam negligentiam vel culpam in alios derivarent, expectandumque esse certius responsum vestrum, ut sciremus, qua de causa Corrigiani non essent conducti, quia since urgenti et magna causa non omitterentur.

[2] De peditibus ex comitatu conductis, dixi id factum esse, quia mallent Senenses suis subditis credere oppida quam Sclavis aut Hungaris, neque eligerent non probatos in armis. Papa tamen visus est plus scribentibus episcopis quam mihi² credere, et ideo scribit vobis, ut videbitis. Mihi omnino videtur expediens, ut suae voluntati morem geratis, si possibile quoquomodo est, neque enim video, quod brevi haec belli tempestas defutura sit.

¹ *Autograph*

² in V1

663. Letter to the City of Siena (30 November 1455, Rome).

Context: As the preceding letters.

Subject: Various news about the conflict with Piccinino and King Alfonso.¹

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] You will see what the bishops² in charge of the camps write to Our Most Holy Lord³, and what the Supreme Pontiff, deeply upset by these matters, writes to Your college. The letter of the bishops was read before envoys of the duke⁴ and the Florentines and caused quite a stir, especially regarding the Correggians, concerning whom you had written that an agreement had been made with Ser Battista⁵. His Apostolic Piety was greatly disturbed by this: he feels that he has been strung along with words and fears the Correggians will leave and join the enemy. Indeed, His Holiness seems to suspect something - I do not know what - and perhaps doubts your firmness. The Milanese envoys attach great importance to this issue of the Correggians and insist that their company be retained. I spoke as best I could to justify your actions, saying that whatever failures there were on your part stemmed from lack of means, since you were already exhausted, and that those in charge of the camp⁶ were keen to shift their own negligence or blame onto others. We must await a more definite response from you, so we can know the true reason why the Correggians were not hired, for they would not have been let go without an urgent and significant cause.

[2] Regarding the footsoldiers recruited from the county, I said that this had been done because the Sienese preferred to entrust their towns to their own subjects rather than to Slavs or Hungarians, and they would not choose men unproven in battle. However, the pope seemed to believe the bishops who wrote to him more than he believed me, and for this reason, he is writing to you, as you will see. It seems to me entirely advisable that you comply with his wishes, if at all possible, for I do not foresee this storm of war ending anytime soon.

¹ Saviano, 10

² Including Bartolemo Visconti (Aicardi).

³ Pope Callixtus III.

⁴ Francesco I Sforza.

⁵ Battista de Brendo.

⁶ The bishops.

[3] Scripsi vobis regem Aragonum, intellecta diffidatione et responsione vestra, mirabiliter indignatum fuisse et multa minatum, sicut scripsit Matthaeus Johannes, qui tamen¹ ait regem² suspendisse ad suum beneplacitum executionem diffidationis. Voluisset Mattheus reverti, sed papa scripsit ei, ut remaneret et juvaret expeditionem domini Bindi. Nihil adhuc habemus, quid postea factum sit. Legati autem ducis Mediolani ostenderunt papae litteras, me praesente, scriptas per dominum Albericum Malettam ex Cajeta, quarum effectus hic erat, quod negotia inter sanctissimum dominum nostrum et regem Aragonum dietim fierent deteriora. Quibus auditis obstupuit aliquantulum papa, deinde dixit, “Ecce, haec patior propter Senenses, nam cum rege nulla est mihi differentia nisi propter Jacobum Piccininum, quem persequor, ne Senenses opprimat injuste.” Deinde ait thesaurarium suum ivisse de novo et jam esse debere cum rege, qui finale responsum allaturus esset³.

[4] Orator regius hic est, vir bonus et magni nominis. Is libenter ad regem remearet sperans, quod aliquid boni posset efficere, et dixit mihi sibi videri, quod in facto Cajetani Senenses sese regi humiliarent, quia ita sit natura regis, ut revereri velit. Papa non vult, quod ipse recedat, {56v} nisi prius aliud responsum habeatur ex rege.

[5] Timeo et iterum timeo, ne res hujusmodi longiusculae sint. Utcumque est, vos eam praeparationem facere oportet, tamquam durius in dies bellum immineat et fortem animum adversis opponere rebus. Sic enim facilius pax invenietur, et tunc potissimum fulcienda sunt oppida et custodiendi fines, cum tractatur concordia. Hostis noster, ut papa certioratus est, egestate premitur et admodum conqueritur eo loci se deductum esse neque magna ex rege auxilia praestolatur, cum dicat neque filium ab eo fuisse adjutum. Mea sententia nulla nobis via salubrior est quam papae voluntati acquiescere et, quaecumque fieri possunt ad tutelam nostram et hostium invasionem praeparare. Interea aliquid boni nascetur.

[6] Dixi papae de facto Venetorum, quae retulit Franciscus Lucius. Papa respondit nondum fuisse scripta sua Venetis, cum Franciscus inde recessit, et sperat in brevi legatum mitti. De facto castrorum papa, victus precibus multorum, tandem consensit milites ad hiberna mittendos, et facta est una ordinatio, quae mittitur in scriptis illis de campo et notificabitur etiam vobis. Sanctissimus dominus noster multum cupit, ut illi ordinationi acquiescatis. Credo, papa voluisset praefectos castrorum una vobiscum cuncta ordinasse, sed illi duas schedulas in discordia misere. Ideo necesse fuit hic provideri.

¹ tum V1

² omit. V1

³ esse V1

[3] I wrote to you that the King of Aragon¹, having heard about your response to the declaration of war, was greatly angered and made many threats, as Mateu Jovan wrote, although he also stated that the king had suspended the execution of the declaration of war at his own discretion². Mateu wished to return [to Rome], but the pope wrote to him, instructing him to remain [in Naples] and assist the mission of Ser Bindo³. We have not yet heard what has happened since. However, while I was present, the envoys of the Duke of Milan showed the pope letters written by Lord Alberico Maletta⁴ from Gaeta, which claimed that the relationship between Our Most Holy Lord and the King of Aragon was worsening daily. Upon hearing this, the pope was somewhat astonished and then said, “See, this is what I suffer because of the Sieneese, for I have no difference with the king except because of Jacopo Piccinino, whom I am pursuing lest he unjustly oppress the Sieneese.” He then said that his treasurer had recently left again and should now be with the king to bring back a final response.

[4] The royal envoy⁵ is here, a good man of excellent reputation. He would willingly return to the king, hoping that he might accomplish something good, and he told me that it seemed to him that in I already wrote to you about on the past Saturday the matter of Gaeta, the Sieneese should humble themselves before the king, for the king’s character is such that he desires to be shown reverence. However, the pope does not wish for the envoy to leave until another response has been received from the king.

[5] I greatly fear that these matters will take some time. In any case, you must make preparations as though the war were growing harsher day by day, and you must show fortitude under adverse circumstances. For in this way, peace will be found more easily, and it is precisely when peace is being negotiated that towns should be fortified and borders guarded. As the pope has been informed, our enemy⁶ is burdened by poverty and complains bitterly that he has been brought to such a state and that he is not expecting great help from the king, who says that Piccinino did not help his son⁷ either. In my opinion, there is no safer course for us than to acquiesce to the will of the pope and prepare everything possible for our defence and against enemy attacks. In the meantime, something good will arise.

[6] I spoke to the pope about the matter of the Venetians, which Francesco Lucio had reported. The pope responded that his letter had not yet reached the Venetians when Francesco left, and he hopes to send an envoy shortly. As for the camps, the pope, won over by the prayers of many, finally agreed to send the soldiers to winter quarters, and an ordinance was made, which will be sent to those in the camp. You will also be notified. Our Most Holy Lord greatly desires that you comply with this ordinance. I think the pope would have preferred that those in charge of the camp had arranged everything with you, but they sent two conflicting proposals. Therefore, it was necessary to make provisions here.

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

² Letter 662: 5.

³ Bindo Bindi.

⁴ Maletta, Alberico (1410-1466): Count. Doctor of laws.

Councillor of the marquesses of Este and, from 1453, of Francesco I Sforza, Duke of Milan.

⁵ Juan de Híjar (Saviano, p. 459).

⁶ Jacopo Piccinino.

⁷ Ferrante I.

[7] Audio, quod gentes ducales sunt male provisi, nec Simonettus a Florentinis stipendia consequitur opportuna, et nihilominus super nos omnes clamant. Tolerandum est, quia nostra magis interest. Ait etiam sanctissimus dominus noster persuasum esse regi, quod Senenses libenter tolerarent Piccininum in territorio suo per hanc hiemem et darent sibi 12 milia ducatorum, dummodo interim non offenderent et post hiemem abiret (71v) restituTis castris. Dixi me nihil ex his scire neque me credere aliquem esse, qui talia auderet de Senensibus affirmare, nisi temerarii essent. Hoc autem Lme certum habere, quia Senenses nihiL quaerent sine voluntate papae, saltem illos, quos penes est belli potestas et pacis.

[8] Habetis omnia, quae huc usque gesta sunt. Quia vero longius se negotia protendunt, et mihi onerosum est hic esse, vobis autem parum utile, peto, ut sinatis me domum reverti.

Ex Roma, die 30. Novembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

De frumento scripsi alias saepe. Dominus noster contentus est servare brevia et bullas et ita mandavit. Reliquum habere oportet de Corneto. Per mare non potest mitti, quia perderetur. Rhodienses¹ petunt sex milia modiorum tritici, quod si non habeant, dicunt insulam iri perditum in manus Turcorum.

¹ *em.*; Rodiendes codd.

[7] I hear that the ducal forces are poorly provisioned and that Simonetto is not receiving appropriate wages from the Florentines, and yet they all complain about us. We must endure this because our case is more important. Our Most Holy Lord also says that the king is convinced that the Sieneſe would willingly tolerate Piccinino in their territory during this winter and would give him 12,000 ducats, provided that he would not harm them during that time and would leave after the winter, once the fortresses were restored. I ſaid that I knew nothing of this and that I did not believe anyone would dare to ſay ſuch things about the Sieneſe unless they were reckless. However, I was certain of this: the Sieneſe would ſeek nothing without the pope's conſent, at leaſt not thoſe who hold the power of war and peace.

[8] You now have heard everything that has been done up to this point. Since matters are dragging on and my ſtaying here is burdensome for me and of little uſe to you, I aſk that you allow me to return home.

From Rome, 30 November 1455. Enea, Biſhop of Siena.

As for the grain, I have written to you often. Our Lord is content to iſſue briefs and bulls and has ſo ordered. The reſt muſt be obtained from Corneto. It cannot be ſent by ſea, as it would be loſt. The Rhodians are requeſting ſix thouſand buſhels of wheat, ſaying that if they do not get it, the iſland will fall into the hands of the Turks.

664. Letter to the City of Siena (2 December 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro 1986, c. 57¹ **; V1, ff. 73r-76r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{57a} Magnifici ac potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Nocte, quae proxima cucurrit, lectae sunt coram sanctissimo domino nostro litterae serenissimi² domini Venetiarum, hujus sententiae: ajunt Veneti se cognovisse responsum datum oratori regis Aragonum per papam³, cujus copiam alias collegio vestro feci, responsionemque ipsam laudant, deinde dicunt se intelligere avisamentum de danda aliqua pecuniarum summa Jacobo Piccinino per potentatus ligae, de qua re multum se excusant, allegantes varias necessitates, et denique ajunt, quod nullo modo possent contribuere in hac materia dandae pecuniae comiti Jacobo. Haec scripserunt cardinali Sancti Marci; ipse autem litteras ostendit. Deinde ait habere se litteras plurium civium Venetorum, qui primates habentur, quomodo orator Senensium illuc applicuerit et exposuerit diffidationem factam per regem, de qua re dominium illud valde admiratum sit et indignatum, et quod non dubitatur, quin illa dominatio⁴ ad obviandum calidior efficiatur. Tunc papa jussit de novo scribi et significari Venetis quaecumque secuta sunt postea cum rege, et iterum requiri eos, ut oratorem mittant quantocius una cum ducalibus et Florentinis ad requirendum eum de observantia ligae, quamvis alias eisdem Venetis scriptum esset, sed adhuc non potuerat haberi responsum.

[2] Heri advenerat dominus Baptista de Brendo ex campo cum nonnullis armigeris principalibus illorum de Corrigia. Is fecit relationem papae de omnibus, quae tractavit vobiscum et certe satis favorabiliter et pro honore vestro excusando, quod quidquid deficeret in vobis, non esset ex negligentia seu mala intentione, sed prorsus ex impotentia. Dominus noster nihilominus valde aegre tulit, quod materia Corrigensium non esset concordata, et deliberavit dare nunc quingentos ducatos illis de Corrigia, quos exbursare debent 3 cardinales de Ursinis, Firmanus et camerarius. Sed isti volunt unam bullam, quod nisi vos eis ipsas pecunias infra certum tempus restituatis, contra vos repressalias facere possint, et ita papa eis promisit, quia dicit ita expedire et vos obligatos esse illis de Corrigia, intenditque quod omnino satisfaciatis debito modo de praestito, quia promissum eis est. Dominus Baptista reputat, quod hanc rem possit componere de praeterito pro duobus milibus ducatorum, non computanda, quae debentur domino Novariensi, qui eis certam summam persolvit.

¹ *Autograph*

² *omit.* V1

³ ajunt Veneti ... papam *omit.* V1

⁴ *donatio* V1

664. Letter to the City of Siena (2 December 1455, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: Various developments in the negotiations.¹

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] Last night, a letter of the Most Serene Dominion of Venice was read before Our Most Holy Lord². The essence of the letter was the following: the Venetians say they have seen the response given to the ambassador³ of the King of Aragon⁴ by the pope, a copy of which I previously sent to your College. They commend the response itself. Concerning the grant of a sum of money to Jacopo Piccinino by the powers of the league, they excuse themselves greatly, citing various needs, and conclude that in no way can they contribute to such a grant. They wrote this to Cardinal of San Marco⁵, and it was he who presented the letter. He went on to say that he had letters from several Venetian citizens, who are considered leaders, on the arrival of the Sienese ambassador and his exposition of the king's declaration of war⁶. The Venetian dominion was greatly astonished and indignant at this declaration and would undoubtedly become keen to oppose it. Then the pope ordered that another letter be written to inform the Venetians regarding what had followed in relation to the king. Again, they are requested to send an ambassador as soon as possible, along with the ducal and Florentine ambassadors, to demand the observance of the League. Such a letter had previously been sent to the Venetians, but as yet, a response could not be obtained.

[2] Yesterday, Ser Battista de Brendo⁷ arrived from the camp with several leaders of the Correggian Company. He made an account to the pope about everything he had negotiated with you, and positively so. He made honourable excuses for you, stating that any shortcomings on your part were not due to negligence or bad intentions but purely to your lack of means. Nevertheless, Our Lord was greatly displeased that the matter of the Correggians had not been resolved, and he decided to give five hundred ducats to them now, to be disbursed by three cardinals: Orsini⁸, Fermo⁹, and the Camerlengo¹⁰. They, however, demand a bull stipulating that unless you repay the money to them within a certain time, they may take reprisals against you. The pope promised them this, saying that it is expedient and that you have obligations¹¹ towards the Correggians. He insists that you fully and properly satisfy this debt since it has been promised to them¹². Ser Battista¹³ believes he can settle this matter of the past for two thousand ducats, not counting what is owed to His Lordship of Novara¹⁴, who already paid them a certain sum.

¹ Saviano, 11.

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ Juan de Hijar.

⁴ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁵ Pietro Barbò.

⁶ To Siena.

⁷ Battista Brendo: Roman jurist.

⁸ Latino Orsini.

⁹ Domenico Capranica.

¹⁰ Ludovico Scarampo.

¹¹ For past services.

¹² The Correggians.

¹³ Battista de Brendo.

¹⁴ Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti, one of the episcopal papal commissioners at the camp.

[3] Post haec lectae sunt novae litterae dominorum episcoporum, qui sunt in campo, quarum exemplar vobis transmittitur. Papa multum contentatur, quod fiat obsidio ad Urbetellum, sed timet, ne vos deficiatis. Ideo remittit dominum Baptistam ad campum, ut videat, quae sunt necessaria praestari per vos ad obsidionem, et deinde veniat ad vos et sciat ac certitudinem habeat, quod vos non deficiatis, et habita certitudine statuat, quod obsidio {57b} praeparetur et statuatur. Vult etiam, quod idem dominus Baptista loquatur et concludat vobiscum de facto Corrigiensium, quia multum cordi est papae illa materia, et pro certo scitote, quia si non concordabitis¹, res erit periculosa et pariet scandalum. Ego, licet nesciam consulere, tamen in hoc puto consultissimum satisfieri voluntati papae, quia ab eo pendet salus nostra. Papa mittet nunc sub spe, quod fiat obsidio ad Urbetellum, suis gentibus quattuor milia ducatorum, et valde placet sibi haec materia, si Piccininus posset confundi. Dux etiam, ut oratores sui ajunt, mittit suis pecunias novas, quod si vos non eritis providi et solertes in administrandis necessariis, intendit papa, quod gentes ad stationes pergant in locis vicinis.

[4] Ex rege Aragonum post recessum domini Bindi nihil est de novo renuntiatum. Ambassiator regis voluisset ad eum reverti, sed papa retinet eum, donec responsum certius habeatur, quod praestolatur horatim. Ait papa regem Aragonum se jactare, quod Senenses contentantur Jacobum Piccininum sine offensa stare per hanc hiemem in suo territorio et darent sibi 12 milia ducatorum, dummodo promitteret et juraret postea recedere et omnia restituere, et putat papa, quod talia faciant regem solidiorem in suo proposito, et haec dixit heri sero nobis. Ego dixi, quod rex posset talia ex se ipso dicere; hoc scirem, quod vestrae magnificentiae nihil tractarent cum rege sine scitu suae sanctitatis. Tunc sua sanctitas dixit, quod essent fortasse aliqui, qui ex se ipsis talia practicarent², et posuit exempla praeterita, quae non expedit referre. Replicavi sanctitatem suam certum esse debere de constantia illorum, qui gubernant, nec curandum esse, si aliqui particulares per se aliquid dicerent, quia in eis non esset pondus rei publicae. Papa nihilominus ait tales multa mala facere et iterum conquestus est de facto Corrigiensium. Itaque pro Deo et pro vestra salute retinete vobis hunc pontificem (keep him on your side) et nolite eum irritare. Concordate hoc negotium, quia nisi hoc facitis, conturbabitis mentem papae et nihilominus oportebit postea satisfacere illis Corrigianis, quia reperientur modi repressaliarum.

¹ concedebitis V1

² praticarent V1

[3] After this, a new letter from the lord bishops at the camp was read, of which I send you a copy. The pope is very pleased that the siege of Orbetello is proceeding, but he fears that you might fail. Therefore, he is sending Ser Battista¹ to the camp to see what is needed from you for the siege, and then he will come to you and ensure that you do not fail. Once certain, he will decide that the siege should be prepared and carried out. The pope also wants Ser Battista to speak and make a decision with you regarding the Correggian Company, because the pope has this matter at heart. Be assured that if you do not reach an agreement on this matter, the situation will become dangerous and lead to scandal. Though I do not know what to advise, I still think it is most prudent to obey the pope in this matter, because our safety depends on him. The pope is now sending four thousand ducats to his troops, expecting that the siege of Orbetello will be carried out, and he is very pleased about it, especially if Piccinino could be thwarted. The duke's² ambassadors say that he is also sending more money to his men, but if you, on your part, are not vigilant and diligent in providing what is needed, the pope intends for the troops to go to their stations in nearby places.

[4] Since the departure of Ser Bindo, nothing new has been reported from the King of Aragon. The king's ambassador^{3 4} wanted to return to him, but the pope is keeping him until a more certain response is received, which he expects at any moment. The pope says the King of Aragon boasts that the Sienese are content to let Jacopo Piccinino stay in their territory for the winter without committing further offences and that they will give him twelve thousand ducats, as long as he promises and swears to leave and return everything afterward. The pope considers that this will strengthen the king's resolve, as he told us this last night. I said that the king could say such things on his own; what I do know is that Your Magnificences would not negotiate with the king without the pope's knowledge. Then His Holiness said that perhaps there are some individuals who, on their own, engage in such practices, and he cited past examples, which it is not expedient to recount. I replied that His Holiness could be certain of the constancy of those who govern and that it should not matter if some individuals say things on their own, for they do not carry the weight of the republic⁵. Nonetheless, the Pope said such individuals cause many problems, and again he complained about the matter of Correggian Company. So, for God's sake and for your own safety, keep this pope on your side and do not provoke him. Reach an agreement on this issue, because if you do not, you will upset the pope, and in any case, you will have to pay the Correggians afterward, for else there will be means of reprisal.

¹ Battista de Brendo.

² Francesco I Sforza.

³ "ambasciator"

⁴ Juan de Hajar.

⁵ On this passage, see Saviano, p. 437.

[5] De frumento papa respondit bene et vult dari illud, quod promissum est. Castellanus Foghinae, ut intellexi, arrestavit 40 mulos oneratos frumento ex vestris. Dixi papae. Sua sanctitas evestigio mandavit fieri brevia, ut relaxerentur omnino, et ita brevia commissa sunt. Dixit dominus Baptista de necessitate frumenti et de revocationibus factis et bene causam vestram promovit, ideoque dignum est, {57c} ut ei grati sitis, quia rari sunt, qui se habeant, ut ipse. Videbitis, quae scribunt episcopi ex castris, et cognoscetis, quae sit opinio. Ego, quantum possum, excuso magnificentias vestras et honorem vestrum defendo semper allegando impotentiam, et ad hoc dominus Baptista mihi optimus fuit adjutor. Estote solertes et durate hoc tempore, quia constantia est, quae coronatur, et licet grave sit hoc negotium de Corrigia, curate tamen, et iterum dico curate, papae voluntatem implere, quia solutionem de praeterito non potestis recusare, ubi servitum est. Videte, cum quot personis et equis perseverarunt illi, qui sunt modo praesentes, et concordate, quo melius potestis, cum eis, non recusando hescatari.¹ De futuro facite pactiones, quas potestis, saltem pro aliquo tempore, donec res melius se habeant, ut geratis morem papae. Scribo in hac re urgenter, quia necesse est hoc fieri, (76v) nisi vultis incidere scandalum.

Ex Roma, die 2. Decembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ *dub.*; hestatem V1

[5] Concerning the grain, the pope responded favourably and wants to give what was promised. I have heard that the castellan of Foggia seized forty mules loaded with your grain, and I told the pope about it. His Holiness immediately ordered briefs to be sent for their release, and the letters have been commissioned. Ser Battista spoke of the necessity of the grain and of the revocations that had been made, and he has greatly advanced your cause, so it is right that you show him gratitude, for only a few who behave like him. You will see what the bishops write from the camp, and you will know their opinion. I excuse Your Magnificences as much as possible and always defend your honour by citing your lack of means, and Ser Battista has been an excellent helper in this. Be diligent and endure this time, for constancy is rewarded. The matter of the Correggians is serious, so do take care, and I repeat, do take care to obey the pope, for you cannot refuse payment for past services when they have been rendered; see how many men and horses the Correggians who are still present have; come to an agreement with them as best you can, and do not refuse to provision them. Concerning the future, make the agreements you can, at least for a certain period, until the situation improves. At any rate, obey the pope's wishes. I write urgently on this matter because this must be done, unless you wish to cause a scandal.

From Rome, 2 December 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

665. Letter to the City of Siena (4 December 1455, Rome).¹

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro 1986, c. 60² **: VI, ff. 79r-80r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{60r} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Ex domino Bindo cognovistis, ut arbitror, quae gesta sunt per eum cum serenissimo rege Aragonum. Non est, cur me in illis extendam. Heri de nocte ad multam horam, ut suetum est, fuerimus dominus Bindus et ego simulque ducales et Florentinorum oratores cum papa. Lectae sunt litterae missae ex castris ab episcopis ibi existentibus, qui miro modo suadent obsidionem accelerandam circa Urbetellum, nam hostis fame oppressus est et equos incipiunt comedere milites, non habentes alia alimenta, quantum necesse est. Quod si obsideantur cominus³, inedia affligentur. Papa id laudat obsidionemque magnopere probat mittitque dominum Baptistam de Brendo, qui hac mane recedit, ut rem in campo promoveat; quattuor millia ducatorum cum eo mittuntur. Reliquum est, ut vos necessaria conferatis ad obsidionem, quemadmodum per commissarium obtulisse videmini. Quod si obsidio fiat magna, spes est rei bene gerendae. Huc committendae sunt omnes vires, namque fortiter pugnantes bonam pacem obtinebimus.

[2] In tractatu, quantum sentio, non est modo spes. Audienda sunt consilia papae, qui auctor est salutis nostrae. Nisi enim sua sanctitas constans fuisset, magno malo oppressi essemus. Continuandum cum eo est usque ad finem. Sua sanctitas habet secum ducem Mediolani et Florentinos et putat, quod Veneti non deficient, sed concurrent ad observantiam ligae - et ita etiam cardinalis Sancti Marci affirmat. Itaque⁴ perseverandum est, nam ex omnibus virtutibus sola constantia coronatur.

[3] De Corrigianis audietis dominum Baptistam. Curate eum concordare, quia bonus vir est et amator nostrae civitatis, et bene promovet negotia nostra. Impetrata est iterum tracta frumenti ex patrimonio pro quingentis modis, ita ipse dominus Baptista nobis praesentibus obtinuit, sed cum fieret breve⁵, incaute dictatum erat. Nisi ego in praesentia papae addi fecissem, haec verba “ultra concessionem per nos alias factas”, et haec verba papa libenter admisit, et - quantum intelligo – contentatur bene de concessione gravi. Solum studeant vestrae magnificentiae providere de necessariis ad obsidionem et de facto Corrigianorum. Reliqua cum papa bene erunt. Dux Mediolani et Florentini, ut scribunt episcopi ex castris, gentibus suis de pecunia opportune provident. Matthaëus Johannes die crastina, ut dominus Bindus ait, reversurus. Non est spes, ut intelligo, quod rex⁶ velit ad se Piccininum vocare aut quoquo modo relinquere, sed si obsideatur et tempora faveant male, se habebit homo ille.

Ex Roma, die 4. Decembris 1455. Eneas, episcopus Senensis etc.

¹ Saviano, 12

² Autograph

³ communis V1

⁴ ita quod V1

⁵ ... V1

⁶ ... V1

665. Letter to the City of Siena (4 December 1455, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The siege of Orbetello is going well. There is no progress in the negotiations for peace. Some other news¹.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] I believe you have learned from Ser Bindo², what he accomplished with the most serene King of Aragon³, so there is no need for me to go into those matters. Last night, I and Ser Bindo, along with the ducal⁴ and Florentine ambassadors, were with the pope⁵ until a late hour (as usual!). A letter from the bishops⁶ in the camp⁷ was read. They strongly advise intensifying the siege of Orbetello, for the enemy is so worn down by famine that the soldiers have begun to eat their horses, not having other food as necessary. If they are besieged more strictly, they will starve. The pope approves of this and strongly favours the siege. He is sending Ser Battista de Brendo, who departs this morning, to advance the matter in the camp; four thousand ducats are sent with him. It remains for you to contribute what is necessary for the siege, as you seem to have offered through your commissioner. If the siege is conducted strictly, there is hope of a successful outcome. All efforts must be committed to this, for by fighting strenuously, we shall obtain a good peace.

[2] As for the negotiations, there is no hope at the moment, as far as I can see. The pope's counsel must be heeded, for he is the author of our salvation. If His Holiness had not remained steadfast, we would have been overwhelmed by great misfortune. We must continue with him to the end. His Holiness has the Duke of Milan and the Florentines with him and believes that the Venetians will not fail but join in observing the league - this is also affirmed by the Cardinal of San Marco⁸. Therefore, we must persevere, for of all virtues, only constancy is crowned.

[3] You will hear from Ser Battista about the Correggians. Take care to have a good relationship with him, for he is a decent man who loves our city and promotes our affairs well. He has, again, obtained a shipment of 500 bushels of wheat from the Patrimony⁹, which he secured in our presence. However, when the brief was drafted, it was carelessly dictated. Had I not, in the pope's presence, added the words "beyond the concessions previously made by Us¹⁰," which the pope gladly accepted, [there would have been a problem]. As I understand it, His Holiness is well content with this important concession. Your Lordships must only see to providing what is necessary for the siege and to the matter of the Correggians. The pope will manage the rest well. As the bishops in the camp report, the Duke of Milan and the Florentines are providing for their troops with money in a timely manner. Ser Bindo says Mateu Jovan will return tomorrow. There is no hope, as I understand, that the king will summon Piccinino or abandon him, but if the siege is maintained and the conditions worsen, that man¹¹ will be in a difficult position. From Rome, 4 December 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena, etc

¹ Saviano, 12.

² Bindo Bindi.

³ Alfonso V the Magnanimous

⁴ Of Francesco I Sforza, Duke of Milan.

⁵ Callixtus III.

⁶ Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara, and Buongiovanni da Recanati, Archbishop of Dubrovnik.

⁷ At Orbetello.

⁸ Pietre Barbò.

⁹ The Patrimony of Saint Peter.

¹⁰ The pope.

¹¹ Jacopo Piccinino

666. Letter to the City of Siena (8 December 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, 15r-16r^l.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{31} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Quae apportaverit Matthaëus Johannes ex rege Aragonum, quantum nobis exposuit, die sabbati jam decurso ad vos scripsi, quae in sententia sunt: regem nolle vocare Jacobum Piccininum in regnum, sed contentari eum remanere in Urbetello vel Castilione usque ad Martium neminem offendendo. Deinde vero, restitutis omnibus quae abstulit civitati Senensi, in Albaniam contra Turcos transire etiam per regnum suum, proviso quod eidem Piccinino subveniatur pro expensis medio tempore necessariis, quibus sustineatur, et quod adveniente Martio provisionem habeat, cum qua transeat in Albaniam. Vultque rex antedictus idoneas hic Romae cautiones dare, quod Jacobus Piccininus, quaecumque promiserit, plene observabit. Quomodo autem concordandum sit cum Jacobo de subventionem ac subsidiis, ait secretarius Matthaëus Johannes cum eodem Jacobo esse tractandum, quia rex de eo non se intromitteret. Intendit etiam rex, quod ipsi comiti Jacobo cautiones idoneae praebeantur de observantia illorum, quae sibi promittentur. Et ait, si cetera concordentur, placere sibi, ut asserit Matthaëus, quod mox, facta concordia, Jacobus restituat Urbetellum et conferat se ad Castilionem ibique maneat nulli noxius, vel, si concordari id possit, sine ultiori mora in Albaniam proficiscatur per regnum suum, quia mare strictum etiam hieme transire poterit.

[2] His sic nobis per Matthaëum expositis, accessimus reverendissimum cardinalem Sancti Marci et illic, praesente oratore regio, domino Johannes Diser, iterum haec eadem Johannes exposuit. Deinde habuimus nonnullas disputatiunculas. Cardinalis Sancti Marci visus est notare Matthaëum, qui non alia ex rege attulisset. Dicta sunt et per Mediolanenses alia verba de foedere non plane servato, quae oratori regio paululum gravia fuere.

[3] Placuit exinde ad sanctissimum dominum referre. Fuimus igitur heri post missam ad pedes domini nostri, qui voluit audire consultationes nostras. Cardinalis Sancti Marci primo locutus. Iterum dixit videri sibi admodum pauca esse, quae de rege allata essent, ex quo nollet ad se Jacobum accersire. Visus est parum momenti in his rebus ponere. Postea jussit sanctitas apostolica me loqui. Ego in primis commendavi laborem et diligentiam Mathaei dixique me non esse, qui de talibus consulere deberem, et praesertim cum in hoc non habere mandatum aliquod. Unum tamen non esset mihi dubium, quia placeret Senensi populo, quaecumque deliberatio per suam sanctitatem captaretur.

¹ DV, 31-33.

666. Letter to the City of Siena (8 December 1455, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: Negotiations on an agreement concerning Piccinino.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] I already wrote to you last Saturday that Mateu Jovan informed us about what he had obtained from the King of Aragon¹ ². In one sentence it was: the king does not wish to summon Jacopo Piccinino into the kingdom but is content for him to remain in Orbetello or Castiglione until March, without harming anyone. After that, once he has returned all that he had taken from the city of Siena, he will move on to Albania to fight against the Turks, even passing through the kingdom. The condition is that Jacopo Piccinino is granted a sum to cover the expenses necessary for his maintenance in the meantime, and that when March comes, provision is made for him to pass over to Albania. The king also wishes to give suitable guarantees here in Rome that Jacopo Piccinino will fully observe whatever he promises. As for how to agree with Jacopo on subsidies and support, Mateu Jovan says that it should be negotiated directly with Jacopo, as the king will not involve himself in that matter. The king also intends that suitable guarantees be given to Count Jacopo for the observance of what is promised to him. And Mateu asserts that if everything else is agreed upon, the king would be pleased that, as soon as the agreement is made, Jacopo should restore Orbetello and move to Castiglione, remaining there without harming anyone, or, if this can be agreed upon, that he proceed without further delay to Albania through the kingdom, as the narrow sea can be crossed even in winter.

[2] After Mateu had told us these things, we went to the Most Reverend Cardinal of San Marco³. The royal ambassador, Ser Juan Diser was present and told us he same things.. Then we had some discussions. The Cardinal of San Marco rebuked Mateu for not bringing other information from the king. The Milanese also said some things about the treaty not being fully observed, which were somewhat offensive to the royal ambassador⁴.

[3] It was then decided to report to the Most Holy Lord. So, yesterday, after mass, we went to the feet of Our Lord, who wished to hear about our consultations. The Cardinal of San Marco spoke first. He repeated that he thought very little had been brought from the king, given that he did not want to summon Jacopo⁵, but he seemed not to attach great importance to these matters. Then His Apostolic Holiness ordered me to speak. First, I praised the efforts and diligence of Mateu and said that I was not the one to offer counsel on such matters, especially as I had no mandate in this case. However, I had no doubt that whatever decision His Holiness made would please the people of Siena.

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

² Letter 662:5.

³ Pietro Barbò.

⁴ Juan de Híjar.

⁵ Jacopo Piccinino.

[4] Quia tamen sanctissimus dominus noster opinionem meam exquireret, aperirem paucis aliqua non consulendo, sed avisando, subnixique in relatis per Mathaeum tria me habere dubia. Primum id fuit, quia non viderem bene quomodo consuleretur Senensibus stante Piccinino in Tuscia. Licet enim rex pro eo promitteret, oporteret tamen Senenses tenere gentes pro custodia terrarum suarum quia melius est sua custodiendo retinere quam perdendo vindicare. Nam et rex de ipso Jacobo non bene confidere videretur, qui juxta relationem Mathaei inter alias causas cur nollet in regno ipsum habere, illa fuit, quia oporteret eum locare in terris ecclesiae vicinis ...ret¹, ne offenderet ecclesiam. Si ergo non posset rex eum a violentia coercere in regno morantem minus ergo in Tuscia remanentem. Petebam ergo papam hoc animadverteret et cogitaret talem pacem facere, qua gaudere Senenses possent, ne cogarentur tenere grandes sumptus.

[5] Secundum dubium mihi videbatur eo eo, quod rex remitteret ad tractandum cum Piccinino qualiter secum conveniendum esset de subventionem sua, quia non putabam honestum papam quaerere cum Piccinino tractatum, quem paene obsessum haberet, namque, si rex nollet, ut Mathaeus ait, ulterius se intromittere de provisione Piccinini, restabat quod papa per se vel alium concordiam ab inimico peteret. Eapropter decentius fuisse, ajebam, quod rex ipse mediator fuisset et dixisset, quidnam tribuendum Piccinino sibi videretur, quod melius esset *decem dare* per manus tanti regis quam quidquam per alium quemcumque, qui a Jacobo mitteretur, quia tunc videretur victor, qui victus est. Dicebam igitur et in hoc viam aliquam perquirendam, quae sanctae sedis apostolicae conservaret honorem et decus.

[6] Tertium dubium dixi me habere in facto provisionis, quia cum intelligerem Venetos, ducem Mediolani et Florentinos nihil ad hanc rem velle conferre, restabat hoc onus solum papae et Senensium humeros imminere. Senenses autem longo bello exhaustos omni argento asserebam, papam quoque gravibus expensis oppressum legatorum galearumque contra Turchum armandarum; nescire igitur me, quonam pacto sanctissimus dominus noster cum solis Senensibus hos Jacobi sumptus sufferre posset, nisi summa levis exigeretur, quod non putarem, cum armigeri de multis milibus loqui soleant.

[7] Haec ergo tria dubia ponebam in medio, ut reperietur ad omnia modus idoneus. Deinde subdidi non ab re videri tenendum esse cum rege tractatum, quod sua majestas omnium rerum mediaticem se faceret et de subsidio et de quavis provisione. Itaque papa² contemplatione magni regis, non propter Jacobum Piccininum moveri videretur. Et si pecuniae summa tolerabilis peteretur, posset pietas apostolica ex decimis Italia superioris illam persolvere promittendo regi certam summam dandam in auxilium Albanorum et rex postea illam summam Jacobo daret eumque mitteret in Albaniam contra Turchos, et tunc corcordia facta, si vellet, titulum ab eccelsia sibi daretur, cum jam recessisset.

¹ *Lacuna in cod.*

² ~~in~~ *seq. cod.*

[4] But since Our Most Holy Lord asked for my opinion, I briefly shared some thoughts, not as advice but as observations. Based on Mateu's report, I had three doubts: The first was that I did not see how the Sienese would benefit from having Piccinino still in Toscana. For even if the king made promises on his behalf, the Sienese would still need to maintain forces to guard their lands, for it is better to retain what one has through defence than to lose it and then reclaim it. Moreover, it seemed the king himself did not fully trust Jacopo, who, according to Mateu, among other reasons for not wanting him in the kingdom, believed he should be kept far from church lands to avoid harming the Church. If the king could not restrain Jacopo's violence while he remained in the kingdom, how much less could he do so while Jacopo remained in Toscana? I therefore asked the pope to consider this and to make a peace that the Sienese could enjoy, so they would not be forced to bear great expenses.

[5] My second doubt was that the king left it to be negotiated with Piccinino on how he would be subsidised, for I did not think it appropriate for the pope to negotiate with Piccinino, whom he kept besieged on all sides. If the king did not want to involve himself further in the matter of Piccinino's provision, as Mateu said, it would remain for the pope to seek agreement with an enemy by himself or through someone else. For this reason, I said it would be more fitting for the king himself to be the mediator and state what he thought should be given to Piccinino, for it would be better *to give ten*¹ through the hands of such a great king than anything through any other person sent by Jacopo, as it would then seem that the defeated was the victor. Thus, I suggested that a way should be found to preserve the honour and dignity of the Holy See.

[6] My third doubt concerned the provision itself, for as I understood it, neither the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, nor the Florentines were willing to contribute anything to this matter. Therefore, this burden would fall solely on the pope and the Sienese. I said that the Sienese, exhausted by a long war, had no money, and that the pope, too, was burdened by heavy expenses for the legates² and the galleys being armed against the Turk. I did not know how Our Most Holy Lord, along with the Sienese alone, could bear the expenses of Jacopo unless only a small sum was required, which I did not believe, since soldiers usually speak of many thousands!

[7] I thus put these three doubts forward so that a suitable solution could be found for each. I then added that it seemed fitting to continue negotiations with the king so that His Majesty could mediate in all things, both in terms of support and any provision, and that the pope would not appear to be moved by Jacopo Piccinino but rather by consideration for the great king. If a tolerable sum of money were requested, His Apostolic Piety could promise to pay it from the tithes of Upper Italy to assist the Albanians, and the king could then give that sum to Jacopo and send him to Albania against the Turks. Once the agreement was made, if it pleased him, a title could be given to Jacopo from the Church when he had left.

¹ A legal expression.

² Travel expenses for papal legates.

[8] His per me dictis et patienter auditis, dominus Sceva loqui coepit et comprobatis reliquis, quae ego dixeram, de practica cum Piccinino habenda dixit non esse sibi magnam curam, quia reperiretur modus honestus, per quem Piccininus aliquem de suis huc mitteret veniam petiturum, et posset cum illo iniri tractatus. Papa, cum haec audiret, non permisit amplius Scevam loqui et interrumpens ait “Et quis est, qui dicat me tractare debere cum¹ Piccinino? Absit hoc a me. Haec Matthaeus non mihi exposuit. Nescio, quid vobis enarraverit.” Tum Mathaeus “Ego,” inquit, “nil aliud his dominis quam vestrae sanctitati exposui. Sed episcopus Senensis ibi facit dubium, ubi non est.” Tunc ego “Certe,” inquam, “ita intellexi regem nolle se de provisione Piccinini intrmittere, sed de illa esse cum eo tractandum sufficereque regi, quod fidem daret pro Piccinino.” Negabat iterum ...² dixisse.

[9] Tum Sceva, ducalis orator “Si erravit,” inquit, “episcopus Senensis ita Mathaeum intelligens, ut ait, et nos omnes erravimus, qui simili modo intelleximus.” Postea locutus est alter orator ducalis, qui multa de facto pecuniarum ait, clare protestatus, quia dux in eam partem non consentiret de dando vel unum obulum Jacobo. Idem et Florentinus asseruit. Dominus Bindus, sanctiori usus consilio, tacendum duxit eo solum dicto, quod Senensis populus a voluntate summi pontificis non discederet.

[10] His dictis, ait papa nolle se sine consultatione omnium legatorum de liga in hac re quicquam agere subjunxitque, quia primum punctum esse discutiendum an acceptandum sit, quod Jacobus Piccininus, restituto Urbetello et aliis occupatis redditis, in Castilione remaneat usque Martium sine offensa cujusquam cum promissione et cautione regia mandavitque, ut rediremus ad eum hac sero plene deliberati. Mediolanensibus et omnibus aliis videbatur, quod hic articulus non potest discuti sine aliis, quia si debeat Piccininus restituere Urbetellum et alia occupata et pacem tenere, necesse est concordare cum eo de provisione sua. Sed papa non mutavit propositum. Petivimus, ut Mathaeus in scriptis daret, quae apportuisset, qui omnia recusavit et postea dixit ad partem domino Bindo, quod nec pro mille florenis in scriptis redigeret, quae nobis dixerat de mente regia.

[11] Veniemus igitur hoc sero ad summum pontificem et respondebimus super primo articulo, nec facio dubium, quin omnes dicant illum acceptandum, quia si rex offert velle se recipere in territorio suo Jacobum Piccininum et promittere, quod nullum offendet, nemo est, qui possit hoc reprehendere. Sed difficultas est in conditionibus, quae petentur a Jacobo, antequam restitutis oblatis eo pergat. Nescio, quae sit mens domini nostri, quia cautissimus est, sed quantum conjectum capio, videtur ad recipiendam concordiam solito inclinior, quod admodum desiderabile est. Sed secum oportet etiam uti arte, ne videamur nimis illam concordiam appetere. Hoc sero aliquid amplius intelligamus et significabo vestris magnificentis.

¹ ~~rege~~ seq. cod.

² *Lacuna in cod.*

[8] After these things had been said by me and patiently heard, Ser Sceva began to speak. He agreed with what I had said, and regarding negotiations with Piccinino, he said he was not overly concerned, as some suitable way could be found for Piccinino to send someone here to seek pardon, and negotiations could be conducted with that person. When the pope heard this, he interrupted Sceva and said, “And who says that I should negotiate with Piccinino? Far be it from me. Mateu did not tell me this. I do not know what he has told you.” Then Mateu said, “I have told these lords nothing different from what I have explained to Your Holiness. But the Bishop of Siena raises doubts where there is none.” Then I said, “I most certainly understood that the king did not wish to involve himself in the provision for Piccinino, but that negotiations on it should be conducted directly with Piccinino, and that it was enough for the king to make guarantees for Piccinino.” Mateu again denied having said this.

[9] Then Sceva, the ducal ambassador, said, “If the Bishop of Siena misunderstood Mateu as he says, then we all understood him in the same way.” Afterward, another ducal ambassador spoke, saying many things about the financial issue and loudly protesting that the duke would not consent to giving even an *obol* to Jacopo. The Florentine ambassador said the same. Ser Bindo, with wiser counsel, kept silent, saying only that the people of Siena would obey the will of the supreme pontiff.

[10] After these things were said, the pope said he did not wish to proceed without consulting all the legates of the League on this matter and added that the first point to be discussed was whether to accept that Jacopo Piccinino, having returned Orbetello and other occupied places, would remain in Castiglione until March, without harming anyone, under the king’s promise and guarantee, and he ordered that we return to him this evening having discussed the matter fully. The Milanese and all others thought that this article could not be discussed apart from the other articles, because if Piccinino was to return Orbetello and the other occupied places and keep the peace, it was necessary to agree with him on his provision. But the pope did not change his position. We asked Mateu to provide in writing what he had brought, but he absolutely refused and later told Ser Bindo in private that he would not put into writing what he had told us about the king’s intentions for even a thousand florins.

[11] We will therefore go to the Supreme Pontiff this evening and respond on the first article, and I have no doubt that all will say it should be accepted, for if the king offers to receive Jacopo Piccinino into his territory and promises that he will not harm anyone, no one can object to this. But the difficulty lies in the conditions that Jacopo will demand before he leaves after returning the occupied places. I do not know what Our Lord’s intentions are, for he is very cautious, but from what I gather, he seems more inclined than he used to be to accept the agreement, which is most desirable. However, it is also necessary to act carefully so that we do not seem too eager for this agreement. This evening we shall know more, and I will inform Your Magnificences.

[12] Fuit etiam opinio mea, quam supra neglexi referre, quod sanctissimus dominus noster tractaret cum rege concordiam, et interim non negligeret obsidionem, sed ibi totus incumberet, quia si medio tempore vel caperetur Jacobus vel fugeret aut alio suo infortunio periret, sua sanctitas magno onere liberata esset addidique de pane, qui mittebatur ad hostem. Papa de obsidione bonae mentis est jussitque scribi episcopis exacte curent, ne quid hosti ad alimoniam ministretur. Haec usque nunc acta. Litteras ad regem Aragonum ex consilio summi pontificis dirigam. De commissario, qui commeatum promoveat ad castra, verbum faciam. Alia nunc non occurrunt.

[Commen]do me vestris magnificentiis. Ex Roma, die 8. Decembris. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[12] It was also my opinion, which I neglected to mention earlier, that Our Most Holy Lord should negotiate peace with the king and, in the meantime, not neglect the siege but focus entirely on it. For if in the meantime Jacopo were captured, fled, or perished by some other misfortune, His Holiness would be relieved of a great burden. I also mentioned the bread being sent to the enemy. The pope is optimistic regarding the siege and ordered the bishops to ensure that no food is supplied to the enemy. This is what has happened until now. I will direct letters to the King of Aragon, following the counsel of the Supreme Pontiff. I will speak about the commissioner to promote supplies to the camp. Nothing else comes to mind at the moment.

I commend myself to Your Magnificences. From Rome, 8 December. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

667. Letter to the City of Siena (9 December 1455, Rome)¹.

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro, 1986, c. 63² **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{63} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Heri ad vos litteras dedi significans, quae tunc acta erant inter papam et oratores potentatu[u]m Italiae utque nocte externa futura erat consultatio de responso dando ad ea, quae rex ultimo significaverat. Facta est ergo conventio coram papa et conclusum, quemadmodum putavi concludendum, neque enim mihi videbatur posse recusari, quae offerebantur de collocando in Castilione Jacobum sine cuiusque offensa. Fuit igitur vocatus dominus Johannes Dyser ad papam heri ad multam noctem eique responsum est, quemadmodum ex cedula praesentibus interclusa cognoscetis, quae responsio satis honesta est. Puto, quod rex mitigabitur et maturabitur hoc negotium pacis, quamvis tractus longior videatur, quam vellemus. Sed magna negotia tempus exposcunt.

[2] Ostendi sanctissimo domino nostro, quae Matthaeus Malveritus vobis scripsit, et quae magnificentiae vestrae regiae majestati rescribunt. Sanctitas sua miratur multum de temeritate Matthaei, sed non suavit litteras vestras mittendas in eam sententiam prout scripsistis. Dicit enim ex quo jam majestas regia mitigata est super negotio navicularii capti et diffidatio sublata est. Videri sibi, quod magnificentiae vestrae regratentur regi, qui benigne vobiscum egerit circa sublationem diffidationis addendo, quae ad eam rem videantur expedire, deinde subjungendem esse de litteris Matthaei et condolendo de eo, qui talia scribit, et quod vos non putatis majestatem regiam talibus calumniis aures praebere, et quemadmodum vestrae habent litterae ceram contexendo. Respondi magnificentias vestras, cum haec scripsere, non habuisse notitiam de sublatione diffidationis placitumque vobis papae consilium, et ita est. Dominus Bindus affirmavit, qui erat praesens, cui et litteras vestras reddidi. Litteras ad Malferitum seu Maleferientem reservo, quia ferunt eum huc venturum, alioquin mittam sibi ad regiam curiam. Dominus Baptista de Brendis non est hic; iniiit ad campum et deinde ad vos revertitur. Ideo suas litteras ad vos remitto, ut secum agatis, ut placet. Ad eum remissa est res Corrigianorum.

¹ Saviano, 13

² Autograph

667. Letter to the City of Siena (9 December 1455, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiations in Rome¹.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] Yesterday, I sent you letters explaining what had been done between the pope² and the envoys of the powers of Italy and that a consultation was planned for last night regarding the response to the king's³ recent message. Therefore, a meeting was held before the pope, and the conclusion was reached, as I had thought it would be, that the offer to place Jacopo⁴ in Castiglione without harming anyone could not be refused. Accordingly, Ser Juan Dyser was called to the pope late last night, and he was given the response you will see in the enclosed document. The response is quite reasonable. I believe the king will be appeased and that the peace process will be speeded up, though it may seem to be taking longer than we would like. However, great affairs require time.

[2] I showed Our Most Holy Lord what Matteo Malferito wrote to you, as well as what Your Magnificences are writing back to His Royal Majesty. His Holiness is greatly surprised by Matteo's boldness but did not advise sending your letters as you wrote them. He says that since His Royal Majesty has already been appeased over the issue of the captured ship and the declaration of war has been lifted, it seems to him that Your Magnificences should thank the king, who has acted kindly in lifting it. You should add whatever else seems expedient in this regard. Only then should you mention Matteo's letter and express your regret that someone could write such things, stating that you do not believe His Royal Majesty would lend ears to such calumnies and that your letters are sealed with wax. I replied that when Your Magnificences wrote those things, you were not yet aware of the lifting of the declaration of war and that you would be pleased with the pope's advice, which is indeed the case. Ser Bindo⁵, who was present and to whom I handed your letter, confirmed this. I am holding back the letter to Malferito (or rather Maleferiens!⁶), because they say he is coming here. Otherwise, I will send it to the royal court. Ser Battista de Brendo is not here; he has gone to the camp and will then return to you. Therefore, I am returning his letter to you so that you may deal with him as you see fit. The matter of the Corregians has been referred to him.

¹ Saviano, 13.

² Callixtus III.

³ Alfonso V the Magnanimous

⁴ Jacopo Piccinino.

⁵ Bindo Bindi.

⁶ A play on words: Malferito = somebody on whom an evil has

been inflicted; Malferiens = someone who inflicts an evil.

[3] Ex campo allatae sunt litterae episcoporum plenae querelarum, quod vos non geratis, sicut expediret; accusare multa, ut solent, et videntur dubitare, ne praestetis necessaria ad Urbetellum obsidendum conanturque omnem defectum in vos retorquere. Eapropter conandum est omni studio, quod in vobis nihil possit calumniari. Agitur de statu vestro. In decem aut quindecim diebus multa fieri possunt contra hostem, ut scribitis. Papae ita videtur. Curate igitur, ne dicatur, quod vos negligatis rem tam utilem, quam suasistis, quia illi de campo libentius se super vos exonerant. Responsum papae intelligitis praeter id communicare vestris oratoribus et Venetiis et Florentiae, ut promoveant missionem legati ad regem, si non sequatur optata concordia. Mihi jam potest dari licentia redeundi, ex quo prorogatum negotium est. Dominus Bindus expediet interim, quae hic occurrunt gerenda.

[3] Letters from the bishops¹ have arrived from the camp, full of complaints that you are not acting as you should. They accuse you of many things, as usual, and seem to doubt that you will provide the necessary supplies for the siege of Orbetello, attempting to shift all blame onto you. Therefore, every effort must be made to ensure that nothing can be blamed on you. Your state is at stake. As you write, much can be done against the enemy in ten or fifteen days. This is the pope's opinion. Take care, then, that it is not said that you are neglecting such a beneficial cause, which you yourselves recommended, because those in the camp are more than happy to put the blame on you. You see that the pope's response, moreover, enjoins your envoys and the Venetians and the Florentines to support the legate's mission to the king if the desired agreement is not reached. I can now be granted permission to return home since the matter has been postponed. In the meantime, Ser Bindo will handle whatever needs to be done here.

From Rome, 9 December 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara, and Buongiovanni da Recanati, Archbishop of Dubrovnik.

668. Letter to the City of Siena (11 December 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: VI, ff. 77r-77v **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{77r} Magnifici et potentes domini.

[1] Est reversus de Cajeta dominus Bindus. Non fuit tamen adhuc mecum, nec scio, quid afferat. Fama est eum esse feliciter expeditum, quod audio cum ingenti voluptate, si res est, quae pacem civitati nostrae pariat. Audio ipsum quam volantissime caballarium ad vos misisse, qui cuncta nuntiet suis litteris. Non est itaque necesse ut me ad divinandum ponam, quod est homini vetitum. Papa, ut arbitror, audivit eum sine arbitris, ut moris est, et nos die crastina, ut opinor, vocabimur et sciemus, quid rerum sit, quod faustum felixque Deus concedat. De Corrigianis audivistis meis ex litteris et apostolico brevi, quid papa velit. Utile reor suae voluntati morem gerere, ut sic possit Urbetello admoveri obsidio, nisi fortasse talia sunt ex rege nova, quae ante has audistis, propter quae bello possimus levare, qua re nihil esset utilius. Alia modo non occurrunt.

Ex Roma, die 11. Decembris 1455 hora 4. noctis. Eneas, episcopus Senensis.

668. Letter to the City of Siena (11 December 1455, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiations in Rome.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] Ser Bindo¹ has returned from Gaeta. However, he has not been with me yet, so I do not know what he brings. It is rumoured that he has completed his task successfully, which I hear with immense pleasure if it is indeed something that will bring peace to our city. I hear that he has rushed off a mounted messenger to you, who will announce everything in his letters. Therefore, it is not necessary for me to engage in divining, which is forbidden to man. The pope², as I believe, has heard him without witnesses, as is customary, and I believe we shall be summoned tomorrow to learn what has transpired, which I pray God will grant to be auspicious and fortunate. You have heard from my letters and the apostolic brief what the pope intends regarding the Correggians. I consider it useful to comply with his will so that the siege may be moved closer to Orbetello unless there is perhaps new information from the king³ you may have heard before the present letter and which may relieve us from war – nothing could be more beneficial. There are no other occurrences to report.

From Rome, 11 December 1455, at the fourth hour of the night. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Bindo Bindi.

² Callixtus III.

³ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

669. Letter to the City of Siena (17 December 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS, 1986, c. 66¹ **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {66a} Satis superque, magnifici et potentes domini, a me scriptum est superioribus diebus, quanto cum desiderio sanctitas apostolica obsidionem expectet Urbetelli. Misit aurum sua pietas. Mandata admodum urgentia ad praefectos castrorum dedit. Commissarios direxit. Nihil omisit ex his, quae ad hoc opus necessaria putavit. At episcopi, qui praesunt campis, duces quoque exercitus et alii quicumque curam quampiam in campo gerunt, miro modo vestram negligentiam arguunt. Vos nihil parasse dicunt. Verba a vobis non facta dari confirmant, et denique ita vos agere scribunt, ac si res aliena, non vestra gereretur. Haec pietas apostolica molestissima fert animo, meque et dominum Bindum coram ceteris legatis increpat, quasi non satis a nobis scribatur, quanta sit necessitas hujus obsidionis.

[2] Nos vero, qui scimus nihil a nobis omissum esse, excusamus rem, quantum possumus, cumque intelligamus ex litteris vestris animum vestrum in hoc obsidionis opus paratissimum, existimamus vos agere totis viribus, quae vobis incumbunt, neque deficere ex vobis nisi impossibilia. Sed ista excusatio non sufficit, cum miro modo vos inculpent, qui castra regunt. Fortasse et illi ad exonerationem suam plus scribunt, quam par est. Utcumque sit, vestra res in primis agitur. Vos obsidionem faciendam suasistis. Vos misso commisario et brigantinos et vastatores et bombardas et reliquas belli machinas obtulistis et victualium necessitatem. Si deficitis, turpe est, vituperabile, damnosum. Utendum est fortuna, dum benigna est. Cum magna ostenditur utilitas, etiam ultra vires intendum est. Omnes ajunt, si firmetur obsidio, hostem fame periturum, et quid pulchrius aut utilius esse potest? Si capitur ille aut fugit, non erunt necessarii de concordia tractatus, qui non possunt non onerosi esse. Nescimus adhuc, quid petiturus sit hostis, ut in Albaniam mittatur, et sunt, qui credunt eum talia petiturum, quae concedi non possent. At si stringitur, premitur, urgetur, pacis leges accipiet, non dabit. Quod si dicit aliquis "Ultra posse requirimur", cogitate quantum pondus res ista secum ferat, et, si difficile est, quod petitur, alterum cum altero compensate. 15 dies sunt, ut affirmatur, qui vobis possunt hostem conficere. Cur non huc unius mensis impensae conferantur? Sapientes estis neque indigetis consilio meo, sed ego hinc moveor, quae vereor, ne in scandalum nostrum haec obsidio negligatur, quando ad petitionem vestram res mota est, quae alioquin jam silentio praeterita erat. Utinam non fuisset factum verbum, si jam negligi et postponi hoc debet.

¹ Autograph

669. Letter to the City of Siena (17 December 1455, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation^{1 2}.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] During the last day, I have written enough, nay, more than enough, about how intensely His Apostolic Holiness³ awaits the siege of Orbetello. His Piety has sent money. He has given insistent orders to the commanders. He has sent commissioners. He has done everything he deemed necessary for this venture. But the bishops⁴ in charge of the camps, the commanders of the army, and anyone else who bears any responsibility in the camp, accuse you remarkably of negligence. They say you have prepared nothing. They claim that you offer only words, not deeds, and finally, they write that you act as though this affair were someone else's, not your own. His Apostolic Piety is extremely upset about this and rebukes both myself and Lord Bindo⁵ in front of the other envoys, as though we have not written sufficiently how important this siege is.

[2] However, knowing that we have done everything we can, we excuse your actions as much as possible. And since we understand from your letters that you are most intent on this siege, we consider that you are acting with all your strength to fulfil your duties and that you are doing everything you should except the impossible. But this excuse is not sufficient when the commanders of the camp accuse you in such an amazing way. Perhaps they also write more than they should so as to exonerate themselves. Be that as it may, the matter concerns you primarily. You urged the siege to be undertaken. You sent a commissioner, provided brigantines, raiders⁶, bombards and other war machines, as well as the necessary victuals. If you do not deliver now, it will be disgraceful, blameworthy, and harmful. We must take advantage of fortune while she is kind. When a great advantage appears, we must strive for it even beyond our strength. Everyone says that if the siege is intensified, the enemy will perish from hunger, and what could be more glorious or more beneficial? If he is captured or flees, negotiations for peace will not be necessary, which cannot fail to be onerous. We do not yet know what the enemy⁷ will demand if he is to be sent to Albania, and some believe he will demand terms that are impossible to grant. But if he is pressured, constrained, and pushed, he will accept and not dictate the terms of peace. But if someone says, "They want more than we can do", consider how important it is. If what is required is difficult, then compensate for one thing with another. They say that you can finish off the enemy in 15 days. Why not devote the expenses of a single month to this? You are wise and do not need my counsel, but I am moved by the fear that this siege may be neglected to our scandal since the whole matter, which was set in motion at your request, would otherwise have been passed over in silence. If you neglect and postpone it now, it would have been better not to say anything at all.

¹ Saviano, 14.

² On this letter, see Banchi, p 241.

³ Pope Callixtus III.

⁴ Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara, and Buongiovanni da Recanati, Archbishop of Dubrovnik.

⁵ Bindo Bindi.

⁶ "vastatores"

⁷ Jacopo Piccinino.

[3] Post haec {66b} retulit sanctissimus dominus noster fuisse apud se Matthaenum Malferitum sive Maleferientem, quem sua sanctitas admodum castigavit super his, quae vestro collegio scripserat. Ait enim non debuisse eum quoquo modo timere Senis, nam Senenses, nedum sibi legato regio, sed nec vilissimo lixae, quem scirent ad regem pertinere minimum capillum invito evellerent. Matthaenum autem respondisse sibi ex Senis scriptum esse ad Florentiam uti caveret, nam sibi civitas infesta esset neque tutum patere ei transitum. Tumque sanctissimus dominus scire se ait non ex regentibus ea esse scripta sed ex quibusdam malevolis ac seditiosis. Ego vero litteras vestras ad eundem Matthaenum direxi. Cum eo non sum locutus, quia non vidi hominem neque quaerere eum domi me decuit. Dominus Bindus ait se velle ipsum adire, quod jam puto factum. Ex eo cognoscetis, quid ille dicat.

[4] Intelligo insuper ex litteris cardinalis Sancti Angeli litteras imperatorias ad me missas esse, quibus necessario in Alamaniam revocor. Litterae autem, ut tabellarius ait, oratori vestro Venetiis agenti redditae sunt, qui eas ad vos missurum sese ait. Credo jam illas obtinetis. Cupio quamprimum ad me mitti mihi que jam denique licentiam impartiri ut domum redeam et deinde Caesari paream, nam et sanctissimus dominus noster ejusdem propositi est et me multo libentius in Alamania quam hic habet. Geretis et suae sanctitati morem et imperatori complacebitis. Mihi autem singularem gratiam facietis me revocantes, nec vobis mea praesentia in Alamania erit inutilis. Illinc enim curabo ea scribi, quae sint vobis ad pacem. Hic nihil omnino sum necessarius. Dominus Bindus gratus est pontifici et habet notitiam omnium secretariorum et licet ei magis quam mihi discurrere per cameras modo istius modo illius. Itaque ego expecto, ut quamprimum litteras ad me detis pro meo reditu.

[3] After this, Our Most Holy Lord told us that Matteo Malferito (or Maleferiens) had been with him and that his Holiness had severely reprimanded him for what he had written to your College. He said that Matteo should not have feared Siena in any way, for the Sieneſe would not dare to pluck even a ſingle hair, againſt his will, from the lowlieſt camp ſervant they knew to belong to the king, let alone from the royal legate himſelf. However, Matteo reſponded that a letter had been ſent to him from Siena, warning him to be cautious on his way to Florence, as the city was hoſtile to him and his paſſage would not be ſafe. Then Our Moſt Holy Lord ſaid that he knew ſuch letters had not been written by thoſe in authority, but by certain malicious and ſeditious perſons. I, in turn, ſent your letters to Matteo. I have not ſpoken with him becauſe I have not ſeen the man, nor was it appropriate for me to ſeek him out at his home. Ser Bindo ſaid he would go to meet him, which I believe he has now done. From him, you will learn what Matteo has to ſay for himſelf.

[4] Moreover, I ſee from a letter from the Cardinal of Sant' Angelo¹ that a letter from the emperor has been ſent to me, by which I am urgently recalled to Germany. However, the meſſenger ſaid that this letter was delivered to your ambaaſador currently in Venice, who ſaid he would ſend it to you. I believe you have already received it. I wiſh it to be ſent to me as ſoon as poſſible and to finally be granted permiſſion to return home, ſo that I may then obey the emperor. Our Moſt Holy Lord feels the ſame and would much prefer to have me in Germany than here. You will thus both obey His Holineſſ' wiſhes and pleaſe the emperor. By recalling me, you will alſo be doing me a ſingular favour, and my preſence in Germany will be uſeful to you. From there, I will ensure that letters are written that will ſupport the peace for you. Here, I am not at all neceſſary. Ser Bindo is in the pope's good graces and is well acquainted with all the ſecretaries, and he is more ſuited than I to move among their offices. Therefore, I await a letter from you requiring my return as ſoon as poſſible.²

¹ Juan Carvajal.

² Having longed for years to return to Italy, it apparently only took

four months for Piccolomini to long for his to return to Germany!

[5] Post haec jam scripta, magnifici domini, reversus est dominus Johannes Solerii, qui cum secretis tractatibus ex parte papae ad regem iverat, et quia is ex via scripserat sanctissimo domino nostro portare se nova bona secundum temporis conditionem, placuit domino nostro retinere dominum Johannem Dyser, usquequo illum audiret, quamvis prius deliberasset ipsum statim mittere. Auditus est igitur Johannes Solerii, qui haec summatim affert et cum magno secreto in scriptis, primo quod, licet regi grave sit Jacobum in regnum suum vocare, tamen ad complacendo domino nostro papae et pro bono pacis contentus est illum per quattuor menses in regno suo recipere et retinere, et quod ipse Jacobus restituat ablata Senensibus et arma deponat atque offensa. Sed vult rex, quod ipsi Jacobo pro sustentatione dictorum quattuor mensium 20 milia ducatorum dentur, et non vult super hoc cum alio tractare quam cum papa, intendens quod sanctissimus dominus noster securitatem opportunam de solutione talis summae faciat ipso regi. Secundo vult, quod sanctissimus dominus noster provideat, quod elapsis dictis quattuor mensibus Jacobus Piccininus cum debito stipendio (66c) possit transire cum sua comitiva in Albaniam vel alium locum contra Turcos. Ad hoc etiam intendit rex cum papa convenire et ejus habere provisionem certam. Si autem papa vult de hoc conferre cum ceteris de liga, potest, ut sibi visum fuerit. Ipse autem rex cum sola sanctitate sua tractare de hoc intendit et praesupponit, quod Jacobus non recedat de Urbetello, nisi haec omnia concordentur.

[6] Super his fuerunt legati dominorum de liga simul et responderunt papae placere sibi, quod rex offerret de reducendo Jacobum in regnum suum. De 20 milibus ducatorum dixerunt se non habere mandatum dandi vel unum denarium. Similiter et de conducendo vel mittendo cum provisione Jacobum in Albaniam sed in hac tertia parte dixerunt se velle intelligere mentem papae et suis dominis illam significare. Ego autem et dominus Bindus laudavimus multum acta per papam et locuti sumus secum ad partem et diximus, quod sua sanctitas continuaret tractatum. De summa 20 milium supplicavimus sua sanctitate curaret illam diminuere, quia indigna et nimis magna summa esset. Non est, cur multa hic dicam. Sua sanctitas deliberavit, quod dominus Bindus ad vos transiret et omnia haec vestris magnificentissimis ad extensum narraret, et quod ego hic manerem expectando reditum ejus, et sic nobis visum est acquiescere sanctitati suae, qui cum summa prudentia omnia dirigit.

[5] After I wrote this, Magnificent Lords, Ser Juan Soler¹, who had gone to the king on behalf of the pope for secret negotiations, returned. Along the way, He had written to Our Most Holy Lord that he was bringing news that were positive, given the circumstances. Therefore, Our Lord decided to hold back Ser Juan Dyser until he could hear more from Juan Soler, even though he had previously intended to send him back immediately. So Juan Soler was heard first, and he reported the following in brief (and with great secrecy in writing): First, although it was difficult for the king to call Jacopo into his kingdom, nevertheless, to please Our Lord Pope and for the sake of peace, he is willing to receive and keep him in his kingdom for four months, provided that Jacopo returns what he had taken from the Sienese, lays down his arms, and ends his offensive. However, the king wants 20,000 ducats to be given to Jacopo for his maintenance during these four months, and he does not wish to negotiate this with anyone other than the pope, intending that Our Most Holy Lord provide the necessary security for the payment of this sum to the king. Secondly, the king wants Our Most Holy Lord to arrange that after the four months have passed, Jacopo Piccinino, with an appropriate stipend, can move with his company to Albania or another place to fight against the Turks. On this matter, too, the king intends to reach an agreement with the pope and obtain his firm provision. If the pope wishes to discuss this with others in the League, he may do so as he sees fit. However, the king intends to deal with this matter solely with his Holiness and assumes that Jacopo will not leave Orbetello unless all these matters are agreed upon.

[6] Concerning these matters, the envoys of the lords of the League also came and responded to the pope that they were pleased that the king offered to take Jacopo into his kingdom. Regarding the 20,000 ducats, they said they had no mandate to give even a single coin. Similarly, they had no mandate concerning hiring Jacopo or sending him to Albania with provisions, but in this third matter, they said they wanted to hear the pope's intention and communicate it to their lords. However, both I and Ser Bindo highly praised the actions of the pope and spoke with him privately, saying that His Holiness should continue the negotiations. Regarding the sum of 20,000 ducats, we earnestly petitioned his holiness to consider reducing it, as it was an unreasonable and excessively large sum. There is no need for me to say more on this point. His holiness decided that Ser Bindo should go to you and explain all these matters in detail to Your Magnificences, while I should remain here awaiting his return, and thus it seemed fitting for us to comply with the who His Holiness', who directs everything with great wisdom.

¹ Soler, Juan (-1463): Papal official. Archbishop of Barcelona, from 1458 to his death.

[7] Multum autem sua pietas gravatur ex litteris, quae dietim ex campo veniunt referentes vos nihil agere ad obsidionem Urbetelli, et ideo dominus Bindus mittitur eo citius. Dominus Johannes Dyser debet reverti ad regem laudare receptionem Jacobi in regnum, approbare promissionem 20 milium pro 4 mensibus et intelligere, quid sit, quod petatur pro transitu in Albaniam. Haec autem secreta sunt et mandat papa, ne quo modo publicentur, quia non expedit. Veniet dominus Bindus et cuncta per ordinem reserabit. Interim providete ad obsidionem Urbetelli, quia ea res posset omnes tractatus reddere leviores. Alia modo non occurrunt. Litterae ad Neapolim approbante pontifice missae sunt. Hic fama est, quod duae galeae oneratae biscotto transiturae sint ad Piccininum, et quod in illis sit Broccardus. De hoc etiam papa dubitat, quia stante tractatu quilibet cogitat se tueri et suam conditionem efficere meliorem.

Datum Romae, die 17. Decembris 1457.

Rex Aragonum promittit papae pro nunc contra Turcos galeas 15 et sperat de meliori sibi subvenire summa. Papa designabit pro legato in mari dominum patriarcham Aquilegiensem, qui haec, quae sunt per mare agenda, tractet et peragat.

Eneas, dei gratia episcopus Senensis.

[7] However, His Holiness is greatly troubled by the letters that arrive daily from the camp, reporting that you are doing nothing concerning the siege of Orbetello. For this reason, Ser Bindo is being sent back to you more quickly. Ser Juan Dyser is to return to the king to praise the reception of Jacopo into his kingdom, to approve the promise of 20,000 ducats for four months, and to hear what is requested for the passage to Albania. These matters are secret, and the pope commands that they not be made public in any way, as it would not be expedient. Ser Bindo will come to you and give an account of everything. In the meantime, see to the siege of Orbetello, for that matter could ease all the negotiations. There is nothing else for the moment. Letters have been sent to Naples with the pope's approval. There is a rumour here that two galleys, loaded with biscuits, are to pass to Piccinino, and that Broccardo¹ is aboard them. The pope does [not] doubt this, because while negotiations are ongoing, everyone thinks of securing their own position and improving their own situation.

Given in Rome, on 17 December, 1455.

The King of Aragon promises the pope, for now, 15 galleys against the Turks and hopes to assist him with a greater sum. The pope will designate as legate at sea the Lord Patriarch of Aquileia², who will handle and execute the tasks that need to be done at sea.

Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Broccardo Persico, Piccinino's secretary.

² Cardinal Ludovico Scarampo.

670. Letter to the City of Siena (24 December 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Balia 489, c. 59.1¹ **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{59.1r} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Heri ante signaturam vocavit sanctissimus dominus noster oratorem ducis Mediolani et me, quia litteras ex castris susceperat a domino Baptista et aliis plerisque, et summa erat scriptorum, quod castrenses equites peditesque non erant animi eundi ad obsidionem Urbetelli, allegantes duas potissime causas: unam, quia Piccininus jam recepisset alimenta in dies 15 et ultra et frustra teneretur obsessus, qui expugnari non posset; alteram, quis stramina pro equis necessaria illic habere non possent ultra 15 dies, et sic oporteret eos ab obsidione recedere, quando fuisset incipiendum. Gentes etiam conquerebantur, quia pecuniam non haberent et maxime illae de ecclesia et Michelectus. Ex parte etiam illorum de Corrigia novae querelae venerant, quod non esset concordatum cum eis. Et scripsit dominus Baptista, quod vos offerebatis illis quingentos ducatos in mense, et facto computo non concernerent unum equitem 7 carlini in mense.

[2] Ad haec locutus est papa in hunc fere modum: sententia sua est fixa et stabilis, quod vobis parantibus promissa obsidio fiat ad Urbetellum mandatque sua sanctitas ducibus et praefectis castrorum, ut omnino ad obsidionem se attingant, et qui non vult oboedire recedat, quia sua sanctitas non vult inoboedientes et recipiet alios loco illorum, et ita scribit eis.

[3] De facto straminum scribit, quod post 15 dies bene providebitur, et si non possunt omnes equos ad obsidionem tenere, teneat partem, quia hostis etiam paucos equos habet.

[4] De pecunia vero mandat episcopis et Ribes, ut pecunias missas distribuant inter armigeros ecclesiae cum quo velint ad obsidionem proficisci, scribitque Florentinis, ut Simoneto sine mora argentum mittant.

¹ According to Saviano, this letter has the ASS signature Balia 489, c. 59.2.

670. Letter to the City of Siena (24 December 1455, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation^{1 2}.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] Yesterday, before the *signatura*³, Our Most Holy Lord⁴ summoned the ambassador of the Duke of Milan⁵ and myself because he had received letters from the camp from Ser Battista⁶ and several others. The main point of the letters was that the horse and foot soldiers in the camp were unwilling to proceed to the siege of Orbetello, citing two main reasons: first, because Piccinino had now received provisions for 15 days and more, and it would be pointless to hold a siege against one who could not be defeated; second, because they could not obtain the necessary fodder for the horses beyond 15 days, and so they would be forced to withdraw from the siege just as it began. The troops were also complaining that they did not get money, especially those from the Church and Michelotto's forces. Furthermore, new complaints had arrived from the Corregians, stating that no agreement had been made with them. Ser Battista wrote that you were offering them five hundred ducats per month, and upon calculation, this would not even get one horse soldier seven carlini⁷ per month.

[2] In response, the Pope spoke in roughly this manner: his decision is firm and steadfast that the siege of Orbetello will proceed as you have promised, and his Holiness orders the commanders and captains of the camp to proceed resolutely with the siege, and if anyone refuses to obey, they should leave, as his Holiness does not want disobedient men and will replace them with others. He writes this to them accordingly.

[3] Regarding the fodder, he writes that after 15 days, it will be adequately provided, and if they cannot maintain all the horses at the siege, they should keep part of them, as the enemy also has only a few horses.

[4] As for the money, he orders the bishops and Ribes to distribute the funds sent among the Church's soldiers but only to those who wish to advance to the siege. He also writes to the Florentines to send Simonetto money without delay.

¹ Saviano, 16.

^{2 3} On this letter, see Banchi, p 241.

³ The – almost – daily meeting when the pope signed the docu-

ments prepared by the various branches of the papal curia.

⁴ Pope Callixtus III.

⁵ Francesco I Sforza.

⁶ Battioista de Brendo.

⁷ The *gigliato*, also *gillat* or *carlino*, was a coin of pure silver established in 1303 by Charles II of Anjou in Naples.

[5] De Corrigianis autem videtur sanctissimo domino nostro necessarium, quod ipsi omnino per vos conducantur, quia ipsis abeuntibus non videt, quomodo bene possit obsidio fieri, mandatque domino Baptistae Brendo, ut ad vos redeat concordiamque finalem vobiscum capiat, de qua re etiam vobis scribit et domino Bindo, et non videtur sibi, quod summa quingentorum ducatorum sufficit, quia oportet considerare non solum numerum equorum, qui nunc reperiuntur, sed quae personae sunt et quam consuetam habent, et quia mortui sunt illis equi, dum militant vobiscum, et affirmant ipsi quod 400 equi viventes reperiuntur, papa tamen contentaretur, quod pro minimo eos haberetis, sed ex quo id fieri non potest, petat, quod appropinquetis magis ad concordiam et illam concludatis.

[6] De illo de Montegemino poteritis loqui cum domino Baptista, sed ille non habet tantam conductam, ut posset fieri aequa compensatio. Tamen cogitate, si qua via est, quia papa non videtur mihi ab hoc abhorrere, si cetera complanentur.

[7] Dixi sanctissimo domino nostro de mutuo faciendo per clerum, qui me multum redarguit, quod ego talia quaererem, dicendo, quod clerus esset suus et quod decrevisset exigere decimam et fortasse ultra decimam, et non vellet alicui principi saeculari hoc tempore indulgere, ut a clero aliquid extorqueat, quia publice id dixisset in quodam consistorio patenti, et quod magnificentiae vestrae deberent cogitare, quanta onera sua sanctitas et Romana ecclesia pro vobis sustinet et compensare hoc et dimittere sibi clerum. Nec potui aliud a sua sanctitate obtinere.

[8] Brevia {59.1v} mittuntur ad campum hoc mane cum magna festinantia. Dux Mediolani scripsit unam litteram oratori suo, in qua se ait requisitum per vos, ut juvet ad obsidionem Urbetelli et laudat avisamenta vestra. Itaque studetis, ne vos deficiatis, qui estis auctores, quia et dedecus et damnum vos magnum sequeretur. Alia non occurrunt.

Recommendo me vestris magnificentiis. Ex Roma, die 24. Decembris 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

De Neapoli non habemus aliud. Ex campo jam sunt nova de his, quae rex petit pro Jacobo Piccinino. Hoc est 20 milia, quia Jacobus Piccininus illa vulgavit pro fama sua et putatur, quod hoc vulgatum sit ex Neapoli.

[5] Regarding the Correggians, it seems necessary to Our Most Holy Lord that they should all be hired by you, for if they depart, he does not see how the siege could be successfully carried out. He orders Ser Battista Brendo to return to you and reach a final agreement with you on this matter, about which he also writes to you and to Ser Bindo. Moreover, the sum of five hundred ducats does not seem sufficient to him, as it is necessary to consider not only the number of horses currently available but also the quality of the individuals involved and their usual needs. Since many of their horses died while fighting for you, they claim that 400 living horses remain. The Pope would be quite satisfied for you to hire them for the least possible amount, but since that cannot be done, he asks that you move closer to an agreement and conclude it.

[6] You can speak with Ser Battista about the man from Monti Gemelli¹, but he does not have such a contract that an equitable compensation could be made. However, consider if there is any way forward, because it seems to me that the pope does not object to this, as long as other matters are settled.

[7] I spoke to Our Most Holy Lord about obtaining a loan from the clergy, and he strongly rebuked me for suggesting such a thing, saying that the clergy was his. He had already decided to levy a tithe and perhaps more than a tithe [from the clergy], and he would not allow any secular prince to extort anything else from the clergy at this time, as he had publicly declared in an open consistory. He added that Your Magnificences should consider the great burdens His Holiness and the Roman Church bear on your behalf and compensate for this, leaving the clergy to him. Thus, I was unable to obtain anything more from his Holiness.

[8] Briefs are being sent to the camp this morning with great urgency. The Duke of Milan wrote a letter to his ambassador, in which he said that you had asked him to assist with the siege of Orbetello, and he praises your intentions. Therefore, you must take care not to fail in this endeavour, as you are its instigators, for both great disgrace and damage would follow you. There is nothing else to report.

I commend myself to Your Magnificences. From Rome, 24 December 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

We have no further news from Naples. From the camp, there is news regarding the king's demands for Jacopo Piccinino. The sum is 20,000 thousand, as Jacopo Piccinino has spread it about - (for his own fame!²), and it is believed that this rumour comes from Naples.

¹ Jacopo da Monti Gemelli.

² The exorbitant sum showed his great worth.

671. Letter to Jacobo Guidini (24 December 1455, Rome)¹.

Manuscripts: ASS / Balia 489, c. 59.3 **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.²

Letter in Italian.

Incipit: Le lettere vostre.

¹ Saviano, 16. According to Saviano, this letter has the ASS signature Balia 489, c. 59.1.

² On this letter, see Saviano, p. 439.

672. Letter to the City of Siena (26 December 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concist. 1986, c. 69 **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{c. 69a} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Heri accepi binas litteras vestras. Primae redditae fuerint Senis die 19. Decembris, secundae 20. In ambabus scribitis parata et praesto esse, quae ad obsidionem Urbetelli requirebantur, sed timere vos, ne frustra conemini ducibus exercitus et omni milita renitentibus, et subjungitur posse exercitum mitti ad quaedam loca Urbetello proxima, si nequeat persuaderi ad muros obsidio. Scribitis et de naviculario regio, cui pro suo arbitrio satisfactum est. Post haec, nocte jam declinante hora 11., advenit alter tabellarius cum litteris vestris 23. Decembris Sena datis, quarum sententia est dolere collegium vestrum super his, quae contra vos afferuntur, testimoniis sive de negligentia, sive de inconstantia, egregieque purgatis objecta, et animi vestri perseverantiam diligentiamque in agendis rebus ostenditis, utque nullo tempore a voluntate summi pontificis declinare firmum est propositum vestrum. Sed horretis exercitus opera, qui hostem pascit neque victoriam cupit, ducit et trahit bellum. Misistis et Jacobi Guidini scripta, qui seditionem castrensem et iniquas ducum militumque mentes effuse refert neque festinandum ad instituendam obsidionem suadet, ne opera et impensa perda[n]tur.

[2] Ad haec nequeo de certa pontificis mente rescribere, quem summa dierum celebritas et natale domini inaccessum reddit. Curabo quam primum suae sanctitatis adire praesentiam et, quae scribitis, ex ordine eidem recensere. Quia tamen novissime cum sanctitate sua locutus sum, et de hisce rebus incidit sermo, possum ex praeteritis futura colligere et aliquid praemittere servato ipso ...¹ meliori et clariori responso: parata esse brevi, quae cum domino Baptista convenerunt, audivit jam pietas apostolica ex me et admodum gavisata est, neque enim aliud quidquam ferventius desiderabat.

¹ One word illegible.

672. Letter to the City of Siena (26 December 1455, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation^{1 2}.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] Yesterday, I received two letters from you. The first was dated Siena on 19 December and the second on 20. In both, you write that everything required for the siege of Orbetello is now ready. However, you fear that your efforts are in vain since the commanders and all the soldiers refuse to go to the siege. You add that the possibility of sending the army to some places near Orbetello if they cannot be persuaded to move the siege up to the walls. You also write about the king's³ shipmaster⁴, who has been compensated to his satisfaction. Later in the night, towards the end of the 11th hour, another messenger arrived with a letter dated Siena on 23 December, in which you express the pain your College feels at the accusations for negligence or inconstancy levelled at you and thoroughly clear yourselves of these charges. You demonstrate your perseverance and diligence in the conduct of affairs, as well as your determination to never disobey the will of the Supreme Pontiff⁵. **But** you are horrified by the conduct of the army, which is feeding the enemy, has no desire for victory, and is both leading and dragging out the war. You also sent a letter from Jacopo Guidini, who recounts in detail the army's mutiny and the bad attitudes of the leaders and soldiers and advises against hastening the siege lest labour and expense be wasted.

[2] In response to these matters, I cannot write back about the pope's firmness of mind, for the solemn celebrations of these days and the Lord's Birth make him inaccessible⁶. I shall see him as soon as possible and give him an account of your message. However, since I recently spoke with His Holiness, and we also talked about these matters, I can conjecture about the future on the basis of the past and at least give a preliminary answer – reserving a later one that is better and clearer. His Apostolic Piety was delighted to hear from me that what had been agreed upon with Ser Brendo would be ready shortly, and he desired nothing more fervently than that.

¹ Saviano, 17.

² On this letter, see Saviano, p. 439; ³ Banchi, p. 241.

³ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁴ Nanni Bracca.

⁵ Pope Callixtus III.

⁶ The pope was occupied with the rites and celebration of Christmas.

[3] Scripta fuerant ex castris multa, quae animum ejus mirum in modum exacerbaverant, nec mirum. Asserebant enim scriptores vos penitus negligere omnia et quasi nihil ad vos pertineret ita operari. Sed intellexit demum sua sanctitas veritatem et animum ad priora retorsit, nam et illi ipsi, qui culpam in vos congerebant, jam fatentur exercitum tepescere neque obsidionem velle. Sed misit in castra sanctissimus dominus noster dominum Scevam, oratorem ducalem, cum mandatis gravibus et post eum iterum scripsit jubetque obsidionem firmari. Qui nolunt, expelli e castris remittique a militia, quia nolit sua beatitudo seditiosos ac rebelles milites. Episcopis mandatur ad obsidionem operam navent. Nisi faciant, aegre laturum papam. Pecunia missa est, quae his detur, qui obsidium laudaturi sunt. In ceteros nihil distribuetur. Nescimus, quid secutum sit. Expectamur in horas litteras et avisamenta e castris. Si non potest obsidio obtineri, nullo pacto laudat pontifex dissolutionem exercitus, sed locum deligendum putat hosti propinquum, ubi castra ponantur et obstringatur hostis, ne vagari queat et praedari. Interea de pace tractatur.

[4] Johannes Dyser ad regem reversus nihil adhuc rescripsit nec rescribere potuit - vix enim regem adhuc adiit. Mihi utraque via difficilis videtur, et hostem vincere et concordiam habere, nam quomodo hostem superes sine fido milite? Concordia vero quibus in terminis sit, jam scriptum est. {c. 69b} Contentus rex est vocare in regnum Jacobum Piccininum, utque ab eo restituantur vobis ablata, sed petit duo: primum, ut 20 milia ducatorum sibi dentur, quibus se usque in ver sustineat. Non parva res ista est, sed posset fortasse in hoc reperiri modus. Aliud gravius: vult rex ante omnia certificari, quod Jacobus Piccininus mittatur cum debita provisione in Albaniam contra Turcos et de hoc vult habere a papa certitudinem. Nescitur adhuc, quid papa velit. Rex pro Jacobo in Albaniam eunte fortasse petet mediocria, fortasse magna. Hic totus nervus est futurae concordiae. Se petit rex aequa, non negabimus, sed timemus, quia dicet fortasse magnum esse in Albaniam ire, mittendam esse egregiam comitivam, stipendia in aliquos annos promittenda: reges enim omnia majora volunt et ostendunt! Itaque de hac parte nescio, quid dicam. Expectandum est responsum domini Johannis Dyser, de quo nihil adhuc habemus, ut ante dixi. Si potuisset stringi hostis, fuisset saluberrimum, sed quid tu agas, ubi non possis mandare exercitum?

[3] Many letters had come from the camp, which greatly upset him, and understandably so, for the writers claimed that you were completely neglecting everything and acting as if all this had nothing to do with you. But His Holiness has finally understood the truth and has returned his prior state sentiments, for even those who had heaped blame upon you now confess that the army is growing tepid and unwilling to pursue the siege. However, Our Most Holy Lord has sent Ser Sceva¹, the ducal ambassador, to the camp with insistent orders, and after Sceva's departure, the pope wrote again, commanding that the siege be intensified. Those who are unwilling should be expelled from the camp and dismissed from the army, for His Holiness does not wish to tolerate seditious and rebellious soldiers. The bishops² are ordered to lend their support to the siege. If they do not, the pope will take it very badly. Money has been sent to be given to those who will support the siege; nothing will be distributed to the others. We do not know what has followed. We are expecting letters and reports from the camp at any hour. If the siege cannot be maintained, the pope in no way approves the dissolution of the army but thinks a location near the enemy should be chosen, where a camp can be established to confine the enemy, preventing them from roaming and plundering. Meanwhile, peace is being negotiated.

[4] Juan Dyser, having returned to the king, has not yet written back, nor could he, for he has barely seen the king until now. Both paths - defeating the enemy and achieving concord - seem difficult to me since how can you defeat the enemy without a loyal army? As for concord, the terms have already been written. The king accepts to call Jacopo Piccinino into the kingdom and to have him return what was taken from you, but he asks for two things: first, that 20,000 ducats be given to him for his maintenance until the spring. This is not a small matter, but perhaps a way could be found. The second request is more serious: the king wants to be assured above all that Jacopo Piccinino will be sent with proper provisions to Albania to fight the Turks, and for this, he wants certainty from the pope. It is not yet known what the pope intends. The king might ask for a moderate or large sum for sending Jacopo to Albania. This is the crux of the future concord. If the king asks for reasonable things, we will not refuse, but we fear that he will say that sending a force to Albania is a great matter, requiring a distinguished company and a promise of stipends for some years - for kings always want to make a show of great things! So regarding this, I do not know what to say. We must wait for a response from Ser Juan Dyser, from whom we have heard nothing, as I mentioned before. If the enemy could have been pressed, it would have been very beneficial, but what to do when you cannot command the army?

¹ Sceva da Curte.

² Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara, and Buongiovanni da

Recanati, Archbishop of Dubrovnik.

[5] Papa hoc mane propria manu, ut accepi, ad regem scripsit, ac propterea nullum ad se admisit. Quid scripserit, nescio. Puto tamen eum semper pacem suadere, nam sua sanctitas hodierna die nihil magis vellet quam honestam habere concordiam, cum intelligat in castrensibus nihil esse fidei. Sua sanctitas per se mihi fassum est gentes illas infideliter agere et cupere aliquos Piccininum evadere et dolet de victualibus sibi missis. Sed cognoscit temporizandum esse, ut ajunt. Utcumque sit, quamvis modo cum papa loqui non potui propter festa, non dubito tamen, quod sua sanctitas mandabit obsidionem fieri, nisi alia de campo contraria assint. Vos igitur bene facietis, si ex vobis nihil deerit de promissis, quia illi de campo libenter vellent suam culpam in vos retorquere.

[6] Scripseram hucusque intendebamque tabellarium evestigio remittere, cum papa me accersiri jussit, quia redisset dominus Sceva e castris. Ivi ergo ad suam sanctitatem et fuimus ibi simul legati ducis et ego. Auditus est dominus Sceva, qui in summa refert se vocasse omnes duces exercitus ad praesentiam episcoporum ibique proposuisse intentionem papae, primo particulariter et seorsum unicuique ex primoribus, deinde conjunctim, exhortando, ut vellent ire ad obsidionem circa Urbetellum, et denique ait, quod omnes et privatim et publice dissuadent obsidionem, rem impossibilem reputantes ex causis hujusmodi: primo dicunt, quod Senenses, licet multa promittant, nihil tamen faciunt, et si facient aliquid, non facient ad complementem, nam si debent mittere ducentos rusticos ad effodiendum et incidendum mittent vel 25 vel 1. Victualia non dabunt, ut promittunt, et conqueruntur multum, quod magnificentiae vestrae faciunt multos commissarios super annona, qui omnes quaerunt, quae sua sunt, et vendunt exercitui frumentum corruptum vel mixtum.

[7] Secundo dicunt, quod in aquis non sunt adhuc parata aliqua navigia ex parte vestra, sed quod Petrus Brunorus, qui debebat hoc opus expedire, in Talamonem non fuit admissus, sed oportuit eum in spelunca quadam pernoctari non sine gravi periculo, et quod in portu Sancti Stefani sunt tres regis triremes, quae facile impedirent omnia navigia Senensium et in mari et in stagno, quia possent mittere illuc bareas et naviculas habentes introitum stagni in potestate.

[8] Tertio dicunt, quod in castris hodie sunt paucae gentes, et si deberent obsidere Urbetellum, oporteret, quod semper media pars esset in armis, quia Piccininus posset exire cum mille expeditis hominibus et infestare castra, quando vellet, {c. 69c} et si ipsi non essent assidue parati, sustinerent et damnum et infamiam et maxime cum in campo non sit unus dux, quem omnes respiciant.

[9] Quarto dicunt, quod cum triremibus regis de facili possent adventare quadringenti aut quingenti ballistarii, qui conjuncto Jacobo ex improvise invaderent nostros et dissiparent.

[10] Quinto dicunt, quod si obsideri hostis debet, necesse est bina fieri castra, altera in Monte Argentario, altera circa portam habere terrestrem Urbetelli, sed non sunt tot copiae in campis, quae hoc supplere possunt.

[5] I heard that this morning the pope wrote to the king in his own hand, and therefore no one was admitted. What he wrote, I do not know. However, I believe he is all the time advocating for peace, for today His Holiness desires nothing more than honourable concord, seeing that there is no loyalty in the army. His Holiness has admitted to me that these troops are acting disloyally, and some even desire Piccinino to escape. The pope is also pained that provisions have been sent to Piccinino. But he understands that he must bide his time, as they say. However that may be, though I was unable to speak with the pope today because of the celebrations, I am sure that His Holiness will order the siege to proceed, unless contrary news arrives from the camp. Therefore, you will do well to ensure that nothing is lacking on your part concerning what was promised, for those in the camp would gladly shift the blame onto you.

[6] I had written up to this point and was preparing to immediately send the messenger back when the pope summoned me because Ser Sceva had returned from the camp. So, I went to His Holiness, and with me there were the legates of the duke. Ser Sceva was heard, and, in summary, he reported that he had summoned all the commanders of the army to the presence of the bishops, where he had set forth the pope's intentions, first individually to each of the leaders, then jointly, exhorting them to proceed to the siege around Orbetello. In the end, he said that all of them, both privately and publicly, were dissuading the siege, deeming it impossible for the following reasons: first, they say that although the Sienese promise much, they do nothing, and if they do something, they do not do it fully. For example, if they are supposed to send two hundred peasants to dig and cut, they will send perhaps 25 or 1. They will not provide the promised provisions. Moreover, the commanders complain bitterly that Your Magnificences appoint many commissaries over the grain, but they all look after their own interests and sell bad or mixed wheat to the army.

[7] Secondly, they say that no ships are yet prepared in your waters and that Pietro Brunoro, who was supposed to expedite this task, was not admitted into Talamone and had to spend the night in a cave at great peril. Also, there are three royal galleys in the port of San Stefano, which could easily obstruct all Sienese vessels, both at sea and in the lagoon, since they could send boats and small ships that control the lagoon's entrance.

[8] Thirdly, they say that today there are only a few people in the camp, and if they were to besiege Orbetello, it would be necessary for half the troops to always be armed since Piccinino could sally forth with a thousand light troops and attack the camp at will. So, if they were not constantly prepared, they would suffer both losses and disgrace, especially since there is no single commander in the camp whom all obey.

[9] Fourthly, they say that with the royal galleys, it would be easy for 400 or 500 crossbowmen to land, who, combined with Jacopo, could unexpectedly invade and scatter our forces.

[10] Fifthly, they say that if the enemy is to be besieged, two camps must be established: one at Monte Argentario, the other near the land gate of Orbetello. But there are not enough troops in the camp to accomplish this.

[11] Sexto dicunt apud Urbetellum nullo pacto inveniri posse stramina, et quod, si illic equos tenerent, omnes conficerent.

[12] Atque ita unanimi consensu omnes duces exercitus dissuadent obsidionem. Ego, quantum ad ea, quae vos concernebant, respondi affirmando in vobis nullam futuram moram, quin cuncta pararentur, dixique cuncta, quae a vobis in mandatis receperam in hanc partem. Deinde dixi non mirandum esse, si qua mora jam intervenisset, quia Jacobus Guidini suadentibus episcopis et domino Carolo ac domino Baptista Brendo scripsisset vobis, ne festinaretis, quia perderetur impensa, si postea non fieret obsidio. Papa aegerrime tulit ex domino Baptista, quod vobis talia nuntiasset, nam dominus Sceva aperte ait, dominum Baptistam id sibi quoque professum. Jussit autem papa, ut scriberem vobis, ne quo pacto ab incoptis desisteretis, quia sua mens esset omnino obsidionem tenere ad Urbetellum et subjunxit etiam si nihil sequi debeat de obsidione nihilominus necesse est, quod Senenses parent, quae necessaria promiserent, ne quid eis imputari possit, et bonum est, quod hostis intelligat non deficere nobis animum, dum concordia tractatur.

[13] Fuimus deinde in magna disceptatione, quid esset agendum, et videbatur omnibus difficilis obsidio ex causis praemissis. Tamen concludebamus adnitendum, ut obsidio fieret, sed nihil magis obstare videbatur quam caritas straminum. Ad hoc dicebamus posse ordinari in Tuscanella et in Corneto et aliis vicinis locis, ut omni die ducerentur ad campum 50 vel 60 jumenta feno et stramine onerata, et quod in campo non starent nisi 300 equi, quia sufficerent ex quo Piccininus non haberet ad equitandum 100. Multitudo autem sine equis maneret, et quod castra fortificarentur contra repentinos insultus, et quod sufficeret una esse castra, quae impedirent egressum per terram Piccinini. Naves in aqua impedirent alios exitus. Dicebamus etiam necessarium esse unum praefici castris virum praestantem, quem omnes timerent et qui esset peritus rei militaris et posset punire nocentes, nam dominus Sceva dicit se compertum habere quod plus quam mille ¹ in diversis² vicibus frumenti panis et aliarum rerum ad hostes allatae sunt et nulla est facta paucitas³. Nec scitur qui fuerunt auctores seditionis Clumandi⁴ Falcietta etc. et tamen nulla vindicta sequitur, quia non audent episcopi aggredi homines habentes sequelam.

[14] {c. 69d} Diu stetimus in disputatione, et videbatur bonum, quod dominus Sceva rediret in castra et hujusmodi negotia de mandato papae diserneret, et nominavimus aliquos, quorum uni committenda esset cura castrorum. Non tamen aliquid conclusimus, quia nox alta erat. Mandavit papa, ut die crastina ad eum rediremus, et tunc sua sanctitas nobiscum finalem in hac parte conclusionem reciperet, sed plus videtur papa inclinatus ad obsidionem quam ad aliam viam, et ideo jussit, ut scriberem vobis, ne deficeretis in praeparandis⁵ necessariis.

¹ *dub.*

² *em.*; divisio cod.

³ ~~quia episcopi non audent~~ *seq.*
cod.

⁴ *dub.*

⁵ *em.*; praeparantis cod.

[11] Sixthly, they say that it is impossible to find fodder at Orbetello, and if the horses were kept there, they would all perish.

[12] Thus, all the commanders of the army unanimously dissuade the siege. As for those matters concerning you, I responded by insisting that there would be no delay on your part, that everything - and I said, everything! - would be prepared, and I relayed all the instructions I had received from you in this regard. Then I said that it should not be surprising if some delay had occurred since Jacopo Guidini, at the urging of the bishops, Lord Carlo¹, and Ser Battista Brendo, had written to you not to hurry, for fear that expenses would be wasted if the siege did not proceed. The pope was greatly displeased with Ser Battista for sending you such a message, for Ser Sceva openly stated that Ser Battista had said as much to him. The pope ordered me to write to you not to abandon your efforts under any circumstances, for his intention was absolutely to proceed with the siege of Orbetello, and he added that even if nothing came of the siege, it was necessary for the Sienese to prepare what they had promised so that they could not be blamed for anything. It is good that the enemy understands that our resolve is not weakened, even while peace is being negotiated.

[13] We then had an intense discussion about what should be done, and all thought that the siege was difficult for the reasons already mentioned. Nevertheless, we concluded that efforts should be made to carry out the siege, though nothing seemed to be a greater obstacle than the scarcity of fodder. To this, we suggested that arrangements could be made in Toscanella and Corneto and other nearby places so that every day 50 or 60 pack animals loaded with hay and straw could be brought to the camp, and that only 300 horses should remain in the camp since Piccinino had fewer than 100 horses for his own use. The rest of the men could remain without horses, and the camp could be fortified against sudden attacks, and one camp would suffice to prevent Piccinino from leaving by land. Ships on the water could block other exits. We also said that it was necessary to appoint one distinguished man as leader of the army, someone whom everyone would fear and who was skilled in military matters and could punish the guilty, for Ser Sceva said he had discovered that over a thousand loads of grain, bread, and other supplies had been delivered to the enemy on various occasions, and yet no action had been taken. It is not known who were the instigators of the rebellion - Clumandi, Falcietta, and others - yet no punishment ensued because the bishops do not dare to confront men who have a following.

[14] We debated for a long time, and it seemed advisable that Ser Sceva should return to the camp and manage these affairs on the pope's orders, and we named certain individuals, one of whom could be entrusted with the charge of the army. However, we reached no conclusion, for it was very late. The pope ordered us to return to him the following day, when His Holiness would make a final decision in this matter, but the pope seems more inclined toward the siege than any other course, and therefore he instructed me to write to you not to fail in preparing the necessary provisions.

¹ Carlo Gonzaga.

[15] Fuit et tunc vocatus ad praesentiam papae quidam armiger ex Corrigianis, caput squadrae, qui multum conqueritur, quod non possit obtinere suum stipendium a vobis, dixitque se fuisse Senis cum domino Baptista et non potuisse concordare, quia vos obferebatis quingentos ducatos, ipsi autem volebant mille in mense tam de praeterito quam de futuro. Multa illic dicta sunt, quae longum esset referre. Summa est, quod papa nullo modo vult, quod isti armigeri Corregiani hoc tempore dimittantur, et arbitrata est sua sanctitas, quod vos debeatis eis dare 800 ducatos in mense. Ego contradixi affirmans me nullum habere ad concordandum mandatum, et quod vos nullo modo possetis hos sumptus subire, qui essetis omnino exhausti longo bello, et haberetis infinita gravamina. Sua sanctitas stetit in proposito suo et intendit vobis scribere pro illis octingentis. Puto tamen, quod sua sanctitas erit contenta de 700, et se de minori concordare possetis, etiam placebit ei, sed si utique arbitrari debeat, non descendet de hac summa 700. Et quia Corrigiani volunt in praesenti habere aliquid, papa mandavit per ...¹ campum² scribi, ut inveniantur modo 500 ducati et dentur illis nomine vestro et vult se obligare pro vobis confidens, quod vos satisfacietis, et hoc totum papa facit, quia habet magnum desiderium stringendi hostem.

[16] Hac transivit unus cum salvo conducto transiens ad Piccininum dicens se ire pro mandato in persona Broccardi ad concordandum. Johannes Dyser heri potuit esse apud regem. Cito habebimus responsum. Recepi 100 ducatos, quos misistis de camera. Cras ero latius cum papa et conclusionem, quae captabitur, scribam vobis, quia retinui unum ex tabellariis. Excusavi egregie praeterita; cavendum modo est de futuris. Papa studiosus vestris est et compatitur calamitati vestri. Obtinui scribi gubernatori Urbis Veteris, ut frumentum vestrum illac transire permittat, quod est in Monte Flascone. Commissarii jam scribunt certum grani arrestum factum propter damna uni armigero, qui fugit a Piccinino, ab illis de Talamone illata, et papa hoc ratum habet, quia non facitis satisfieri. Nescio locum, ubi arrestatum sit, quia non scribunt.

Datum Romae, die 26. Decembris septima hora noctis 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ *One word illegible*

² *dub.*

[15] Then one of Correggian soldiers, a squadron leader, was summoned to the pope's presence. He complained greatly that he could not obtain his wages from you, and he said that he had been in Siena with Ser Battista and could not reach an agreement because you only offered 500 ducats, but they wanted 1,000 per month, both for past and future wages. Many things were said there, too long to recount. In summary, the pope by no means wants the Correggian soldiers to be dismissed at this time, and His Holiness thinks that you should give them 800 ducats per month. I objected, saying I had no mandate to reach such an agreement and that you could not possibly bear such expenses, as you are completely exhausted by the long war and have endless burdens. His holiness remained steadfast in his decision and intends to write to you regarding the 800 ducats. However, I believe his holiness will be content with 700, and if you can settle for less, he will be pleased. But if he must arbitrate, he will not go below 700. And since the Correggians want something immediately, the pope ordered that 500 ducats be found and given to them on your behalf, and he is willing to stand as surety for you, trusting that you will make good on it. The pope does all this because he has a great desire to press the enemy.

[16] One man passed through here with a safe conduct. He was on his way to Piccinino and said that he was going at the order of Broccardo¹ to negotiate peace. Juan Dyser may have been with the king yesterday. We will soon have a response. I received the 100 ducats you sent from the treasury. Tomorrow I will meet at greater length with the pope, and I shall write to you about the decision that will be made, as I have retained one of the messengers. I have excused past delays profusely; now we must be cautious for the future. The pope is devoted to your cause and sympathises with your misfortune. I have obtained permission for the governor of Orvieto to allow your grain to pass through. It is at Monte Fiaschone. The commissaries are now writing about a specific seizure of grain because a soldier who fled from Piccinino was harmed by people at Talamone. The pope approves of this because you have not made restitution. I do not know the location where it was seized because they have not written.

Given at Rome, on 26 December , at the seventh hour of the night, 1455. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Broccardo Persico.

673. Letter to the City of Siena (28 December 1455, Rome).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concist. 1986, c. 70 **; V1, ff. 31r-33r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{70r} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Hoc mane non fuit accessus ad papam, sed nunc revertor a sua sanctitate, quae nos oratores hic existentes accersivit. Quae ibi dicta factave sunt¹ quam breviter absolvam.

[2] Deliberatio de mittendo domino Sceva in castra ratificata est. Commissio ejus hunc habet effectum: temptabit omni studio, si fieri possit, maturare obsidionem ad Urbetellum; si minus, ne² dissolvatur exercitus, operam dabit conabiturque, si non ubi modo sunt castra, saltem in alio continuare loco ac retinere³ in dispersas copias, ne pateat hosti facultas incursandi.

[3] Simonettus⁴, ductor Florentinarum copiarum, generalis commissarius factus est una cum archiepiscopo Ragusino super omnem exercitum eique ad hanc sententiam litterae decretae. Id ea de re placuit, ut sit in castris, quem milites vereantur, utque scelus militis poena sequatur. Archiepiscopo data cura est providendi, ne desint in castris alimenta hominum et equorum pabulum.

[4] Carolo de Gonzaga scriptum, ne festinet abire. Ceteris ductoribus, uti Simonetto pareant. Vobis, ut mille aureos Corregianis vestra causa ex apostolica camera traditos quamprimum restituatis eosque Corregianos sub stipendio menstruo octingentorum ducatorum conducatis. Credo tamen non aegre laturum pontificem, si septingentos illis in quemque mensem obtuleritis. Vos plus quam ego sapitis. Id papae animo est, ut retineantur Corregiani.

[5] Sceva die crastina iter arripiet. Verax homo est et rectus amicusque vestrae rei publicae. Si senserit vos apparasse ad obsidionem, quae necessaria sunt, commendabit papae diligentiam vestram; si minus, non reticebit veritatem. Ostendite ei, quidquid egeritis, non verbo, sed facto.

[6] Curandum est, ne commissarii vestri, qui praesunt distributioni alimentorum, ditari quaerant mixtumque sive corruptum triticum praebeant, nam de hoc ipso magna querimonia est, et quod privatim prodesse, publice nocet, quamvis denique et privatae opes cum casu rei publicae ruant, nec bonus est civis, qui ex publico detrimento proprium quaerit emolumentum.

¹ factave sunt : facta ut V1

² ut V1

³ *em.*; retine codd.

⁴ Simonectus codd.

673. Letter to the City of Siena (28 December 1455, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation^{1 2}.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] This morning there was no access to the pope³, but now I return from His Holiness, who summoned us, the ambassadors present here. I will briefly sum up what was said and done there.

[2] The decision to send Ser Sceva⁴ to the camp has been confirmed. His commission is this: he will strive with all diligence to hasten the siege of Orbetello, if possible. If not, he will endeavour to prevent the army from being disbanded and will attempt to continue the operations (if not in the current camp, then at another location) and to keep the troops dispersed, lest the enemy have the opportunity to launch attacks.

[3] Simonetto, the commander of the Florentine forces, has been appointed general commissioner over the entire army along with the Archbishop of Ragusa⁵, and letters to this effect have been issued. This was decided so that there should be someone in the camp whom the soldiers fear and that the crimes of the soldiers are punished. The Archbishop has been given the responsibility of ensuring that there is enough food for the men and fodder for the horses in the camp.

[4] A letter has been written to Carlo Gonzaga instructing him not to leave soon. The other commanders are ordered to obey Simonetto. You Sienese are instructed to promptly pay the thousand ducats given to the Correggians from the Apostolic Treasury on your behalf, and to hire them at a monthly salary of eight hundred ducats. I believe, however, that the pope would not object if you offered them seven hundred per month instead. You are wiser than I am in this matter. It is the pope's wish that the Correggians be retained.

[5] Sceva will begin his journey tomorrow. He is an honest and upright man and a true friend of your republic. If he sees that you have prepared what is necessary for the siege, he will commend your diligence to the pope; if not, he will not conceal the truth. Show him whatever you have done, not in words but in deeds.

[6] Care must be taken that your commissioners, who are in charge of distributing food, do not seek to enrich themselves by providing mixed or corrupted grain, for there is great complaint about this very issue, and what benefits some privately harms the public. After all, private wealth collapses along with the downfall of the state, and no good citizen seeks his own gain from public loss.

¹ Saviano, 18.

² On this letter, see Saviano, p. 439; Banchi, p. 241.

³ Callixtus III.

⁴ Sceva da Curte.

⁵ Buongiovanni da Recanati.

[7] Relata sunt et apostolicae sanctitati, quae ait nuntius Jacobi Piccinini, qui hac habita publica fide transivit, ferens mandatum ipsius Jacobi in personam Broccardi ad concordandum cum sanctissimo domino nostro et quocumque alio principe, cujus exemplar cum praesentibus vobis edo. Ait hic nuntius grandia de Piccinino: tria illi milia hominum assistere; equos ad usum belli aptos CL habere in Urbetello, reliquos pascere in Monte Argentario; alimenta viris atque jumentis ubertim suppetere.

[8] Interrogatus, an futuram concordiam speraret et quomodo, inquit: “Sperem, cum sine pecunia fieri pax nequeat, pecunia autem haberi nequit, cum fama sit Venetos, ducem Mediolani et Florentini ad rem hanc nihil argenti velle conferre?” Cui Sceva, ducalis orator, “Ergo,” inquit, “minora petat herus tuus, et talia, quae papa sufferre queat, nam ex his, quos nominasti, somnium est sperare pecuniam.”

[9] {70v} Interrogatus exinde nuntius, cum quibus copiis proposuisset Piccininus Albaniam petere, “Magna res,” inquit, “est adversus Turcos aciem dirigere. Non ibit in hanc expeditionem Jacobus, nisi eum comitatum ducat, quem habuit, cum {32v} ex agro Veneto digressus est.” Cum quaereretur, et quinam ille comitatus fuisset, “inter equites,” inquit, “ac pedites 7 milia” fuisse. Cui Sceva, “Insanit,” ait, “tuus dominus, si hunc exercitum sibi futurum persuadet. Magnum id erit, si equites sexcentos, pedites quingentos sub stipendio ecclesiae potuerit obtinere.” Atque ita spretus dimissus est nuntius.

[10] Haec cum audisset summus pontifex, “Rex,” inquit, “Ladislaus Apuliae, cum sederet in Mola obsideretque civitatem Fundorum Paulus Ursinus, rogavit ducem quendam, sub quo tres mille equites militabant, ad sese veniret suumque stipendium acciperet atque iret contra Paulum. Dux ille, “Faciam,” ait, “quod rex jubet. Tria tantum expeto: in matrimonium regiam sororem; marescallatum regni; et in praesens auri quinquaginta milia nummos.” Legatus, qui haec audierat, ad regem reversus multis coram petitionem ducis exposuit, ad quem rex, “Quartum,” ait, “omissum est, nam et regium diadema petendum fuit.” Nec {33r} plura in hanc partem locutus pontifex.

[11] Vocatus exin magister Johannes Solerii eique facta commissio cras ad regem iter¹ ingrediatur coneturque nosse et ad aequa inflectere regis animum postquam mandatum Jacobi missum est ad Broccardum. Jo. Dyser nondum quidquam scripsit neque potuit prae angustia temporis. Brevi sciemus, quid sperare de concordia possimus. Litteras vestras ad dominum Bindum missas remitto, ut accepi, clausas, quamvis fortasse aliquid erat, quod me nosse, ipso absente, oportuisset. Sed non est boni viri non jussi aliorum scripta pervidere.

¹ iterum VI

[7] It has been reported to His Apostolic Holiness that the envoy of Jacopo Piccinino, who passed through here with a safe conduct, carried an instruction from Jacopo to Broccardo¹ to negotiate an agreement with Our Most Holy Lord and any other prince. Enclosed, I send you a copy of the document. This envoy speaks highly of Piccinino: he says he has three thousand men with him; that he has 150 horses fit for war at Orbetello, with the rest grazing at Monte Argentario; and that provisions for the men and animals are plentiful.

[8] When asked if he hoped for a future peace and how it might be achieved, he replied, "I can only hope for it since peace cannot be made without money, and money cannot be obtained, as it is rumoured that the Venetians, the Duke of Milan², and the Florentines are unwilling to contribute any money to this matter." To which Sceva, the ducal envoy, said, "Then your master should ask for less, and for things the pope can afford, for it is a dream to hope for money from those you have named."

[9] The envoy was then asked what forces Piccinino intended to bring to Albania. "It is a great task," he replied, "to wage war against the Turks. Jacopo will only undertake this expedition if he leads the same contingent he had when he left the Venetian territory." When asked what that contingent consisted of, he replied that it comprised 7,000 cavalry and infantry. To this Sceva replied, "Your master is insane if he believes he will have such an army. It will be a great thing if he can secure 600 cavalry and 500 infantry paid by the Church." And so the envoy was dismissed with contempt.

[10] When the Supreme Pontiff heard this, he said, "When Paolo Orsini³ was in Mola besieging the city of Fondi, King Ladislaus⁴ [sent a legate to] ask a certain captain, who had a cavalry troop of 3,000, to come to him, receive his pay, and march against Paolo. The captain replied, "I will do as the king commands. I only ask for three things: to marry the king's sister, to be made marshal of the kingdom, and to receive fifty thousand ducats immediately." Having heard this, the legate returned to the king and, before many people, relayed the commander's request. The king then said, "One thing was left out: he should have asked for the royal crown as well." The pope said no more on this matter.

[11] Then Magister Juan Soler was summoned and instructed to set out tomorrow, go to the king, and attempt to understand his mind and bend it to fairness after Jacopo's instruction was sent to Broccardo. Juan Dyser has not yet written anything, nor could he due to the shortness of time. We will soon know what we can hope for regarding peace. I am returning to you your letters addressed to Ser Bindo, sealed as I received them, though perhaps there was something in them that I should have known in his absence. But a good man does not read others' letters without being ordered to.

¹ Broccardo Persico.

² Francesco I Sforza.

³ Paolo Orsini (1369-1416): C
Count. Condottiero.

⁴ Ladislaus I the Magnanimous
(1377-1414): King of Naples from
1486 to his death.

[12] Frumentum arrestatum illius causa, qui per armigeros vestros apud Thelamonem spoliatus fuit, non relaxabitur, nisi cogatis subditos vestros satisfacere. Vestrum erit illis stipendium retinere, nam papa persuasus est injurios fuisse homines vestros. Haec sunt, quae nunc scriptione digna videbantur.

Ex Roma, die 28. in nocte ad horam sextam 1455. Data de mane nuntio die 29. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[12] The grain that was seized because of the man who was robbed by your soldiers at Talamone will not be released unless you compel your subjects to make restitution. It will be your responsibility to withhold their pay, for the pope is convinced that your men acted unjustly. These are the matters that seemed worthy of writing at present.

From Rome, on the night of the 28th, at the sixth hour, 1455. Given directly to your messenger on the morning of the 29th. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

674. Letter to the City of Siena (22 January 1456, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, ff. 16r-17r^l **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{ 16r } Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Receptis litteris vestris decima septima die hujus mensis scriptis fuimus cum sanctissimo domino nostro evestigio dominus Bindus et ego et cuncta exposuimus juxta desiderium vestrum. Quae autem sanctissimus dominus noster ad singula responderit, breviter annotabo.

[2] Primo, quantum ad illud de Magliano, quod vobis ingratum est ibi castra locari et non sine causa, dicit sanctissimus dominus noster sibi quoque gratum fuisse, quod castra alibi locarentur, sed illud obtineri non potuit, quia non placuit campi ductoribus. Nunc vero, ex quo jam dominus Novariensis illuc se contulit et castra locavit, non potest bene fieri mutatio; immo, si quid attemptaretur, timendum esset, ne fieret omnimoda exercitus dissipatio. Eapropter exhortatur magnificentias vestras sua sanctitas, ut velitis aequo animo ferre hanc locationem castrorum, quia si dissolveretur exercitus, hostis castella vestra invaderet et majora damna faceret, quam nostrae gentes perpetratae sunt, et melius est ab amicis incommodum ferre, qui non nocent nisi necessario, quam ab inimicis, qui ex animo damna, quanto possunt graviora, inferunt.

[3] Ad secundum, de pace, commendat sanctissimus dominus noster desiderium vestrum fateturque et sibi et vobis necessariam esse pacem multumque vobis compatitur, qui tam longo tempore tantis expensis, tot molestiis gravati estis voluissetque pacem vobis afferre seu bello quaesitam seu tractatu. Neutrum hactenus potuit obtineri, nam neque milites vincere voluerunt, neque rex Aragonum paci, ut optavimus, fuit inclinatus. Non tamen haec secunda pars omnino desperata est neque prima, ut posterius dicam.

[4] Ait enim summus pontifex habuisse se scripta ex magistro Johanne Soleri, qui refert regem Aragonum ab ortu solis usque ad occasum venationibus incumbere, ob quam rem difficile sit cum eo colloqui; murmurare autem omnes, maximeque Piccinini procuratores, qui veluti desperati conqueruntur. Subjungit tamen idem Johannes se quam primum audientiam habiturum capturumque conclusionem sive bonam sive malam rediturumque confestim, sperare se quoque aliquid boni ad pacem asserit.

¹ DV, 35-37

674. Letter to the City of Siena (22 January 1456, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] Upon receiving your letter, written on the seventeenth day of this month, Ser Bindo¹ and I went immediately to Our Most Holy Lord² and laid out everything according to your wishes. I will briefly note what Our Most Holy Lord responded to each point.

[2] First, regarding the issue of Magliano: you are not in favour of establishing the camp there - and not without reason. To this Our Most Holy Lord says that he, too, would have preferred the camp to be located elsewhere, but this could not be done because the commanders of the camp did not agree. Now, since His Lordship of Novara³ has already gone there and set up camp, it cannot well be changed. Indeed, it must be feared that any attempt to change it would result in the complete disbanding of the army. Therefore, His Holiness urges Your Magnificences to calmly accept the location of the camp, for if the army were to disband, the enemy would attack your fortresses and cause greater harm than our own forces might. It is better to endure some inconvenience from friends, who only harm out of necessity, than from enemies, who deliberately inflict as much damage as possible.

[3] Second, regarding peace, Our Most Holy Lord commends your desire and acknowledges that peace is necessary both for himself and for you. He sympathises greatly with you, burdened as you are for so long by great expenses and many difficulties, and he would have wished to bring you peace, either through war or negotiation. But neither has been possible so far: the soldiers did not want to achieve victory, nor has the King of Aragon⁴ been inclined toward peace as we hoped. Yet neither of these avenues is entirely closed, as I will explain later.

[4] The Supreme Pontiff also says that he has received letters from Magister Juan Soler, who reports that the King of Aragon is occupied with hunting from sunrise to sunset, making it difficult to get to speak with him. Furthermore, everyone is grumbling, especially Piccinino's agents, who complain as if in despair. However, Juan adds that he will soon have an audience and obtain a decision, whether good or bad, and return immediately. He also hopes to bring some good news concerning the peace.

¹ Bindo Bindi.

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti.

⁴ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

[5] Ait igitur sanctissimus dominus noster rediturum illum intra quattuor sexve dies {16v} quod si media pacis attulerit digna receptione, amplectetur illa, etiam si aliquantulum gravia fuerint. Cupit enim magnopere pacem et propter se et propter vos. At si media fuerint intolerabilia, vel si viderit verba dari, ut res in longum trahatur, non propterea cedit adversario, sed dabit operam, ut legationes dominorum de liga ad regem proficiscantur foedusque concordiae servari postulent. Et nihilominus interea proponit sua sanctitas exercitum reformare atque iterum experiri an victoriae locus esse possit. Est enim sententia sua - ut subjiciam - exercitum ordinare. Vult enim deligere capitaneum aliquem expertum et fidelem, qui bellum ex animo gerat neque vult magnas copias retinere. Intendit enim, quod ecclesia mille inter pedites equitesque retineat, totidem dux Mediolani, et vos iterum totidem. Florentini vero et Veneti quantum ex eis obtineri potuerit, neque enim dubitat sua sanctitas, quin hac manu opprimi hostis queat, cum res ordinate fideliterque processerint, neque enim Piccininus huic exercitui aequari poterit, et vobis atque aliis ad haec concurrentibus non erit difficile has copias sustinere. Difficile autem erit regi intrare Jacobum in Tuscia cum navibus, quod si voluerit rex alibi ad divertendum materiam bellum incipere, non poterit se amplius excusare, et concurrent Italiae potentiae ad obviandum fietque tandem de communi bello communis concordia. Est igitur utile, ut super iis cogitetis vestramque sententiam rescribatis, quia si Johannes Soleri non attulerit pacem, necesse est exercitum reformare et ita bellum instruere, ut cunctando vincamus, neque enim alia via est, quae reipublicae vestrae possit esse salubrior.

[6] Nuper factum fuit verbum domino nostro, an placeret sibi, quod dominus Antonius Petruccius vocatus ad colloquium per Piccininum eo se conferret. Non placuit tunc certis de causis. Nunc vero dixit sua sanctitas domino Bindo et mihi, si vocetur ibi ad colloquium, non esse recusandum, sed audiendum referendumque, quid velit, si fortasse illic reperiretur, quo apud Neapolim non invenitur. Credibile enim est, quod et ipse Jacobus labyrinthum¹ exire vellet nec habet a rege omnia, quae vult, a quo, etsi non deseritur, non tamen abunde juvatur.

[7] De Corrigianis respondebit vobis dominus Bindus. Novariensem nescio cur petat ducatos quingentos, nam vos mille debetis, videlicet quingentos tribus cardinalibus et quingentos papae, (17r) qui eos Corrigianis vestro nomine numeravit suasu Mediolanensium, qui eos omnino retinendos dicebant, et utile quidem fuerit tam papae quam cardinalibus cito satisfacere, ne succrescat usura.

[8] De tollendis arrestis, quae per patromonium fiunt, annuit quam liberaliter sanctissimus dominus noster jussitque mandatum fieri apertum, quemadmodum optavistis, quod ego ipse dictare statui, ut eo citius expediri possit.

¹ laberintum cod.

[5] Our Most Holy Lord says that he expects Juan to return within four to six days. If he brings terms of peace that are worthy of acceptance, the pope will accept them, even if they are somewhat harsh, for he greatly desires peace, both for his own sake and yours. But if the terms are unacceptable or if it becomes apparent that the king is just stalling, he will not yield to the adversary but instead ensure that the ambassadors of the Lords of the League¹ go to the king and demand that the peace treaty be upheld. Meanwhile, His Holiness intends to reform the army and again look at the possibility of a victory. His opinion is that the army should be reformed (I shall come back to that). He wants to select an experienced and loyal captain to wage war in earnest, and he does not wish to retain large forces. He intends that the Church should keep 1,000 soldiers, both foot and horse, and the Duke of Milan² the same number, with you contributing as many. As for the Florentines and Venetians, they will contribute as much as they can be persuaded to. His Holiness does not doubt that the enemy can be overcome with this force when matters proceed in an orderly and loyal fashion, for Piccinino will not be able to match this army, and with your and others' support, it will not be difficult to maintain these forces. However, it will cause difficulties for the king should Jacopo enter into Tuscany by ship, for if the king wants to divert the conflict elsewhere, he will no longer have any excuse, and Italy's powers will come together to resist him, leading from a common war to a common peace. Therefore, it is useful for you to reflect on these matters and send us your opinion, for if Juan Soler does not bring back peace, it will be necessary to reform the army and prepare for war, as delay will lead to victory. There is no other way more beneficial for your republic.

[6] Recently, Our Lord was asked whether he would approve of Ser Antonio Petrucci going to meeting to which Piccinino had invited him. At that time, it was not approved for certain reasons, but now His Holiness has told Ser Bindo and me that if Antonio is again invited to a meeting, he should not refuse but attend and report back on what Piccinino might want, as something might be discovered there that is not being found in Naples. For it is likely that Jacopo³ himself would want to escape the labyrinth since he does not get everything he wants from the king, who neither abandons him nor supports him extensively.

[7] Regarding the Correggians, Ser Bindo will respond to you. I do not know why His Lordship of Novara⁴ requests 500 ducats from you, for you owe 1,000 ducats, viz., 500 to the three cardinals and 500 to the pope, who paid them to the Correggians on your behalf at the urging of the Milanese, who said the Corregians must absolutely be retained. It would be advantageous to settle this debt quickly, both with the pope and the cardinals, and avoid the growth of interest.

[8] As for lifting the seizures [of grain] made in the Patrimony, Our Most Holy Lord has generously agreed and ordered an open mandate to be issued, as you wished, which I myself will dictate to expedite the matter.

¹ League of Italy.

² Francesco I Sforza.

³ Jacopo Piccinino.

⁴ Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti.

[9] Credo varias esse cogitationes et vestras et aliorum in hoc belli negotio et multos multa suspicari. Utcumque sit, illud persuasum esse volo collegio vestro rectam et solidam esse sanctissimi domini nostri erga vos esse mentem eumque recte vadere ad salutem vestram, temptari autem, saepenumero rogari, stimulari, ut vos deserat, sed frustra sunt omnes adversariorum conatus, et omnes, qui quoquo modo vel regis partem tenere vel Piccinino favere visi sunt, apud eum suspecti habentur, sive sint cardinales sive alii, jamque Matthaeus Johannes, quoniam regi videretur obsecundare extra gratiam factus est, qui jam licentiam petens in regnum redire contendit.

[10] Periculosa quaedam et statui vestro perniciose iis diebus per aliquos magni nominis viros apud summum pontificem quaesita sunt, sed frustra, nam papa tam de vobis quam de seipso curiosus est. Johannes Soleri scribit ex Neapoli persuasum esse regi, si perseveret, futurum esse, ut civitas vestra in potestatem ejus deveniat sibi aperte dictum malefacere papam, qui regem impediatur, quominus propositi sui compos fiat. Haec habui, quae nunc scriberem. Reliqua ex domino Bindo cognoscetis.

Ex Urbe, die 22. Januarii 1456. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

Graves hic sunt expensae. Nisi mittitis pecuniam, perseverare non possum. Amplius quam ducentos ducatos de meis exposui. Velitis dare operam, ut pecuniae quam primum mittantur, si non vultis, quod me hinc necessitas expellat.

[9] I believe that you and others have various thoughts regarding this war and that many suspect many different things. However it be, I want your College to be convinced that Our Most Holy Lord's intentions toward you are sincere and solid and that he is genuinely working for your welfare. He is frequently tempted, petitioned, and urged to abandon you, but all the efforts of your adversaries are in vain, and he views with suspicion everyone, whether cardinals or others, who seem in any way to favour the king or Piccinino. Even Mateu Jovan, who seemed to side with the king, has fallen out of favour. He has requested leave and is now trying to return to the kingdom.

[10] Some proposals that are dangerous and pernicious for your state were recently made by men of great renown to the Supreme Pontiff, but they were in vain, for the pope is concerned for both you and himself. Juan Soler writes from Naples that the king is convinced that if he persists, your city will fall into his power, and it has been openly said that the pope is at fault for preventing the king from achieving his goal. This is what I have to write for now. You will learn the rest from Ser Bindo.

From the City, 22 January 1456. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

The expenses here are heavy. Unless you send money, I cannot continue. I have spent more than 200 ducats of my own. Please make every effort to send money as soon as possible, lest necessity force me to leave this place.

675. Letter to the City of Siena (24 January 1456, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, f. 17r¹ **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{17r} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Intelleximus dominus Bindus et ego litteras vestras, quas scribitis de campo ad Maglianum translato². Non est opus multa in ea re dicere. Tolerare oportet, quod factum est, et credo erit pro meliori, nam dominus Novariensis recto et ferventi animo incedit, et inimicus non habebit favores nec victualia ex castris nostris nec poterit ad castella nostra diripienda proficisci.

[2] Dominus archiepiscopus Ragusinus, sicut scribitis, non fuit vestrae reipublicae multum favorabilis, sed illam suis litteris saepe accusavit de negligentia coram papa, et fortasse ipse non solum in negligentia, sed in dolo erat, qui non puniebat deferentes ad hostem victualia. Is modo satis cognitus est apostolicae pietati et vocatus est a[d] praesentiam papae, et puto, quod amplius illuc non remittetur. Dominus Baptista de Brendis³ venit ex castris ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum. Petit pecunias pro gentibus, quae sunt in castris. Papa decrevit eo mittere 2000 ducatorum, quae statim parata erunt.

[3] Factum est verbum de Corrigianis. Papa vellet, quod cum eis concordaretis ex cito, et quo melius fieri posset, et propter hoc veniet dominus Baptista ad vos et cum brevibus papae. Melius est eam rem illic componi apud vos quam hic, quia hic gravaremini. Ideo capite partitum⁴. Pro nunc necesse est, ut subveniatis illis Corrigianis, qui perseverant in castris cum domino Novariensi pro ea rata, qua papa suis subvenit, et hoc jussit sua sanctitas per nos scribi. Vos tenemini papae et cardinalibus tribus in mille ducatis. Bonum est, ut detis operam pro celeri satisfactione, quia assidue repetuntur.

¹ DV, 39. *Autograph*
² *em.*; translatum cod.

³ *em.*; Brenis cod.

⁴ *dub.*

675. Letter to the City of Siena (24 January 1456, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] Ser Bindo and I have seen your letter, in which you write about the camp having been transferred to Magliano. There is no need to say much on the matter. We must endure what has been done, and I believe it will be for the better, for His Lordship of Novara¹ proceeds with a just and fervent spirit, and the enemy will not receive favours or victuals from our camp nor will he be able to set out to plunder our fortresses.

[2] As you write, the Lord Archbishop of Ragusa² has not been very favourable to your republic but has often accused it of negligence in his letters to the pope. Perhaps he himself was not only negligent but also deceitful, as he did not punish those who delivered victuals to the enemy. His Apostolic Piety now knows enough about him, and he has been summoned to the pope's presence. I think he will not be sent back there again. Ser Battista Brendo has come from the camp to Our Most Holy Lord. He is asking for money for the troops in the camps. The pope has decided to send 2,000 ducats there, which will be ready immediately.

[3] The matter concerning the Correggiani has been discussed. The Pope would like you to come to an agreement with them as quickly as possible and in the best way it can be done, and for this reason, Ser Battista will come to you with papal briefs. It is better that the matter is settled by you there than here, because here it would be more difficult for you. Therefore, come to a decision, for now, you must subsidise those Correggians who are staying on in the camp with His Lordship of Novara with the same salary that the pope pays his own [troops]. His Holiness has ordered us to write this to you. You still owe the pope and the three cardinals a thousand ducats. It would be good for you to pay the sum soon since it is being requested assiduously.

¹ Bishop Bartolomeo Visconti.

² Buongiovanni da Recanato.

[4] De pace nondum aliud habemus. Non est magna spes, quamvis esset valde necessaria. Sed si ordo servabitur in castris, Jacobus Piccininus cogitabit pro se ipso, quia non bene stat. Licet enim non deseritur a rege, non tamen abunde juvatur, et sui male contenti sunt nec possunt cum eo perseverare. Refert dominus Baptista venisse unum ex provisionatis Piccinini in castra nomine 60 provisionatorum dicti Jacobi petivisseque, ut reciperentur in castris ad servitium ecclesiae, aut si hoc non placeret, daretur eis subsidium eundi in Lombardiam ad ducem, quia cum Piccinino perseverare non possent, postquam spes adempta esset praedandi, cum gentes ecclesiae non ivissent ad stantias, sicut putabant. Aliqui putant illius fuisse exploratorem, sed Novarensis et alii aliter sentiunt decreveruntque provisionatis, si recesserint a Piccinino, ducatos 30, quibus in Lombardiam proficisci possint.

[5] Dominus Baptista, modeste tamen, conquestus est, quod vos 500 pedites nondum misistis ad castra prout ordinatum erat. Bonum est, quod vos detis operam, ut pedites ipsi eo quam citius pergant et similiter vastatores mittantur, quia dicitur, quod solum 25 misistis, cum deberetis mittere 200.

[6] De oratore Venetorum libenter audivimus. Florentinorum hic est legatus. Utinam citius venissent ambo, sed melius est tarde quam numquam. Aut manus ad aratrum applicabitis, aut pacem aut bellum habebimus. Si pax erit, bene est. Si minus, etiam bello pacem obtinebitis, si modo constanter et forti pugnemus animo.

Ex Roma, die 24. Januarii 1456. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[4] We do not yet have any news concerning the peace. Though it is most necessary, there is not much hope. But if order is maintained in the camp, Jacopo Piccinino will have to look out for himself, as he is not in a good position. Although he is not abandoned by the king, he does not receive much support, and his men are dissatisfied and cannot continue with him. Ser Battista reports that one of Piccinino's provisioned soldiers came to the camp, representing 60 of Piccinino's provisioned men. They requested either to be received into the camp in the service of the Church, or, if this was not agreeable, to be helped to go to Lombardy to the duke¹, because they could no longer continue with Piccinino after the hope of plundering evaporated since the Church's troops had not gone to their [winter] quarter as expected. Some think he was a spy, but His Lordship of Novara and others think otherwise and have decided to give the provisioned soldiers 30 ducats if they leave Piccinino so that they can go to Lombardy.

[5] Ser Battista has complained - though with restraint - that you have not yet sent the 500 foot soldiers to the camp as arranged. It would be good for you to ensure that the foot soldiers proceed there as soon as possible, and likewise that raiders² are sent, because it is said that you have only sent 25 when you should have sent 200.

[6] We were glad to hear about the Venetian envoy. The Florentine legate is here. I wish both had come sooner, but better late than never. Either you will put your hand to the plough, and we shall have peace or war. If there is peace, that is good. If not, you will obtain peace by war, if only we fight firmly and boldly.

From Rome, 24 January 1456. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Francesco I Sforza.

² "vastatores"

676. Letter to the City of Siena (25 January 1456, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, f. 18r¹ **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{ 18r } Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Dominus Ribes hodie de castris venit atque bonam esse concordiam inter castrenses et homines de Magliano cunctaque cum pace transire et Jacobum Guidini bene contentum esse. Non est, cur amplius de hoc verba faciamus, quia necesse est tolerare multa pro salute patriae.

[2] Dicit idem dominus Ribes Petrum Brunorium, vocatu oratoris Veneti, cum omnibus gentibus suis de campo recessisse Lombardiam repetiturum. Addit, quod vos 500 pedites, quos in castra mittere promiseratis, nondum misisse, propter quam rem castra ipsa satis debilia sunt. Ideo ordinatum est a papa, quod dominus Baptista de Brendis ad vos veniat vosque requirat, ut 500 pedites confestim in castra mittatis provideatisque de vastatoribus necessariis, et quoniam saepe de Corrigianis, et nullus secutus est effectus, vult papa, quod idem dominus Baptista omnino vobiscum determinet. Ego laudo, quantum possum, quod tandem finem negotio faciatis, quia molestum est papa in ea re totiens loqui in vanum.

[3] Vobis notum esse cupio, quod dominus Ribes affirmavit papae ipsos Corrigianos 900 esse equites. Poteritis providere illis, qui erunt in castris, eo modo, quo papa providet suis, qui nunc (?) dies milia florenorum in omnem exercitum mittit apud Novariensem existentem.

[4] Si pax fiet, de qua nihil aliud certi habeamus - sed expectamus magistrum Johannem Soleri - erimus liberi ab hac molestia. Si minus, ordinandum erit de alio modo. Diminuendae erunt expensae, et statuendus certus militum numerus, qui per vos et per papam et ducem Mediolani teneantur sine gravamine, et non erit difficile modum reperire, per quem sine magno onere vestro, nam totum consistit in ordine et fide militum. Vestrum erit cogitare (?), quid vos singulis mensibus, quid papa, et quid ceteri exponere habeant et quas gentes tenere et fortasse pro duobus aut tribus florenorum in mense eritis liberati et ordine dato.

¹ DV, 41. *Autograph. Somewhat damaged manuscript.*

676. Letter to the City of Siena (25 January 1456, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] Ser Ribes came today from the camp and said that relations between the soldiers and the people of Magliano are good, that everything is proceeding peacefully, and that Jacopo Guidini is well content. There is no need for us to speak more on this, for it is necessary to endure much for the welfare of the fatherland.

[2] The same Ser Ribes says that Pietro Brunoro, at the invitation of the envoy of Venice, has left the camp with all his men to go to Lombardy. He adds that you have not yet sent the 500 foot soldiers you promised to send to the camp and that the camp is therefore rather weak. For this reason, the pope¹ has ordered that Ser Battista Brendo should go to you and request that you immediately send the 500 foot soldiers to the camp and provide for the necessary raiders². And since [you have] often [been admonished] concerning the Correggians, with no result, the pope wishes that the same Ser Baptista should fully settle this issue with you. I urge you, as much as I can, to finally bring this matter to an end, for it is highly problematical that the pope should speak about this matter so often and in vain.

[3] I want you to know that Ser Ribes told the pope that the Correggian company now consists of 900 horsemen. You will be able to provide for those in the camp in the same way the pope provides for his own. He now sends... thousand florins to the entire army with [the Bishop] of Novara³.

[4] If peace is made - about which we have no certain information yet, but we are waiting for Magister Juan Soler - we will be free from this vexation. If not, another course of action must be chosen. Expenses will need to be reduced, and a fixed number of soldiers established, to be maintained by you, the pope, and the Duke of Milan⁴ without too much trouble, and it will not be difficult to find a way to ... without great cost on your part since everything depends on the discipline and loyalty of the soldiers. It will be your task to consider what you should spend each month, and what the pope and the others should spend, and which forces should be maintained, and perhaps you will be freed for two or three florins a month, provided that a plan is established.

¹ Callixtus III.

² "vastatores"

³ Bartolomeo Visconti.

⁴ Francesco I Sforza.

[5] Rex Aragonum alia cogitabit ad pacem magis facientia, sed papa expectat dominum Johannem Soleri, si forte pax fiet. Eo reverso, aut de pace erit certando (?) (wrangle), et tunc bene aut non, et tunc vult sua sanctitas ordinare exercitum, quae durare possit ad hostis exterminium. Expectatur orator Venetus, cum quo haec et alia tractentur. Hic est fama, quod Januenses non sunt in bona concordia cum rege Aragonum. Nescio, an vera fama est. Si ita sit, non erit utile Jacobo Piccinino.

[6] Iterum rogo, detis operam, ut stipendium meum mihi mittatur, quia exhaustus sum omni pecunia.

Ex Roma, die 25 Januarii 1456. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[5] The King of Aragon¹ will consider other things more conducive to peace, but the pope is waiting for Ser Juan Soler, in case peace is made. When he returns, there we shall have to wrangle about peace (well or not), and then His Holiness wishes to organise an army that can last until the enemy is destroyed. The Venetian ambassador is expected, with whom these and other matters will be discussed. There is a rumour here that the Genoese are not on good terms with the King of Aragon. I do not know whether this rumour is true. If it is, it will not benefit Jacopo Piccinino.

[6] Again, I ask that you ensure my stipend is sent to me, for I am completely drained of money.

From Rome, 25 January 1456. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

677. Letter to the City of Siena (2 February 1456, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, ff. 18r-18v^l **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{43} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Reversus est tabellarius vester ex Neapoli, qui litteras regias ad vos portat simulque litteras domini Johannis Soleri. Quae autem nova in illis contineantur, clam me est. Sunt et litterae ejusdem domini Johannis ad papam, quas nequivimus praesentare. Est enim papa genu dolens neque admisit hodie ad se quemquam. Speramus cras suam sanctitatem adire, quia multa sunt, de quibus loqui debemus. Tunc intelligemus, si qua sint ad pacem facientia, et cuncta dominus Bindus et ego vestro collegio significabimus.

[2] Episcopus Novariensis scribit se cum paucis esse in castris timereque superventum hostis et insultum. Ob eam rem petit augeri exercitum mittique sibi equites et pedites pro majori tutela. Ait enim advenisse comiti Jacobo galeas aliquas regis et venturas esse plures cum ballistariis et aliis ad bellum aptis hominibus. Id papa aegro animo tulit, quasi episcopus non timenda timeret. Sed Jacobus Guidini eadem confirmare visus est, qui petit ex domino Bindo et me, ut papae suadeamus, ne omittat exercitum augere. Non potuimus adhuc alloqui papam. Cras id faciemus, si dabitur alloquendi facultas. Sed cavendum est, ut et vos etiam gentes vestras et vastatores ad exercitum mittatis, quia magna querela est nihil per vos factum esse ex iis, quae requirebantur. Dicitur per aliquos male auxilium petere ex alio, qui sibi ipsi deest.

[3] Archiepiscopus Ragusinus, etsi revocatus fuerit brevibus apostolicis, non tamen huc rediit, sed miscet se curae castrensi. Nescio, quibus artibus ille ibi retinetur. Sibi non desunt in hac curia fautores, et magni quidem viri.

[4] Gubernator patrimonii revocatus est et alius in ejus locum missus. Litterae frumentales ac mandata ad eum facta per revocationem ejus expirant. Opus est novas litteras impetremus idque die crastina conabimur obtinere.

[5] Orator Venetus advenit et, quantum ipse dicit, legatio sua nihil aliud habet nisi audire et referre neque inclinatus esse videtur ad eundem Neapolim pro requisitione observationis foederis. Dicit enim non esse exasperandum regem, sed sub generalitate quadam ait dominium Venetorum laboraturum esse pro communi pace Italiae.

¹ DV, 42-43

677. Letter to the City of Siena (2 February 1456, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.
Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] Your messenger has returned from Naples with a letter from the king¹ to you, as well as a letter from Ser Juan Soler. I do not know what news they contain. There is also a letter from the same Ser Juan to the pope², which we have not been able to present to him since he is suffering from a pain in his knee and did not admit anyone to see him today. We hope to visit His Holiness tomorrow, as there are many matters we need to discuss. Then we will see whether there is anything conducive to peace, and if there is, Ser Bindo³ and I will report it all to your College.

[2] The Bishop of Novara⁴ writes that he is in the camp with only a few men and fears an enemy assault. For this reason, he requests an increase of the army and that horse and foot soldiers be sent for greater protection. He also reports that some galleys of the king have arrived for Count Jacopo⁵, and more will come with crossbowmen and other men fit for war. The pope was irritated at this news, as if the bishop were fearing things not to be feared. But Jacopo Guidini has confirmed it and asks Ser Bindo and me to persuade the pope not to neglect to increase the army. We have not yet been able to speak with the pope, but we will do so tomorrow if we are given the opportunity. But you must take care to send your troops and raiders⁶ to the army, as we hear great complaints that you have done nothing of what was requested. Some say it is wrong to seek help from another if you do not help yourself.

[3] Although the Archbishop of Ragusa⁷ has been recalled by apostolic briefs, he has not yet returned here but is still occupied with managing the camp. I do not know by what means he is being retained there. He has supporters at this court⁸, and indeed great men⁹.

[4] The governor of the Patrimony¹⁰ has been recalled, and another has been sent in his place. The grain letters and instructions issued to him expired with his recall, so we need to obtain new letters, and we will attempt to do so tomorrow.

[5] The Venetian ambassador has arrived. He declares that his mission is solely to listen and report back, and he does not seem inclined to go to Naples to demand the observance of the treaty. He says that the king should not be provoked, but that, generally, the Dominion of Venice will work for the common peace of Italy.

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

² Callixtus III.

³ Bindo Bindi.

⁴ Bartolomeo Visconti.

⁵ Jacopo Piccinino.

⁶ "vastatores"

⁷ Buongiovanni da Recanati.

⁸ The papal court.

⁹ Cardinals?

¹⁰ Patrimony of Saint Peter.

[6] Cum dominus Sceva simulque collegae sui accessissent oratorem Venetum et ab eo cognovissent eum non esse iturum Neapolim nisi ex novo mandato domini sui, ait dominus Sceva per illum modum rem nimis protrahi, quia antequam dominium Venetorum consuleretur et haberetur responsum, abiret mensis, et interim ver adventaret, quo tempore solent gentes ad bella procedere. Subjunxit quoque dominus Sceva ducem Mediolani non habere aliquod interesse in eo bello, quod Senenses a Piccinino paterentur, sed ducem illum tamquam requisitum a papa, qui esset caput ligae, gentes suas misisset, alioquin ducem illum non fuisse missurum. Ad ea respondit orator Venetus similiter quoque dominium Venetorum non habere aliquod interesse de pendente bello inter Piccininum et civitatem vestram.

[7] Cum essemus postea in colloquio, ducales oratores et nos, fuit, qui dixit Venetos non teneri Senensibus ex aliquo foedere ad praestandum auxilia contra Piccininum, qui esset homo regius, nam si allegatur foedus particulare inter vos et Venetos, dicunt in eo unum esse capitulum, quo cavetur per illud foedus in nulla re derogari debere ei foederi, quod Veneti cum rege prius percussissent, in quo fortasse aliqua continentur de rebus Tusciae. Si vero allegatur foedus commune Neapoli factum, rursus et illic unum esse capitulum dicitur, in quo cavetur, quod, si qua pars principalis cum aliquo subdito recommendato aut particulariter confoederato suo litem haberet, aliae partes principales non debent se intromittere de tali controversia, nisi requirantur ab illa parte principali bellum habente.

[8] Haec ita sunt dicta inter nos. Nescio autem, an ita capitula se habeant. Visum tamen mihi est ea significare collegio vestro, ut super his cogitetis. Nam si ita capitula se habent, periculosa res est, neque nobis alia via salubrior esset quam pax, si posset haberi honesta et tuta. Nam magnae potentiae de minoribus parum curant. Aliqui ex palatio papae suae sanctitati secreti spem bonam faciunt affirmantes quod ante multos dies pacem habebimus. Magister Johannes Soleri nuper scripsit papam non debere advertere, quid per alios dicatur, nam ipse in brevi vel pacis vel belli conclusionem apportabit. Quid modo scribat, cras sentiemus.

[9] Matthaeus Johannes, secretarius papae, omnino licentiatu est tamquam regi Aragonum favens et papae suspectus. Ex Roma, die prima Februarii 1456.

Post haec scripta, fuimus isto mane in palatio ad sollemnem missam nec potuimus postea papam accedere. Visum est non esse retinendum hunc nuntium amplius. Ideo eum remittimus. Quae sentiemus ulterius, significabimus dominus Bindus et ego collegio vestro. Qui sunt secreti papae, multa dicunt de spe pacis. Res mihi non est certa. Fortasse papa vult illius sibi solus honorem. Utinam habeamus pacem, et maneat honor apud sanctitatem suam vel alium quemcumque.

Ex Roma, die secunda Februarii 1456. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[6] When Ser Sceva¹ and his colleagues met the Venetian ambassador and learned from him that he would not go to Naples without new instructions from his Dominion, Ser Sceva said that this would cause too much delay, for it would take a month to consult the Venetian Dominion and obtain a response, and meanwhile spring would come, the time when armies typically go to war. Ser Sceva added that the Duke of Milan² had no interest in the war that Piccinino is waging against the Sienese, but the pope, who is the head of the League, has requested the duke to send his troops; otherwise, the duke would not have sent them. The Venetian ambassador replied that neither does the Dominion of Venice have any interest in the current war between Piccinino and your city.

[7] During a later discussion between the ducal envoys and us, someone said that the Venetians are not bound by any treaty to provide assistance to the Sienese against Piccinino, who is the king's man, for if the particular treaty between you and the Venetians is invoked, they say there is one clause in it, which stipulates that nothing in that treaty should derogate from the treaty that the Venetians had previously concluded with the king, and perhaps something is contained in it regarding Tuscan matters. If, however, the general treaty³ made in Naples is invoked, there is a clause there, which states that if any principal party has a dispute with any of its subjects or particular allies, the other principal parties should not intervene in such a controversy unless requested by the principal party at war.

[8] These things were said among us. However, I do not know if the clauses referred to indeed say this. Nevertheless, I thought it appropriate to inform your College so that you may consider these matters. For if the clauses say as stated, it is a dangerous situation, and no other path would be safer for us than peace, if it can be obtained honourably and safely. Indeed, great powers care little for smaller ones. From the papal palace, some of His Holiness' confidants give good hopes, affirming that we will have peace in a few days. Magister Juan Soler recently wrote that the pope should not heed what others say, for he himself will soon bring [news of] a decision for peace or war. Tomorrow, we will know what he writes now.

[9] Mateu Jovan, a secretary of the pope, has been dismissed entirely, as he was suspected of favouring the King of Aragon and had incurred the pope distrust.

From Rome, 1 February 1456.

After these things were written, we went this morning to the palace for the solemn mass but were unable to approach the pope afterward. It seemed best not to retain the messenger any longer. Therefore, we are sending him back. Ser Bindo and I will report to your College whatever we learn later. The pope's confidants speak much about hopes for peace. I am not certain about this matter. Perhaps the pope wishes to claim the honour of it for himself. I hope we shall have peace, whether the honour be His Holiness' or anyone else.

From Rome, 2 February 1456. Enea, Bishop of Siena

¹ Sceva da Curte.

² Francesco I Sforza.

³ The League of Italy.

678. Letter to the City of Siena (5 February 1456, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, ff. 19r-20r^l **; VI, ff. 81r-83v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {19v} Nihil miror, magnifici et potentes domini, si superioribus aliquot diebus sanctissimus dominus noster nobis ad se aditum non praebuit. Fuit enim graviter aegrotus, neque adhuc bene convaluit. Dolet enim genu et angitur. Vocavit nos heri ad horam vigesimam secundam simul cum Mediolanensibus et Florentinis. Retulit nobis, quae Venetus orator sibi dixerat, quaeque sua sanctitas oratori replicaverat, quae in summa haec sunt:

[2] Orator Venetus negavit per suum dominium aliquas pecunias dandas esse Jacobo Piccinino, sed venisse se auditurum, quid papae placeret, deinde relaturum dominio, et quantum illinc praeceptum fuerit, omnino facturum. Papa dixit ei, quaecumque via recipiatur sive belli sive concordiae, necessariam esse pecuniam. Mirari quoque se dixit, quod Veneti non dedissent oratori mandatum de eundo Neapolim, cum id a dominio specialiter requisitum fuisset. Orator replicavit, quod indecorum esset aliquas pecunias Piccinino dare. De itinere autem ad regem Aragonum dixit, quod fortasse rex perseveraret in proposito suo, et ideo nesciret, an esset expediens illud iter, quia si staret rex in proposito, ignoraret quomodo potentatus de liga remaneret in foedere cum rege, per quae verba videbatur innuere Venetus orator, quod dominium suum non esset inclinatum ad capiendum litem cum rege, etiamsi rex in eo proposito perseveraret, in quo esse videtur, juvandi Piccininum et impugnandi civitatem vestram.

[3] Iterum papa cum oratore multa disseruit dicens pecuniam dandam esse Piccinino ad duplicem effectum, ut scilicet pacatam Italiam relinqueret et contra Turcos iret pro defensione fidei Catholicae. Dixit quoque indignum sibi videri, quod Veneti tam remissi essent in defensione Senensium, quos bello injustissimo Piccininus invasisset, qui tamen essent eorum confoederati et tam ex particulari quam ex generali liga defendi deberent. Orator autem Venetus ait dominium suum multa in favorem Senensium fecisse et magnam pecuniam pro eis exposuisset. Denique illa conclusio fuit, quod orator super omnibus consuleret dominium suum et, prout sibi mandaretur, efficeret.

¹ DV, 45-47

678. Letter to the City of Siena (5 February 1456, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] I am not at all surprised that in the past few days Our Most Holy Lord¹ has not granted us access, for he has been gravely ill and has not yet fully recovered. His knee is in pain, and he is distressed. But yesterday, he summoned us at the twenty-second hour, along with the [envoys] from Milan and Florence. He recounted to us what the Venetian ambassador had said to him and what His Holiness had replied to the ambassador. The main points were these:

[2] The Venetian ambassador denied that his Dominion² should give any money to Jacopo Piccinino but said he had come to hear what the pope wanted and would then report back to the Dominion, and then he would do whatever was commanded from there. The pope told him that whatever path is chosen, whether war or peace, money would be necessary. He also expressed surprise that the Venetians had not given their ambassador a mandate to go to Naples, as the Dominion had been specifically requested to do so. The ambassador responded that it would be disgraceful to give any money to Piccinino. As for the journey to the King of Aragon³, he said that perhaps the king would persist in his plan, and therefore he did not know whether the journey would be expedient, for if the king held firm in his purpose, he did not know how the powers of the League could remain in alliance with the king. By these words, the Venetian ambassador seemed to intimate that his Dominion was not inclined to take a conflict with the king, even if the king persisted in his intention of helping Piccinino and attacking your city.

[3] The pope then discussed many things with the ambassador, stating that money must be given to Piccinino for a twofold purpose: to leave Italy at peace and to go against the Turks in defence of the Catholic faith. He also said that it seemed disgraceful to him that the Venetians were so lax in defending the Sienese, who had been attacked by Piccinino with no justification whatsoever, even though they were confederates and should be defended under both a special treaty and the general League. The Venetian ambassador replied that his Dominion had done much in favour of the Sienese and had expended a great sum of money on their behalf. In conclusion, the ambassador said he would consult his Dominion on all matters and would act as he would be instructed.

¹ Pope Callixtus III.

² The Dominion of Venice

³ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

[4] Post haec dixit nobis papa ex Neapoli se habere per magistrum Johannem Soleri, quod omnis divisio, quae fuerat in castris inter episcopos, et omnis inordinatio significata fuerat regi Aragonum, et quod eadem causa procuratores Piccinini in tractatu duriores erant, petentes, si deberet Piccininus ire in Albaniam, stipendium pro duobus milibus equitum et totidem peditum, (19v) quia non ad moriendum, sed ad vincendum illuc intenderet proficisci. Rex autem, cum audisset illorum petitiones, dixit videri sibi nimium esse, quod peteret, nec bonum ad ea mediatorem se fore. Placeret sibi, quod ipsi per alios eorum negotia componerent, quia non speraret ipse posse talia conducere ad effectum. Johanni¹ autem Soleri seorsum dixit utile esse, quod papa id negotii terminaret, quo meliori modo posset, ac faceret, ut potentatus ligae ad impensam concurrerent. Nam et ipse, si crederet in ea re papae complacere, decem milia ducatorum conferret, atque ita impendenti est adhuc tractatus concordiae apud regem, et existimat sanctissimus dominus noster, si constantes simus castraque munita teneamus, brevi futurum, quod hostis mitior erit legesque pacis accipiet, quas poterit habere, non quas volet, quia rex non opitulabitur ei enixissime, ut multi rentur. Multum tamen obstat proposito nostro tepiditas Venetorum, qui non videntur concordi animo ad ea vadere, quae papa cum ceteris de liga desiderat. Idque non latet regem et Piccininum, sed papa existimat, et satis rationabile est, ambulatibus secum recte Florentinis et duce, necessarium esse, quod Veneti quoque idem sint et recte ambulent.

[5] Ait insuper sanctissimus dominus noster die prima hujus mensis regem apud Neapolim publice cruciatam sollemniterque proclamari fecisse certificasseque suum oratorem, quod galleas quindecim armatas praesto haberet, quas contra Turcos ad requisitionem papae missurus esset, mandasse quoque indulgentias praedicari et decimas colligi pecuniasque conservari per fideles manus ad usum classis per omnia regna sua.

[6] Exinde venimus ad materiam castrorum et ad ea, quae Novariensis scripserat, qui dicebat se cum paucis remansisse in castris. Nam et gentes, quae illuc ire debuerant, non iverant, et multi ex eis, qui iverant², recesserant. Propter quam rem timebat, ne scandalum pateremur ab hostibus. Quibus auditis jussit papa nova mandata fieri, ut juxta ordinationem prius habitam armigeri in castra redirent ostenditque sibi valde cordi esse ita provideri, ne castra quovis modo deserantur, neve facultas discussandi hosti praebeatur. Sed multum conquestus est, quod ex parte vestra neque pedites neque vastatores, prout ordinatum fuerat, in castra venerunt, cui dominus Bindus et ego diximus, quod dominus Novariensis scripserat vobis et sperabat, quod ex parte vestra non deberet esse defectus.

¹ Johannem V1

² viverant V1

[4] After this, the pope told us that he had received word from Naples through Magister Juan Soler that all the disunity among the bishops¹ in the camp and all the disorder had been reported to the king of Aragon. This was the reason why Piccinino's procurators were being quite obstinate in the negotiations, demanding payment for two thousand horsemen and an equal number of foot soldiers, if Piccinino were to go to Albania, for they intended to go there to conquer, not to die. When the king heard their demands, he said it seemed to him that they were asking for too much and that he would not be a good mediator in the matter. He would prefer them to settle their business through others, as he did not expect to be able to bring it to a successful conclusion. Privately, the king told Juan Soler that it would be useful if the pope resolved the matter in the best way he could and ensured that the powers of the League contributed to the expense. If he thought it would please the pope, he himself would contribute ten thousand ducats. Thus, negotiations for peace continue at the king's court, and Our Most Holy Lord believes that if we remain steadfast and keep the camp fortified, the enemy will soon be more inclined to accept such terms of peace as he could get, and not as he would want. For the king will not assist him as vigorously as many think. However, the lukewarm attitude of the Venetians greatly hinders our plans, as apparently they do not agree with the course preferred by the pope and the rest of the League. This is not unknown to the king and Piccinino, but the pope reasonably believes that since he has the Florentines and the duke² with him, the Venetians must conform and do the right thing.

[5] Moreover, Our Most Holy Lord said that in Naples, on the first day of this month, the king had publicly and solemnly proclaimed a crusade and had informed his ambassador that he had fifteen armed galleys ready, which he would send against the Turks at the pope's request. He had also ordered indulgences to be preached, and tithes to be collected, and the money to be kept in trusty hands for the use of the fleet in all his kingdoms.

[6] We then moved on to the matter of the camp and the reports from the bishop of Novara³, who said that he had remained in the camp with few men, for the troops that were supposed to go there had not come, and many of those who had come had left again. Because of this, he feared that the enemy might inflict a scandal upon us. Hearing this, the pope ordered new instructions to be issued so that the soldiers would return to the camp according to the prior arrangement. He showed that he very much desired that provisions be made so that the camp is not abandoned and that the enemy be not given an opportunity to strike. He was most upset that neither foot soldiers nor raiders⁴ had arrived in the camp from your side, as had been arranged. Ser Bindo⁵ and I told him that the Bishop of Novara had written to you and that he hoped you would not fail to do your part.

¹ Bartolomeo Visconti and Buongiovanni da Recanati.

² Francesco I Sforza.

³ Bartolomeo Visconti.

⁴ "vastatores"

⁵ Bindo Bindi.

[7] Diximus et ipsi sanctissimo domino nostro de adventu legatorum vestrorum, qui eam rem libenter audivit. Cuperet tamen sua sanctitas apportari pecunias et sibi et cardinalibus debitas. Alia modo non occurrunt. Optarem sanctissimum dominum nostrum optime valere, nam sua aegritudo, etsi non est quanta dicitur, tamen nocet rebus agendis et animum praebet hostibus nostris. Sed spero sanctitatem suam cito convaleturam.

Valete optime. Ex Roma, die quinta Februarii 1456. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

[7] We also told Our Most Holy Lord about the arrival of your envoys, which he was glad to hear. However, His Holiness would like the monies owed to him and the cardinals to be delivered. There is nothing else [to report] at the moment. I hope Our Most Holy Lord recovers soon, for although his illness is not as severe as is said, it still hampers the affairs at hand and emboldens our enemies. But I hope His Holiness will soon recover.

Farewell. From Rome, 5 February 1456. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

679. Letter to the City of Siena (12 February 1456, Rome).

Manuscripts: VI, f. 37r **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{37r} Magnifici et potentes domini.

[1] Quae cum summo pontifice gesta sint ex litteris, quas communiter scripsimus, cognoscetis. Nescimus, an cum domino Galgano et Leonardo Neapolim ituri sumus. Id enim in potestate summi pontificis est. Dominus Bindus diligenter omnia et magna prudentia gerit, die noctuque pro reipublica insudat, nil intentatum pro pace derelinquit, cujus gratia maxima est apud pontificem ac reliquos dominos cardinales. Ejus autem opera vobis hic pernecessaria est, quare commendo vobis eum, qui pecunia indiget, nec satis honorifice, nec pro civitatis dignitate sine pecunia vivere potest. Rogo dominationes vestras sibi provideri jubeatis. Indignum enim vobis videtur oratorem vestrum pecunia carere.

Recommitto me dominationibus vestris. Ex Urbe, die 12. Februarii 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

679. Letter to the City of Siena (12 February 1456, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] From the letters we have written jointly, you will learn what has been accomplished with the Supreme Pontiff¹. We do not know whether we will go to Naples with Ser Galgano² and Leonardo³, as that is in the hands of the Supreme Pontiff. Ser Bindo⁴ is managing everything diligently and with great wisdom; day and night, he toils for the republic, leaving nothing undone in the pursuit of peace. He is held in great esteem by the pope and the lord cardinals. His work here is most necessary for you, and therefore I commend him to you. He is in need of money, and without it, he cannot live as befits his honour and your city's dignity. I ask your lordships to ensure that he is provided for, as it would be unfitting for your ambassador to lack money.

I once again commend myself to your lordships. From the City, 12 Februar 1455⁵.
Eneas, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Pope Callixtus III.

² Galgano Borghehese.

³ Leonardo Benvoglianti.

⁴ Bindo Bindi.

⁵ This year is patently erroneous, since in February 1455, Piccolomini was still at the imperial court in Wiener Neustadt, busily

preparing the imminent diet. Did Piccolomini here use the Vatican calculus (but see date of letter 681), or was it just a lapsus?

680. Letter to the City of Siena (17 February 1456, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, f. 21r¹ **; VI, f. 39r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{21r} Magnifici et potentes domini.

[1] Dominus Galganus Borghesius et Leonardus, oratores vestri, mandato vestrorum dominationum me rogarunt, ut una secum ad regem Neapolim pergerem, quod me facturum respondi, modo id sanctissimo nostro placeret. Cupio enim vobis morem gerere, nec umquam die noctuque pro vestra republica laborare pigebit. Oratorum accessus ad regem papae jussu retardatus est, quoniam quasdam relationes ex Neapoli expectare statuit, quae non secundum desiderium nostrum evenerunt. Decretum est jam a summo pontifice, ut oratores regem adeant. Ego podagra premor neque e lecto surgo, quare sine nobis ire consultius esse judico. Ipsi expectant, quid fieri velitis. Res celeritatem exigit, possetque rei publicae vestrae mora obesse. Quare videtur nobis paci conducere, si ipsi quam celeriter legationem expediant.

[2] Reverendissimus dominus cardinalis Bononiensis a summo pontifice litteras impetravit pro liberatione Georgii de Massa, quem, si caveat, se numquam conjuncum² cum hoste liberandum puto. Idque fieri summopere hortor, nam reverendissimus cardinalis cives Senenses multa benevolentia complexus est seque Senensem appellare solet potestque³ multis rebus civitati vestrae prodesse. Conservanda est potentium amicitia. Is consanguineum suum vehementer diligit, qui etiam ad Nicodemum, illustrissimi ducis oratorem, attinet, nam et ipse consanguineus ejus dicitur. Quare et litterae summi pontificis et Nicodemi meritum et reverendissimi domini cardinalis amicitia digna sunt istum hominem liberare. Cetera ex praefatis oratoribus, qui ad vos scripserunt, intelligetis.

Recommitto me magnificentiis vestris. Ex Urbe, die 17. Februarii 1455. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ DV, 49. *Autograph*

² conjunctionem V1

³ postquam V1

680. Letter to the City of Siena (17 February 1456, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] By the command of Your Lordships, your ambassadors, Ser Galgano Borghese and Leonardo, have asked me to accompany them to Naples to [meet] the king¹. I answered that I would do so, provided it was acceptable to Our Most Holy Lord², for I wish to comply with your desires and will never begrudge labouring day and night for your republic. The ambassadors' journey to the king was delayed by the pope's order since he has decided to await certain reports from Naples, which did not turn out as we would have wished. The Supreme Pontiff has now decided that the ambassadors should proceed to the king. I am afflicted with gout and cannot rise from bed, so I judge it wiser that they go without me. They await your decision on what to do. The matter requires haste, and a delay could harm your republic. Therefore, it seems to us that it would help the peace process if they proceed with the embassy as swiftly as possible.

[2] The most reverend Lord Cardinal of Bologna³ has obtained a letter from the Supreme Pontiff for the release of Giorgio de Massa⁴, who I believe should be freed if he provides surety, as he has never joined the enemy. I strongly urge that this be done, for the Most Reverend Cardinal is very well disposed towards the citizens of Siena and usually calls himself a Sienese. He can be of benefit to your city in many ways. The friendship of the powerful must be maintained. He holds his kinsman in great affection, which also extends to Nicodemo⁵, the ambassador of the Most Illustrious Duke⁶, for Nicodemo is said to be his kinsman as well. Thus, the letter of the Supreme Pontiff, the merit of Nicodemo, and the friendship of the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal are all worthy reasons to release this man. You will hear the rest from the aforementioned ambassadors, who have written to you about it.

I commend myself again to Your Magnificences. From the City, on 17 February 1455⁷.
Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ Filippo Calandrini

⁴ Giorgio de Massa: Condottiero. At some time, papal castellan in Orvieto.

⁵ Nicodemo Tranchedini da Pontremoli (1413-1481): Diplomat of Francesco I Sforza.

⁶ Francesco I Sforza.

⁷ This year is patently erroneous, since in February 1455, Piccolomini was still at the imperial court

in Wiener Neustadt, busily preparing the imminent diet. Did he here use the Vatican calculus (system of dating) (but see date of letter 681), or was it just a lapsus?

681. Letter to the City of Siena (28 February 1456, Rome).

Manuscripts: T1, f. 23r¹ **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{23r} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Rogarunt [me oratores vestri dominus Galganus Borghesius] et Leonardus, ut cum eis ad regem irem satisfaceremque impedimento podagra fuit. Dixi, ut praecederent, quia ut primum debilitas pedum. Nunc confido, quia cras iter arripiam. Interea supervenit miles et camerius secretissimus imperatoris, qui venit orator ad regem et [cum illo Neapolim] pergam. Utilis est hujus hominis adventus. Dicet enim et faciet, quaecumque voluero in causa nostra, quia amicus meus est.

[2] Quae ordinata sunt in facto castrorum inte[lligetis] domino Bindo, qui mittet cuncta in scriptis. Similiter et dominus Baptista de Brendis vobis omnia exponet, qui mandato papae ad vos proficiscitur. Necesse est adhibere bonam diligentiam in campo, dum pax tractatur conditio melior invenietur. Papa est pacis cupidissimus. Alia non occurrunt. Rogo, detis operam, ut pecunia immitatur, quia exhaustus et mutuo a mercatoribus accepi aurum, quo vado ad regem. Alia modo non occurrunt.

Ex Roma, die ultima Februarii 1456. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ DV, 51. *Autograph. Damaged manuscript.*

681. Letter to the City of Siena (28 February 1456, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] [Your ambassadors, Ser Galgano Borghese] and Leonardo¹, asked me to go with them to the king² and I would accommodate [them] [but] was prevented by gout. I told them to go ahead, since [I would follow] as soon [I recovered] from the weakness of my feet. I am confident that I can begin my journey tomorrow. Meanwhile, a knight, the emperor's most confidential chamberlain, has arrived. He has come as an ambassador to the king, and I will go with him to Naples. The arrival of this man is useful, for he will say and do whatever I want in aid of our cause since he is a friend.

[2] You will hear what has been decided concerning the camp [from] Ser Bindo³, who will send everything in writing. Likewise, Ser Battista Brendo, who is travelling to you by the pope's command, will explain it all. You must show great diligence in the matter of the camp, while peace is being negotiated [because thus you will] get better terms of peace. The pope is now avid for peace. There is nothing else [to write about]. I ask you to take care to send money, for I have no more and have borrowed money from merchants to go to the king. There is nothing else [to write about]

From Rome, the last day of February 1456. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Leonardo Benvoglianti.

² Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

³ Bindo Bindi.

682. Letter to the City of Siena (1 March 1456, Rome).

Manuscripts: VI, ff. 85r-85v**.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

{85r} Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi.

[1] Et propter podagram me vexantem et propter novum imperatoris oratorem huc adventantem non potui citius iter ad regem capere. At cras infallanter, adjutore Deo, viam ingrediar. Speravi oratorem mecum venturum, sed fieri non potest, quia non habet adhuc responsum finale a papa. Habebit intra biduum aut triduum. Papa vero, qui olim noluit me ire, nunc rogat, ut festinanter eam. Est enim pacis cupidus, et omnes cardinales idem cum eo desiderant. Si rex ad aequa descenderit, immo ad possibilia, pacem habebimus. Ego parebo et papae et vobis et faciam, quaecumque putavero ad pacem conducere, quamvis scio leges ex cogitatibus suis non facile decidere. Deus nobis pacem tribuat. Rex ad tres dies¹ hinc abest. Conveniam eum, ubicumque fuerit. Accepi mutuo ab {85v} Ambrosio Spannochchia ducatos 200. Rogo et obsecro jubeatis illos sibi reddi et numerari in banco Ricciardi de Saracinis, quia alioquin infamis esse, cum nequeam aliunde reddere, exhaustus omni aere.

Valete. Ex Roma, die prima Martii 1456. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ *em.*; dietas cod.

682. Letter to the City of Siena (1 March 1456, Rome).

Context: The ongoing negotiations in Rome concerning the conflict between Siena and Jacopo Piccinino, supported by the King of Naples.

Subject: The latest developments in the negotiation.

Magnificent, Mighty, and Honourable Lords.

[1] The gout that is troubling me and the arrival of the new envoy from the emperor have prevented me from undertaking the journey to the king¹ sooner. But tomorrow, without fail, I will set out with God's help. I had hoped the ambassador² would come with me, but that is not possible because he does not yet have a final response from the pope³. He will have it within two or three days. The pope, who once did not want me to go, now bids me to go quickly, for he is eager for peace, and all the cardinals desire the same along with him. If the king agrees to reasonable terms, or rather to what is possible, we will have peace. I shall obey both the pope and you and will do whatever I think leads to peace, although I know it is not easy to change laws once they are set. May God grant us peace. The king is three days away from here. I will meet him, wherever he is. I have borrowed 200 ducats from Ambrogio Spannochchi⁴. I beg and beseech you to order that they be repaid and counted out in the bank of Riccardo dei Saracini, because otherwise I will be disgraced, as I cannot repay them from any other source, having exhausted all my funds.

Farewell. From Rome, on the first day of March 1456. Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

² From the emperor.

³ Callixtus III.

⁴ Ambrogio Spannocchi (1415/1420-1478): Siennese banker.

Would later become the treasurer of Pius II (DBI).

683. Letter from Giovanni da Capistrano (8 April 1456)

Source: *Wadding, vol. 12, 1456, X, p. 319.*

Reverende pater.

[1] Insonuit auribus meis laetus nuntius, quod scilicet divina dispositione votis nostris sit satisfactum, quod sanctissimus dominus noster te, reverende pater, assumpserit in cardinalem. Sed cum nec reverendissimus dominus legatus nec Catholicus quispiam hoc intellexerit, incertus sum, an huic festivo novo congratuler. Congratulor vehementer, si verum est. Sin autem, det divina pietas, ut serio gaudeamus. Sed cum propalaverint Bohemi haeretici, qui jactant se habere promotorem te apud sanctissimum dominum nostrum, ut compactata sibi confirmentur, non faciles adhibeo aures. Dicunt enim et praedicant te in cardinalem assumptum teque hanc provinciam assumpsisse, ut compactata restaures, et perfidissimum haeresiarcham Rochoyanam in archiepiscopum Pragensem confirmare studeas, ac proinde promittas ad cardinalatum dictum Rochoyanam assumendum. Non adducor, ut credam, nec fidem Catholicam credere possum a tua reverendissima dignatione pessumdari, sed augeri indesinenter. Pejora non audivimus diebus nostris, quam quae impraesentiarum geruntur ab haereticis etiam in regno Hungariae. Tu autem, reverendissima paternitas, pro tua caritate conare, ut tale opprobrium veritatis jaculis a te longissime alienetur etc.

Ex Buda, 8. Aprilis 1456. E.T.R.D. inutilis servus licet fidelis orator, fratre Joan. de Capistrano.

683. Letter from Giovanni da Capistrano (8 April 1456)

Context: A false rumour of Piccolomini's elevation to the cardinalate had reached the Franciscan preacher, Giovanni da Capistrano. Rumours were apparently also circulating that Piccolomini was promoting a settlement with the Hussites at the papal court. Actually, Piccolomini had probably been charged by King Ladislaus and the emperor to obtain papal recognition of the Hussite practice of communion under both species.¹

Subject: Da Capistrano informs Piccolomini of the rumour. He had also picked up rumours that Piccolomini had undertaken a mission to Pope Callixtus to obtain the confirmation of the Bohemian Compacts, including the right to communion under both species and the confirmation of the Hussite Jan Rokycana as Archbishop of Prague, and though he refuses to believe it, he sends Piccolomini a veiled warning to not proceed on this course.

Reverend Father.

[1] A joyful message has reached my ears, namely, that by divine disposition, our prayers have been fulfilled, and that Our Most Holy Lord² has elevated you, reverend father, to the cardinalate. But since neither the Most Reverend Lord Legate³ nor any Catholic has heard this, I am uncertain whether I should congratulate you on this joyful news. If it is true, I congratulate you heartily, but if not, may the Divine Piety grant that we may soon have reason for genuine joy. The Bohemian heretics have spread this rumour, but when they boast that they have you as their promotor with Our Most Holy Lord with a view to obtain [papal] confirmation of Compacts⁴, I am not inclined to lend an ear to this. For they say and proclaim that you have been elevated to the rank of cardinal and have taken on the task to restore the Compacts, and that you are striving to obtain the confirmation of the perfidious heresiarch Rokycana⁵ as Archbishop of Prague, and furthermore that you are promising to obtain his elevation to the cardinalate. I cannot be brought to believe this, nor can I believe that the Catholic faith could be undermined by Your Most Reverend Grace; on the contrary, it will be continuously strengthened by you. We have not heard of worse things in our time than what is currently being done by heretics, even in the kingdom of Hungary. But you, Most Reverend Father, in your charity, strive to ensure that such a disgrace be far removed from you by the arrows of truth, etc.

From Buda, 8 April 1456. Your useless though faithful servant and preacher, Brother Giovanni da Capistrano.

¹ See Piccolomini's oration/memorandum "*Res Bohemicas*" of 1455 (COR, 6: 28) and, e.g., letter 631: 1.

² Pope Callixtus III.

³ Cardinal Juan Carvajal, Papal Legate to Hungary.

⁴ The Hussite compacts, an agreement between the Bohemians and the Council of Basel that allowed

them, among other things and on certain conditions

⁵ Jan Rokycana.

684. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (7 May 1456, Napoli).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 91r-98r¹; V5, 123, ff. 159v-172v **; V6, 123, ff. 129v-140r; V7, 123, ff. 167r-179v.

Editions A: KO, 201².

Editions B: None.

Translations.: ME, 39, pp. 211-223 (large extracts).

{159v} Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis³, domino Petro Noxetano, equiti et comiti palatino, amico singulari, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Pupugerunt cor meum litterae tuae, quas nudiustertius ex oratore Florentino accepi lacrimasque meis ex oculis non paucas excusserunt, nam et tristes videbantur, miseriam quandam prae se ferentes, et manu tua scriptae, nescio quid latentis energiae ad commiserationem provocandam amplius attulerunt. Videbar, cum illas legerem, teipsum videre et alloqui, cui praefero neminem, et quem ante sex annos non vidissem. Legi ergo scripta tua⁴ non sine lacrimis, quas partim jucunda recordatio mutui amoris, partim commiseratio tuarum adversitatum provocavit. Lacrimas nobis quandoque⁵ insperatum gaudium, aliquando inopinatus maeror extorquet. Utrumque in causa fuit, nam suavis epistola {160r} tua non speranti mihi reddita est, quae absentem carissimum amicum praesentem reddidit. Sed te praeter opinionem maestum atque afflictum ostendit. Itaque, cum primum tuae manus characteres inspexi, abortae lacrimae testimonium laetitiae praebuerunt. Cum tuam cognovi calamitatem, maerori meo astipulatae sunt, neque enim cum flente amico non flere et cum dolente non dolere fas fuit.

[2] At postquam melius ad me redii, cum animadverterem te responsum exigere, statui satisfacere desiderio tuo, immo verius meo, nam qui⁶ fieri potest, ut ego scribenti amico non rescribam, qui neque his responsionem soleo negare, qui me oderunt. Multa sunt, Petre amantissime, in tuis litteris responsionis egentia, quibus capitulatim annotatis et tibi et mihi, quam brevis poterō, morem geram.

¹ DV, 187-201

² DV, 178v-183v. *Not collated.*

³ *omit.* V5

⁴ *omit.* F1

⁵ aliquando V6

⁶ *error for quomodo?*

684. Letter to Pietro da Noceto (7 May 1456, Napoli).

- Context: When Pope Nicolaus V died in March 1455, his principal secretary and long-time friend Pietro da Noceto lost his powerful position at the papal curia and went to Florence with his family. In a letter to Piccolomini, he had rebuked him for not proving a faithful friend after his return to Italy.
- Subject: The three main themes of this very long letter are: Piccolomini is a faithful friend; he has no ambition for the cardinalate; and he consoles da Noceto for his loss. He includes a description of his own jhinurable career and gives a small discourse of the varieties of fortune.

Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Lord Pietro Noxetano, Knight and Count Palatine, his dear friend.

1. Piccolomini is a faithful friend

[1] Your letter, which I received the day before yesterday from the Florentine ambassador, pierced my heart and brought many tears to my eyes, for it seemed sad and wretched, and, written in your hand, it carried some hidden force that greatly stirred me to compassion. As I read it, I seemed to see and speak with you in person, whom I value above all others and whom I have not seen for six years.¹ So, I read your letter with tears, partly prompted by the joyful memory of our mutual love and partly by the compassion I felt for you in your adversities. Unexpected joy sometimes brings tears, and so too does sudden sorrow. Both played a part here, for your sweet letter was delivered to me unexpectedly, making a beloved absent friend seem present. But it also showed you unexpectedly sad and downcast. Thus, when I first saw your handwriting, the tears that fell bore witness to my joy. But when I read about your misfortune, they bore witness to my sorrow. It is not right to fail to weep with a friend who weeps and grieve with a friend who grieves.

[2] But after I composed myself and saw that you wanted a response, I resolved to satisfy your desire, or rather mine, for how could I not write back to a friend who wrote to me when I do not even refuse a response to those who hate me? There are many things in your letter, dearest Pietro, that need a reply. I will address them point by point as briefly as I can, to satisfy both you and myself.

¹ This must be a lapsus or a scribal error since Piccolomini and da Noceto would not have met during

Piccolomini's visit to the pope in 1450 and actually did meet during the emperor's stay in Rome for his

coronation in 1452, four years before, sect. 24.

[3] Ais ergo in primis permolestum tibi fuisse¹, quod me alloqui Florentiae nequiveris. Credo equidem. At mihi eo acerbius fuit, quo magis praeter spem tuo colloquio sum privatus. Acceperam namque Bononiae te Roma reversum Florentiae moram agere, atque ideo spe plenus iter acceleravi. Cum veni Florentiam, didici ex Roberto Martelli, communi amico, te valetudinis causa in villa lavari. Scripsi ad te, si commodo tuo posses in urbem redire², dum mandata Caesaris apud magistratum civitatis exequerer. Dimoratus³ sum illic biduo, sed neque tu advenisti, neque rescripsisti {160v} quidquam. Venissem ad te in villam, nisi putassem oneri me futurum homini, qui cum conjuge ac liberis secessisset. Abii ergo, sed cognovi postea Martellum, cui litteras credidi, non fuisse in reddendis illis, ut promiserat, diligentem. Senis autem mansi apud necessarios meos dies octo, neque me tuus homo convenit, quem dicis a te missum, qui me alloqueretur. Cum essem Romae, paucis, quae ad me scripsisti, abunde respondi, et iterum post responsum alteras ad te litteras dedi, quas coniecto tibi non fuisse redditas, qui nullam eorum mentionem facis.

[4] Existimavi denique, cum redirem in Germaniam, te mihi nullo modo eripi posse, quin Florentiae conveniremus. Valedixi Romanae curia et collectis sarcinulis, Senas repetii eo animo, ut ordinatis ecclesiae meae rebus, ad imperatorem, qui me revocaverat, quam primum redirem teque in transitu Florentiae viserem. Sed quae consilia hominum certa? Quae cogitationes ratae? Obstitit votis meis caritas patriae, quae diutino⁴ afflicta bello pacis egena, quietis avida, Alfonso, regem Aragonum, me petere hortata est, ab eo ut salutem sibi impetrarem. Fridericus quoque imperator, qui cognovisset injusto bello Senenses circumventos esse, mutato revocationis meae proposito, de componendis Tusciae rebus mihi mandatum dedit, utque Romam et Neapolim me conferrem ea de causa jussit. Ego, quamvis {161r} nullum in me esset in tanto negotio momentum, patriae tamen non misereri non potui, neque imperatori non oboedire licebat. Redii Romam ibique mensibus quattuor sum retentus, antequam huc daretur exeundi facultas.

[5] Nunc hic menses duos ago. Nescio, quis erit iterum finis. Scio, quid vellem; video, quid nollem. Semper illud Virgilianum ante oculos mentis meae versatur: *bella, horrida bella⁵ et Tiberim multo spumantem sanguine cerno*. At⁶ quatenam vis haec siderum tam iniqua quam fatorum diritas? Cum requiesceret omnis Italia, patria mea quietem habere non potuit: quinquennale bellum Senenses ducunt, et quae civitas tam opulenta est, quae non exhauriatur exinaniturque tam diutino malo? Nemo tam robustus est, quem non atterat⁷ continua febris. Dicat aliquis: dabit Deus his quoque finem. Scio, neque enim tempestas est, quam non sequatur tranquillitas. At multi pereunt, priusquam positus ventis sternatur aequor. Rerum vicissitudo est, fateor, sed nos interea patimur. Verum, haec mora non solum patriae causa mihi molestissima est, sed ea quoque ratione, quod dum pacem quaero, neque illam neque te invenire possum. Fero tamen patienter, quod sine mea culpa cecidit. Te quoque pro sapientia tua idem facere velim.

¹ omit. V5

² em.; redires codd.

³ demoratus V6, V7

⁴ divino V7

⁵ omit. V7

⁶ atque V6

⁷ atterat V7

[3] First, you say that you were deeply sorry that you were unable to speak with me in Florence. I believe it. But it was all the more painful to me, for I was deprived of the opportunity to speak with you as I had hoped to. For I heard in Bologna that you had returned from Rome and were staying in Florence, and so I hastened my journey, full of hope. When I arrived in Florence, I learned from our mutual friend, Roberto Martelli¹, that you were recovering at the baths in a village for the sake of your health. So, I wrote to you, asking whether you could return to the city while I carried out the emperor's orders with the city magistrates. I stayed there for two days, but you did not come, nor did you write anything in response. I would have come to the village to see you, had I not thought I might be a burden to a man who had withdrawn with his wife and children. Therefore, I left, but I later learned that Martelli, to whom I entrusted the letter, had not been diligent in delivering it as he had promised. I stayed in Siena for eight days with my relatives, but your man, whom you say you sent to speak with me, never sought me out. While I was in Rome, I answered fully the few things you wrote to me, and again afterward when I received your answer, I sent you another letter, which I suspect was not delivered to you since you make no mention of it.

[4] Finally, I thought that when I returned to Germany,² nothing could prevent us from meeting in Florence. I bid farewell to the Roman Curia, gathered my belongings, and returned to Siena with the intention of arranging the affairs of my church and then soon going back to the emperor, who had recalled me. I planned to visit you in Florence on my way. But what plans of men are solid? What intentions stand firm? The love of my country came in the way. Long afflicted by war, in need of peace and longing for rest, it requested that I go to King Alfonso of Aragon³ to seek its salvation. Moreover, Emperor Friedrich, having learned that the Sieneese had been ensnared in an unjust war, changed his decision about my recall and sent me instructions to settle the affairs of Tuscany, ordering me to go to Rome and Naples for this purpose. Although I have no influence in such a great matter, I could not fail to have compassion for my country, nor was it possible to disobey the emperor. So I returned to Rome and was retained there for four months before being granted the opportunity to leave.

[5] Now I have been here⁴ for two months. I do not know what the outcome will be. I know what I wish; I see what I do not wish. I keep hearing that verse from Virgil in my mind: *Wars, grim wars I see, and the Tiber foaming with streams of blood.*⁵ But what force of the stars is this, as evil as the cruelty of fate? When all of Italy was at peace, only my country could not find rest. The Sieneese have waged war for five years; what city is so wealthy that it would not be exhausted and drained by such a long-lasting evil? No one is so strong that continuous fever would not wear him down. Someone might say, "God will bring an end to these things as well." I know this, for every storm that is followed by calm. But many perish before the winds settle and the sea calms. Things do change, and in the meantime, we suffer. But this delay is not only most disturbing for me because of my country, but also because, while I seek peace, I can find neither it nor you. Still, I bear it patiently, as it is not my fault. I ask that you, in your wisdom, do the same.

¹ Roberto Martelli: Florentine banker. Common friend of Piccolomini and da Noceto from their

time at the Council of Basel, see DVI, 1

² On Piccolomini's recall to the imperial court, see letter 669: 4.

³ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁴ In Naples.

⁵ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 86-87.

[6] Sed pergo ulterius: in tuis litteris dicis te omnibus in rebus erga me verae amicitiae officio functum. Confessa {161v} istec, neque ego me amicum habuisse umquam scio, qui te verior atque sincerior fuerit. Nam etsi solent res secundae immutare homines, te tamen nulla fortunae amplitudo mutavit. Fuisti Aeneae tuo semper idem. Nescio, quid de te alii dicant. Ego te mihi alterum Scipionem, alterum Pyladem, atque, ut nostris utar exemplis, alterum Jonathan sum expertus. Quaecumque volui a Romano pontifice, te adnitente sum consecutus. Fores tuae, quae prae magnitudine negotiorum, quibus distinebaris¹, saepe cardinalibus obseratae fuerunt, non mihi tantum, verum et internuntiis meis omni tempore patuerunt.

[7] Cumque ego me satis a Nicolao papa evectum superque satis existimarem nihilque ultra peterem, tibi nullus in me collatus honor sufficiens videbatur. Quamvis episcopus ab illo creatus essem et inter principes ecclesiae sederem, cardinalatum, quem ego mihi neque arrogabam neque optabam quidem, Aeneae tuo coepisti quaerere. Credo cum tu ipse conjugio alligatus id honoris consequi non posses, me unum a te dilectum esse, qui eo proveheretur, quo tua te virtus extulisset, nisi matrimonium contraxisses. Arbitraberis² igitur, quantum sentio, honorem, quo ego fungerer, tuum esse, et te dici cardinalem, si tuus Aeneas rubeo pileo donaretur. 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 iri, 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. Sed obiit illi promissi plenus. Credidit plus sibi vitae superesse, et, ut ajunt poetae, *plus staminis deceptus est*. Non decepit pius et optimus pater, quem pro sua integritate non ambigo caelicolarum choris adnumeratum, jamque non cum Jove illo, quem summum³ caeca dixit antiquitas, sed cum Christo, maximo et singulari Deo, in regno patris laetari sessurum in⁴ judicio cum duodecim apostolis duodecim tribus Israel judicaturum.

¹ destinebaris V6, V7

² arbitraberis F1

³ summe V7

⁴ omit. V7

[6] But I continue further: in your letter, you say that, in all things, you have fulfilled the duty of true friendship toward me. I acknowledge this, and I know I have never had a friend who was more genuine and sincere than you. For although prosperity often changes people, no happy fortune has ever changed you. You have always been the same to your Enea. I do not know what others say about you, but to me, you have been another Scipio¹, another Pylades², or, to use an example of our own³, another Jonathan⁴. Whatever I sought from the Roman pontiff⁵, I obtained with your help. Because of the weighty affairs that occupied you, your doors were often closed to cardinals, but they were always open not only to me but also to my messengers .

1.1. Da Noceto's cardinalial ambition on Piccolomini's behalf

[7] And when I thought I had been sufficiently - and even more than sufficiently - elevated by Pope Nicolaus and desired nothing further, no honour conferred upon me seemed enough to you. Although I had been made a bishop by him and sat among the princes of the Church, you began to seek the cardinalate for me, which I neither claimed for myself nor desired. I believe that as you were bound by marriage and could not yourself attain that honour, I was the only one beloved by you who would be advanced to that position, to which your own virtue would have elevated you, had you not contracted marriage. Therefore, you would think, I sense, that the honour accruing to me [if I were appointed a cardinal] would be yours, too, and that you yourself would be called a cardinal if your Enea were given the red hat. Thus, it came to pass, through your efforts, that Nicolaus promised the emperor (who also wanted me to be promoted) that Enea would be included in the first promotion of cardinals. Nicolaus himself told this to the emperor, and two very reliable witnesses, the cardinals of San Pietro⁶ and Sant'Angelo⁷, confirmed it to me in signed letters to the emperor that the emperor himself showed me⁸. But Nicolaus died full of promises. He believed he would live longer, but, as the poets say, [Lachesis⁹] did not extend his lifethread. The pious and best father did not deceive the emperor, for I am sure that, because of his integrity, he has now joined the choirs of the inhabitants of Heaven and rejoices not with that Jupiter whom blind Antiquity called the Highest, but with Christ, the Greatest and One God, in his Father's kingdom, and that he will, with the twelve apostles, sit in judgement over the twelve tribes of Israel.

¹ Scipio Africanus the Elder (c. 235 - c. 183 BCE): Roman statesman and general. Close friend of Gajus Laelius.

² Pylades: Greek myth. Phocian prince, and close friend of Orestes.

³ I.e., biblical.

⁴ Jonathan: Bibl. Son of King Saul. Close friend of David before he became king.

⁵ Pope Nicolaus V.

⁶ Nikolaus von Kues.

⁷ Juan Carvajal.

⁸ See letter to Pietro da Noceto of 18 September 1453 (EPI, 6: 367, 9).

⁹ Lachesis: (myth.) the second of the three Fates, measurer of the thread on her sister's spindle. Lachesis was the apportioner, deciding how much time for life was to be allowed for each person or being. See EPI, 5: 227, 4.

[8] At quamvis promissa irrita sint in vanumque tui conatus ierint, non sum tamen tibi minus obnoxius. Voluntatem tuam, non factum metior, teque, ut ipse dicis, amicitiae sanctae legibus omni tempore satisfacisse, non eam inficias. Sed quorsum haec, mi Petre? Numquam ego te accusavi. Numquam de te male sensi. Quid igitur, an tu forte ingratum me iudicas, qui non sim tui memor, qui cum fortuna a te recesserim, nam cur te jus¹ amicitiae servasse dixeris², nisi me illud violare contendas? Nolim, Petre, ita de me opineris, nam et ipsae leges amicitiae inviolatas custodio. Sed times fortasse, ne modo in nostram benevolentiam peccare incipiam, ne sequar alios, qui tua ope {162v} magni potentesque facti nunc te persequuntur: pessimum genus hominum, genimina viperarum, semen diaboli.

[9] Sed late patet hoc vitium. In Deum ipsum, qui nos creavit, ingrati sumus. Quid miri est, si homines fallimus? Ferre nos oportet, quos Deus ipse sustinet. Non sunt omnes constantes. Non sunt omnes accepti beneficii memores. Magna pars hominum eos perisse expetunt, ex quibus beneficia consecuti sunt. Sic enim se vinculo solvi quo tenentur [putant³], neque id falsum omnino est, quod Sigismundum imperatorem frequenti sermone usurpasse ferunt, *pecuniae vel gratuitum mutuum multos inimicos facere*. Pauci, *quos aequus Jupiter amavit aut ardens evexit ad aethera* virtus benefacti memores extitere.

[10] Inter hos ego meum nomen dare haud dubitaverim, nam etsi multa me vitia occuparunt, divina tamen cooperante gratia ingratitude semper odivi, hisque totum me dedi, quos mei amantes novi, nec tu me illis adnumeres, qui te post casum reliquere. Dispar est illorum et mea ratio. Illi cum primum te colere atque observare coeperunt, cum primus esses in apostolico palatio, pinguedinem mellis tamquam muscae sequebantur. Amicum pontificis, non Petrum amavere. Officio, non homini alludebant. Mutati sunt te mutato. Abierunt, ubi cessavit stillare favum. Non sunt injurii: nihil est, quod illis imputes. {163r} Quaesiverunt in te magnum secretarium et cum non invenissent, alio divertere. Ludus hic fortunae est et hujus mundi consuetudo.

[11] At ego te dilexi antequam palatium ingrederere. Dilexi pauperem, dilexi⁴ et divitem. Cur non diligam ad priora reversum, quamquam nec ista priora sunt, nec tu pauper es. Cur me tuus casus alienaverit, cum tuus ascensus te minime immutaverit? Nihil apud me, Petre, variatum est. Solida est et incorrupta caritas, quae tibi me semel conjunxit. Numquam dissoluta benevolentia est. Sum hodie, qui⁵ olim fui. Nihil est imminutus amor. Nihil ignaro, nihil immemori de tuis erga me officiis narras.

¹ vis V7

² diceris V7

³ *em.*; *omit.* codd.

⁴ antequam palatium ... dilexi
omit. V7

⁵ quod V6, V7

[8] But although the promises are now void and your efforts have gone in vain, I am not less obliged to you, for I measure your will and not what was done, and I do not deny that you have, as you say, satisfied the laws of holy friendship at all times. But what is the purpose of this, my Pietro? I have never accused you. I have never felt ill will towards you.¹ Do you perhaps judge me to be ungrateful and to not remember you, and to have abandoned you when Fortune left? For why would you say that you have kept the law of friendship unless you claim that I have violated it? I would not want you, Pietro, to think so of me, for I also keep the laws of friendship inviolate. But perhaps you fear that I might now begin to sin against our friendship and follow in the footsteps of those others whom you helped to become great and powerful and who now hound you, the most wretched kind of men, the offspring of vipers, the seed of the devil.

[9] This vice is most common. We are ungrateful even to God Himself, who created us, so it is not surprising if we deceive men. We must bear with those whom God Himself sustains. Not all are steadfast. Not all remember the benefits received. A large part of men desire those to perish from whom they have received benefits, for thus they themselves are released from the bonds holding them. It is not entirely false what Emperor Sigismund reportedly often said: money or free loans make many enemies. Only *few, whom kindly Jupiter has loved or, shining worth uplifted to heaven,*² remembered their benefactor.

[10] Among these few, I would not hesitate to count myself, for although I have many vices, yet helped by divine grace, I have always hated ingratitude, and I have devoted myself entirely to those whom I know to love me. So, do not include me among those who abandoned you after your fall. Their motives are different from mine. Those who only began to honour and serve you when you were the first man in the apostolic palace were like flies after rich honey. They loved the pontiff's friend, not you, Pietro. They related to the office, not the man. When you changed, they changed, too. They left when the honey ceased dripping. They are not unfair: there is nothing you can accuse them of. In you, they sought a great secretary, and when they did not find him, they turned elsewhere. This is Fortune's game and the ways of this world.

1.2. The friendship between Piccolomini and da Noceto

[11] But I loved you before you entered the palace. I loved you poor, I loved you rich. Why should I not love one who has returned to his former state, though your present state is certainly not your former one and you are certainly not poor? Why should your fall estrange me from you when your rise did not change you at all? Nothing has changed for me, Pietro? The love that once joined me to you is solid and incorruptible. The affection has never disappeared. I am the same today as I was before. My love has not weakened. In me, you are talking to one who knows and remembers all your past favours.

¹ However, see Piccolomini's letter of 10 December 1449 to Campisio (EPI, 5: 240, 1).

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 129-130.

[12] Omnia sunt ante oculos veteris conversationis nostrae solatia. Memini adhuc navigationis illius, cum Plumbino solventes Corsicam circuivimus, cum nos paene in Africano littore tempestas illisit. Subiit adhuc recordatio, quae taedia inter nautas apud Speziam¹ et in Portu Venerii pernoctavimus cum sentinae fetore correpti sub divo dormire maluimus quam sub tecto, quamvis horrida saeviret hiems. Vidimus una Genuam, Ligurum metropolim. Superavimus Apenninum ac transmisso Pado² Filippum illum, inclytum Longobardorum ducem, apud Mediolanum adivimus. Transivimus caelo vicinas Alpes et formidabilem inferni pontem et lucerinum lacum et campos Helvetiorum. {163r} Venimus Basileam, et sub Dominico³ cardinali, cui tunc Sanctae Mariae inviolatae titulus fuit, nunc Sanctae Crucis appellatur, in concilio magno fuimus. Quam dulcis conversatio nostra fuit, quam suavis in⁴ omni fortuna societas. Nihil mihi grave te comite videbatur. Memini, memini⁵ adhuc Petre, cum simul uno cubiculo dormiremus, quotiens mihi ad multam noctem vigilantem ac nunc unum, nunc alterum poetam legenti subridens dixeris: “Quid te maceras, Aenea? Doctis aequae atque indoctis fortuna consulit.”

[13] At cum Dominico, quamvis esset is benignus et optimus pater, cum paupertate eo tempore premeretur, perseverare minime possemus. Disjuncti aliquot annis fuimus, sed iterum nos fortuna conjunxit apud Nicolaum, Sanctae Crucis cardinalem⁶, venerandum patrem et omnium opinione sanctissimum, quocum⁷ e Florentia rursum Mediolanum petivimus et superato Jovis Monte per Lacum Lemannum Tononium venimus memorandamque illam Ripalliae eremum intravimus, in qua dux Sabaudiae, Amedeus, delituit, habitu cultuque sancto, cuiusmodi eremitae similis, quem viri septem⁸ equestris ordinis sequebantur, qui saeculo renuntiantes promissam barbam et hispidum pallium et retortum baculum⁹ mundanis opibus praetulerant. Inde Basileam redivimus et ingressi flumen Rhenum Coloniam Agrippinam {164r} petentes per Belgas Atrebatum venimus, ubi conventus ille maximus celebratus est, in quo pace Galliarum constituta Philippus, Burgundiae dux, a Britannis, qui nunc Anglici appellantur, ad regem Franciae defecit. Viximus ibi sicut et alibi concordibus animis, nec nos lucelli cupido disjunct, quamvis ambo idem officium, idem lucrum sectaremur.

¹ *em.*; Spediam codd.

² *omit.* F1

³ domino V7

⁴ non V7

⁵ *omit.* V7

⁶ Sanctae Crucis cardinalem :
cardinalem Sanctae Crucis V6,
V7

⁷ *em.*; qui cum codd.

⁸ decem F1, V6, V7; *corr. supra*
ras. V5

⁹ bacillum F1, V5, V7; *corr. ex*
bacillum V6

[12] I see before me all the comforts of our old companionship. I still remember that voyage when, sailing from Piombino, we circled Corsica and a storm almost wrecked us on the African coast. I still recall the unpleasantness we endured among sailors at Spezia and in Portovenere, where the bilgewater smelt so badly that we preferred to sleep under the open sky rather than under a roof, although the harsh winter raged. We saw Genoa together, the capital of the Ligurians.¹ We travelled over the Apennines and crossed the Po. We reached the Illustrious Duke of the Lombards, Filippo, in Milan. We traversed the Alps, neighbours to heaven, and the formidable Höllbrücke, the Luzern lake, and the lands of the Helvetii. We arrived in Basel, and as employees of Cardinal Domenico², who then carried the title of Santa Maria Inviolata, and now the title of Santa Croce³, we attended the great council⁴. How sweet was our conversation, how pleasant was our companionship under all circumstances. Nothing seemed burdensome to me in your company. I remember, Pietro, I still remember when we slept in the same chamber and I was awake until late at night reading now one, now another poet, how often you would smile and say to me, "Why do you so exert yourself, Enea? Fortune helps both the learned and the unlearned."⁵

[13] Domenico was kind and a most excellent Father, but since he was then burdened by poverty, we could not remain with him. So, we became separated for some years, but fortune reunited us in the household of Niccolò⁶, Cardinal of Santa Croce, a venerable and – in the opinion of all – a most holy Father, with whom we set out again from Florence to Milan. After crossing Mount Jupiter⁷, we arrived by Lake Lemano at Tonon and visited that memorable hermitage at Ripaille, where Duke Amédée of Savoy⁸ was living in seclusion, like a holy man and attired as such, resembling a hermit. He had seven knights for companions, who, renouncing the world, preferred the long beard, the rough pallium, and the bended staff to mundane wealth. From there, we returned to Basel and, having entered the Rhine River, we reached Cologne and continued through Belgium to Arras, where that great assembly⁹ was held, in which the peace of France was established, and Philippe, Duke of Burgundy¹⁰, defected from the Britons, who are now called English, to the King of France¹¹. We lived there, as elsewhere, in complete harmony, and the desire for gain did not separate us, although we pursued the same office and the same gain.

¹ See letter to Andreuccio Petrucci of 24 March 1432 (EPI, 1: 6).

² Domenico Capranica.

³ Cardinalitial title churches in

⁴ The Council of Basel.

⁵ On this passage, see letter to Tommaso delle Gazzoia of 28

February 1432 (EPI, 1: 4), and COM, 1: 3.

⁶ Albergati, Niccolò (1373-1443): Bishop of Bologna from 1417 to his death. Cardinal 1422. His major-domus was Tommaso Parentu-

celli (Pope Nicolaus V). One-time employer of Piccolomini.

⁷ Great Saint Bernard Pass.

⁸ Antipope Felix V.

⁹ The Congress of Arras, 1435.

¹⁰ Philippe III le Bon.

¹¹ Charles VII.

[14] Inde ego in ultimam Britanniam, quae hodie Scotia dicitur, missus sum, quo in itinere multa pertuli adversa, quippe qui¹ duodecim diebus in profundo Oceani terris nusquam apparentibus ac vi² tempestatis in ultimam ad septentrionem Norvegiam actus. Vix tandem bonitate Dei destinatum inter tenere potui. Sed nihil mihi gravius videbatur, quam quod te carebam, cujus consolatione in omni adversitate levare solebam. Reversus ex Britannia te Basileae conveni, neque ibi diu mansimus³. Per Suevos, Rhaetios, Lacum Brigantium et Tridentinas Alpes Bononiam indeque Mediolanum repetivimus⁴ cardinalem nostrum secuti, qui de pace Italiae inter senatum Venetum et Mediolanensem principem acturus erat.

[15] Illic tertio disjuncti sumus, et tu quidem Romanam curiam secutus es, ego Basileam reversus in concilio pluribus annis perseveravi. Et licet inter Romanum pontificem et Basiliensem synodum graves inimicitiae malignaeque lites {164v} intercidissent, et tu pontificis, ego synodi partes sequeremur, nihil tamen benevolentiae nostrae detractum est; publicam illam sivimus⁵ esse controversiam. Nos privatim amici remansimus, cujus rei epistolae nostrae ultro citroque missae testes sunt⁶. In iis⁷ noster amor expressus est. Itaque non dubito te confessum habere, dum jacuimus, dum fuimus ambo pauperes, inconcussam stetisse amicitiam nostram. Tolerant enim se facile tenues, neque miseriam cognoscit invidia.

[16] Cum vero ditatus es atque in te uno, quantum posset, fortuna ostendere voluit, unusque palatium apostolicum gubernasti, scio, non arguis me leges amicitiae reliquisse. Quis enim laetam amici fortunam deseruit? Illud vereor, ne me tibi, cum multa posses, obsequentem adulari crederes. Est enim omnis benevolentia suspecta potentibus. Minime igitur oblitum me tui fuisse dices, cum felix habebare.

[17] Sed accusas me forsitan, quia post eversam potentiam tuam, te observare desierim. Immo vero nihil est, quod in me jure arguas. Nihil est enim a me praetermissum⁸, quod boni amici esset, qui, ut primum cognovi Nicolaum papam, quocum creveras, naturae debitum persolvisse, mox e Novacivitate Austriae ad te scripsi, bonoque ut esses animo jussi. Nam etsi pontificem maximum fortuna tibi abstulisset, Fridericum tamen imperatorem amicum reliquisset apud {165r} quem, si velles, locum te dignum invenires, quoniam⁹ is te maximi faceret, idque non ex meipso, sed ex ore Caesaris astruebam receptum esse, qui ita me scribere jusisset, cum te illi commendassem. Nescio autem hujuscemodi litterae, an tibi redditae fuerint, nam de illis nihil significas.

¹ omit. F1

² vi- V7

³ mansurus V7

⁴ petivimus V7

⁵ sinimus V7

⁶ sumpto V7

⁷ quis V6; quibus V7

⁸ preter ipsum missum V7

⁹ quo V5

[14] From there, I was sent to the farthest Britain, which is now called Scotland. On the journey, I endured many dangerous situations. Sailing for twelve days on the high seas with no land visible, the ship was forced by the storm to northern Norway. Finally, through God's goodness, I could reach my destination. But nothing seemed worse to me than lacking you, on whose consolation I was accustomed to rely in every adversity. Upon returning from Britain, I met you in Basel, but we did not stay there long. We returned through Swabia, Rhaetia, Lake Bregenz, and the Trentino Alps, following our cardinal, who was to negotiate peace in Italy between the Venetian Senate and the Duke of Milan¹.

[15] There we were separated for the third time: you followed the Roman Curia, while I returned to Basel and remained there at the council for several years. And although there were serious conflicts and malign disputes between the Roman pontiff and the synod of Basel, and you followed the Pontiff and I the synod, yet our friendship suffered in no way. We let the public controversy be and remained private friends: let the letters sent between us be our witnesses that testify to our love. Thus, I do not doubt that you will admit that while we were both nothing and poor, our friendship stood unshaken. For the poor easily accept each other, nor does misery inspire envy.

[16] Then you became wealthy, and Fortune wanted to show, in you, how much it could achieve, and you alone governed the apostolic palace. You will surely not accuse me of neglecting the laws of friendship then, for who ever deserted the happy fortune of a friend? I truly fear that you might think I flattered you then since you were very powerful, for all friendliness is suspect to the powerful. Therefore, you will not say that I forgot you when you were prosperous.

[17] But perhaps you accuse me of ceasing to care for you after you lost your power. But here, too, there is nothing you could accuse me of justly, for I have omitted nothing that a good friend should do. As soon as I learned that Pope Nicolaus², with whom you grew great, had paid his debt to nature, I wrote³ to you from Neustadt in Austria, telling you to take courage. For although Fortune might have taken the Supreme Pontiff from you, it had left Emperor Friedrich, your friend, with whom, if you so wished, you would find a worthy place since he esteemed you greatly. This is not something that just I say; I heard it directly from the emperor's mouth, for this is what he ordered me to write when I commended you to him. However, I do not know whether this letter reached you, for you do not mention.

¹ Filippo Maria Visconti.

² Nicolaus V.

³ Letter 612.

[18] Cum veni Florentiam, quaesivi de te diligenter, ut supra relatum est. In Roma vero beatissimo Callixto papae de te dixi, quae de viro bono et amico optimo dicenda fuerunt, et ubicumque de te sermo habitus est, tuas partes egregie defendi, quamvis pauci me coram te accusarint, sive quia grave est innocentem criminari, sive quia sciunt omnes tuum¹ honorem tangi tuamque laedi quoquo modo famam me minime passurum esse. Persuade igitur tibi, Petre amantissime, *dum spiritus hos reget artus* animum erga te meum immutari non posse, nam neque tu committes, cur mutari² oporteat, neque ego is sum, qui quinque et viginti annorum amicitiam sine causa dissolvam. Nec me cum turba fugientem videbis, quocumque in statu me fortuna tenuerit. Is ero erga te, qui fui, cum essemus Basileae, neque, tu dum Petrus eris, Aeneas esse ego desierim. Neque plura in accusationem tuam dixerim.

[19] Sequar³ alias epistolae tuae partes. Ais te putare, quae cum Nicolao pontifice de me coepta sunt, apud Calixtum perfici⁴ debere, id est in cardinalatus ordinem me susceptum iri⁵, idque cupis {165v} et quia futurum speras, gaudes, me rogas, postquam id factum sit, unum ex tuis necessariis uti capellanum admittam. Fortasse omnia, quae scribis, huc tendunt: amico voluisti satisfacere, et quia non es ea potentia, qua olim fuisti, scribis multa, ut impetres pauca. Opinaris enim, quod⁶ prius uno verbo obtinuisses, nunc vix pluribus obtinere posse. Hoc fortasse apud alios usu ita evenit; apud me tua tanta est auctoritas, quanta omni tempore fuit. Respondebo tamen ad haec aliquid.

[20] Cardinalatum ego nec quaero, nec expecto, quamvis Caesar mei causa sollicitus sit. Si tamen, quod nequaquam opinor, id honoris sors aliqua ad me detulerit, non est, quod roges hoc aut illud: non minus tibi quam mihi mea domus oboediet. Quod autem arbitraris in fundamentis apud Nicolaum jactis aedificium superducendum esse, falleris mea quidem sententia. Longe enim aliter praeterita docent. Novus rex, ut est in proverbio, novam legem edit, nam quotus successor inventus est, qui praedecessoris amicos dilexerit? Quippe adeo nostros antecessores odimus, ut certissimum argumentum putetur: hunc pontifex amavit, qui novissime mortuus est. Igitur huic odio est, qui vivit. Creasset hunc cardinalem ille, si vixisset. Non igitur inter eos nominabitur, qui modo creandi sunt. Quod si fuisset aliqua causa, quae me in eum ordinem assumendum suaderet, haec satis est, ne assumar, (166r) quoniam ex illorum numero fui, quorum dignitas apud Nicolaum amplificanda credebatur. Quod autem mei honoris augmentum cupias, non est apud me dubium. Quis enim amicus est, et amici gloriam non expetit?

¹ omnes tuum : honestum V7

² cur mutari *omit.* V7

³ sequor V6, V7

⁴ *omit.* V7

⁵ id est ... iri *omit.* V7

⁶ que V6

[18] When I came to Florence, I enquired diligently about you, as I said above. In Rome, however, I spoke of you to His Holiness Pope Callixtus and said the things that should be said about a good man and an excellent friend. And whenever the conversation fell on you, I defended your parts fervently. However, only a few accused you before me, either because it is difficult to accuse the innocent, or because they all know that I had your honour at heart and would not allow your reputation to be harmed in any way. Therefore, you may be sure, dearest Pietro, that *while breath governs these limbs*,¹ my feelings towards you cannot change, for neither will you give cause for me to change, nor would I end a twenty-five-year friendship without cause. Nor will you see me fleeing with the crowd, whatever state Fortune will grant me. I will be toward you as I was when we were in Basel, and as long as you are Pietro, I shall not cease to be Enea. I will say no more about your accusation.

2. Piccolomini has no ambition to become a cardinal

[19] I now come to the other parts of your letter. You say you think that what was begun with Pope Nicolaus regarding me ought to be completed with Callixtus², that is, I should be received into the order of cardinals, and because you hope this will happen, you rejoice and ask me, after it has been done, to admit one of your relations as a chaplain. Perhaps everything you write means that you wish to please a friend, and because you do not have your former power, you write much to obtain a little. For you think that what you would formerly have obtained with one word, you can now scarcely obtain with several. This perhaps happens with others, but with me, your authority is as great as always. However, I will reply to these things.

[20] I neither seek nor expect the cardinalate, although the emperor is anxious for my sake. If, however, this honour were conferred upon me (which I do not expect at all), you will not have to ask for this or that: my house will obey you no less than me. But, in my opinion, when you think that an edifice may be raised on the foundations laid by Nicolaus, you are mistaken, for past events teach us otherwise. As the proverb goes, a new king issues a new law, and rare is the successor who loves the friends of his predecessor. Indeed, we so hate our predecessors that this reasoning is quite sound: "The pontiff who lived before loved this man. Therefore, the one who lives now hates him." If a pope would have created someone a cardinal, that man will certainly not be among those to be created by his successor. But if there was a reason for me to be admitted to the order of cardinals, it is now a sufficient reason not to be admitted, for I was among those whom people thought that Nicolaus would raise to a higher rank. But I do not doubt that you wish a greater honour for me, for what friend does not want glory for his friend?

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 4: 336.

² Pope Callixtus III.

[21] At ego, mi Petre, si hanc dignitatem expectem, demens sim, quia majora meis humeris imponi onera exoptem, quam illi ferre queant, videarque non dico erga fortunam¹, sed erga beneficentiam² magni Dei ingratus, qui longe magis honoratus quam par sit non quiescam. Etenim, Petre, per superos oro (ut sileam de maximo *Deo, a quo est omne datum optimum*³, *omne donum perfectum*), quid est, quod ego de lege fortunae aut fatorum querar⁴? Nam quem domum egredientem meliori flatu quam me fortuna persecuta est?

[22] Nam quamvis annos sex et viginti natus, dum darem juri civili operam, exorto bello patriam et studium relinquere sim⁵ coactus. Accessi tamen grande illud Basiliense concilium. Inveni gratiam in oculis patrum, scriba in synodo fui et litterarum abbreviator, et duodecimvir, qui magistratus illic quasi censorius habebatur – neque enim sine duodecimviris ad consultandum de rebus conciliaribus quisquam admittebatur, et admissi, qui non invenirentur idonei, his jubentibus amovebantur. Erant in concilio quattuor conventus, qui deputationes appellabantur⁶: (166v) de fide, de pace, de reformatorio, de communibus. Praesidentes hae suos singulae singulis mensibus elegerunt. In deputatione fidei, in qua eram inscriptus, saepe praesedi. Inter collatores quoque beneficiorum bis sum electus. Legatus ab ipso concilio ad quamplures principes missus.

[23] Cum pontificatum maximum Amedeus, dux Sabaudiae, suscepisset, Felix nuncupatus, in secretarium ab eo sum accitus⁷, nec diu post ad Fridericum imperatorem vocatus protonotariatus officium ab eo sum adeptus. Sic Germani secretariatum appellant. Dum legationes Caesaris ob eo universam ferme Germaniam circuivi. Dissidebant Teutones cum⁸ pontifice maximo, at⁹ neque ille neque Felici oboedientes neutrales vocabantur. Concordia pluribus conventibus agitata est, quibus jubente Caesare semper interfui. Bis cum tractatu¹⁰ pacis ad Eugenium veni. Tertio nationis illius apostolicae sedi oboedientiam attuli. Secretariatus et subdiaconatus honorem ab Eugenio et mox illo defuncto a Nicolao suscepi, cujus conclavis, cum eligeretur, cum ceteris principum legationibus custodiae praefui. Lapsum est postea breve tempus, in quo me Nicolaus Tergestinae ecclesiae nihil tale moranten praefecit episcopum quadriennioque abinde nondum decurso Senensis urbis, unde mihi origo est, pontificatum ad me detulit.

¹ quam illi ... fortunam *omit.* V7

² magnificentiam *corr. supra ras.*
V5

³ et *add.* V6, V7

⁴ querat V7

⁵ sum F1

⁶ appellantur V7

⁷ ascitus V6, V7

⁸ Eugenio *add.* V6, V7

⁹ ac *corr. ex at* V5

¹⁰ tractu V7

[21] But I, my Pietro, I would be insane to expect this promotion, for that would be to desire burdens to be placed upon my shoulders that are too heavy for them. Moreover, I would be ungrateful, I do not say toward Fortune, but toward the beneficence of the great God, for though I had been honoured far more than is fitting, I would not be satisfied. Indeed, Pietro, I ask, by the heavenly beings (to not speak of the Greatest God, *from whom comes every best gift, every perfect gift*¹, what complaints I could possibly have about the law of Fortune or the fates? For since I left home, whom has Fortune favoured with a better wind than me?

2.1. Piccolomini's honourable career

[22] At the age of twenty-six, while I was studying civil law, I was compelled to leave my country and my studies due to the outbreak of war. Then I came to that great Council of Basel. I found favour in the eyes of the Fathers; I became a scribe in the synod and an abbreviator of letters, and a *duodecimvir*, who was regarded there as a sort of censor, for only the *duodecimviri* could decide who should be admitted to deliberate about conciliar matters or be relegated as unsuitable. There were four committees in the council, called deputations: on faith, on peace, on reform, and on general matters. Each of these chose its president for the next month from among its members. I was enrolled in the deputation on faith, over which I often presided. Twice, I was chosen as one of the distributors² of benefices. I was sent as a legate from the council to many princes.

[23] When Amédée, Duke of Savoy, accepted the papacy³ under the name of Felix⁴, he made me his secretary, and not long after, I was engaged by Emperor Friedrich, and from him, I obtained the office of protonotary. This is the German name for secretary. On imperial missions, I travelled through almost all of Germany. The Germans disagreed with the Supreme Pontiff⁵. They obeyed neither him nor Felix but were called neutrals. Concord was sought at several diets⁶, in which I always participated at the emperor's command. During the peace negotiations, I came to Eugene twice. The third time, I brought that nation's declaration of obedience to the Apostolic See. I received the honours of the secretariat and subdiaconate from Eugenius and soon after, when he died, from Nicolaus. During the conclave, where Nicolaus was elected, I was in charge of the custody along with the other princely legations. A short time later, Nicolaus appointed me bishop of the Church of Trieste, which I did not expect at all, and less than four years later, he made me Bishop of Siena, the city from where I come.

¹ James, 1. 17.

² "collatores"

³ Antipope, elected in 1439 by the now schismatic rump council in Basel.

⁴ Felix V

⁵ Eugenius IV.

⁶ Diets.

[24] Caesar vero, a quo {167r} jam in consiliariorum ordine susceptus sum, Neapolim me petere jussit, quo in loco¹ matrimonium inter ipsum Caesarem et Leonoram, Portugalliae regis sororem Alfonsique neptem, contraxi², eandemque imperatricem anno post navigio vectam e Pisis ad imperatorem Senis agentem conduxim, cum mihi uni committeretur. In coronatione Caesaris, quae Romae celebrata est, nosti, quae meae partes fuerint, quippe qui me saepius imperatorio nomine apud Romanum pontificem et publice et privatim loquentem audivisti. Reverso in Germaniam legatio mihi apostolicae sedis per Bohemiam et omnes provincias Austriae ducum commissa est

[25] In conventu Germanorum, qui Ratisponae habitus est, quo et³ Philippus Burgundiae et Ludovicus Baioariae duces et alii complures principes regulique convenerunt, de salute⁴ rei publicae agentes, imperatorias vices tenui. Simili modo et in Frankfordiensi consilio, ubi et Germanos adversus Turcos decernere bellum dicta oratione suasimus, quamvis postea negligentia et inscitia eorum, qui cuncta sibi deberi putant, Germani⁵ tepuerunt⁶. Mortuo Nicolao Callixtum, successorem ejus⁷, qui nunc sedet, imperatorio nomine tamquam Petri successorem verumque Christi vicarium recognovimus⁸.

[26] In hisce nos honoribus, Petre, versati sumus. Nec⁹ tamen {167v} intelligimus, cur adeo divina pietas nostram parvitatem extulerit: nec doctrina nec vitae bonitas haec meruit. Cognoscimus imperfectum nostrum, et intra nosipsos saepe cogitantes non extollimur quidem, sed magis erubescimus et confundimur, qui pro tantis beneficiis non sumus grati. Respicimus aliquando retro¹⁰ et quam multi viri illustri genere orti, virtute et doctrina praestabiles, abjecti et incogniti jaceant. Consideramus, fateor, quam plurimi sunt, qui me opibus et honoribus antecedunt; sed multo plures sequuntur. Pluribus sane commisereri debeo¹¹ quam invidere possim, et illi quidem, qui me dignitate praecedunt, etiam virtute superant. Ego his, qui sequuntur, nulla ratione sum melior.

[27] O, quot viri sunt, qui nec centum aureos quotannis ex beneficiis ecclesiasticis haurire possunt, juris divini atque humani interpretes, quorum non essem dignus corrigiam¹² calceamenti¹³ solvere. At ego, ignarus, hebes, et vitiorum mole pressus atque iniquitate circumdatus, qui aliquando beneficiolo contentus existissem vel minimo jam annuos mille aureos possideo, quodque magis mirere: dum Germaniam lustrum, episcopatum in patria consequor.

¹ sacro V7

² ut contraheretur effeci *corr.*
supra ras. V5

³ *omit.* V7

⁴ Christianae *add.* V6, V7

⁵ *omit.* V7

⁶ tepuerint V6; respuerint V7

⁷ tuis V7

⁸ te cognovimus V7

⁹ non V5

¹⁰ *omit.* V7

¹¹ debito V7

¹² Correggam V5

¹³ calciamenti F1, V6, V7

[24] Later, the emperor, who had previously made me one of his councillors, ordered me to go to Naples, where I contracted the marriage between the emperor and Leonora¹, sister of the King of Portugal² and niece of Alfonso³. When she arrived by ship next year, I brought her from Pisa to the emperor in Siena, a task entrusted to me alone. You know the role I played at the imperial coronation in Rome, for you heard me often speaking, both in public and in private, for the emperor to the Roman Pontiff. When I returned to Germany, I was entrusted with the office of legate of the Apostolic See to Bohemia and all the provinces of the dukes of Austria.

[25] At the German diet held in Regensburg⁴, where both Duke Philippe⁵ of Burgundy and Duke Ludwig⁶ of Bavaria and many other princes and rulers gathered to deliberate on the safety of the state, I represented the emperor. Similarly, at the Diet of Frankfurt⁷, where I held an oration⁸ and persuaded the Germans to declare war against the Turks, although later the negligence and ignorance of those who think they can do whatever they want made the Germans grow tepid. When Nicolaus died, we recognised, in the name of the emperor, Callixtus, his successor, who now sits, as the true successor of Peter and the true Vicar of Christ.

[26] These are the honourable activities, Pietro, in which we have been engaged. Yet we do not understand why Divine Piety has exalted our smallness to such an extent: neither our learning nor goodness of life has earned this. We know our imperfections, and often, when we reflect on ourselves, we are indeed not happy but rather feel ashamed and confused to not have deserved such great benefits. Sometimes we look back and see how many men, born of illustrious lineage and distinguished by virtue and learning, remain neglected and unknown. We consider, I admit, how many surpass me in wealth and honours, but far more follow behind. Indeed, I must feel compassion toward many more than I could envy, and those who precede me in dignity also surpass me in virtue, whereas I am in no way better than those who follow behind.

[27] Oh, how many men cannot get even a hundred ducats annually from their ecclesiastical benefices, though they are specialists in divine and human law, and whose shoe straps I would not be worthy to untie. Yet I, ignorant, dull, burdened by vices, and surrounded by iniquity, who at one time would have been content with even a small benefice, now get at least a thousand ducats annually, and what is more surprising: while moving all over Germany, I obtained a bishopric in my homeland.

¹ Leonor of Portugal.

² Afonso V.

³ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁴ 1454. See CRDM, 4; COM, 1: 26. See ISU / Diet of Regensburg (1454 April).

⁵ Philippe III le Bon.

⁶ Ludwig IX der Reiche.

⁷ Diet of Frankfurt 1454 COM, 1: 27. See ISU / Diet of Frankfurt (1454).

⁸ The oration Constantinopolitana Clades, see COR, 5:21.

[28] Magna haec, mi¹ Petre, in quibus non mea² solum parvitas, sed magna virtus conquiescere possit: apud tres episcopos et totidem cardinales dictandarum epistolarum officium exercui. Tres quoque pontifices maximi {168r} secretariorum collegio me ascripserunt: Eugenius, Nicolaus et Felix, quamvis et hunc adulterinum ecclesia declaraverit. Apud Caesarem non secretariatus modo, sed consiliarius ac principatus honore auctus sum, neque ego ista fortunae imputo, quamvis nescio causam, sed ipsius fortunae³ rectori ac⁴ dominatori omnium, Deo, cuius est in quemcumque voluerit usum vasa formare neque humanae correptioni subicitur. Libera sunt ejus arcana, neque nostrum est aliud officium quam laudare creatorem ejusque bonitati gratias agere, quae dat omnibus abundanter et non impropere.

[29] An nos igitur tanta miseratione praeventi cardinalatum anxii expectabimus atque hunc quoque nobis honorem debere putabimus? Utinam dignitati, quam consecuti sumus, pares inveniamur et ita, quod superest, aevi traducamus, ne qua possit in nobis ingratitude notari. Porro cardinalatus fastigium multo magis⁵ existimamus, quam nostris humeris committi debeat. Utinam ea⁶ dignatio iis⁷ credatur, qui afferre illi potius quam ab ea recipere gloriam possint, quales nos esse nullo pacto cognoscimus.

[30] Restat ultimo loco de consolatione aliquid dicere, quando et te illius egentem ostendis. Duo fuerunt, ut scripta tua edocent, quae te conturbaverunt: mala valetudo tua⁸ et obitus Nicolai pontificis, qui cum et ipse cecidisti, qua in calamitate constituto nemo tibi {168v} amicorum affuit. Aegritudinem corporis onerosam tibi et molestissimam fuisse non miror. Vix enim quisquam reperitur, qui non morbo succumbat doloribusque vincatur. Belle quidem multi, cum valent, recta consilia aegrotis praebent. At ipsi, si doleant, mente excidant. Ita natura comparatum est. Verbo quam multi philosophamur; re ipsa admodum pauci. Utcumque sit, non oportuit vitam optare diuturnam, nisi et senescere vellemus.

[31] Cum senectute autem circumscilicet agmine facto morborum omne genus. Parati ergo ad hoc esse debemus, et nunc iliorum, nunc capitis dolorem expectare, et ad omnia mala nos ipsos armare, quibus contribulos nostros affligi cernimus. Si quid minus accidit, in lucro deputare. Cum vero dolor incipit non ab amicis, sed a nobis ipsis, solatia expetere. Nihil habent certi, quae sunt in aliena potestate. Quae nos ipsi possumus, nutui nostro numquam desunt. Tibi ergo, cum aegrotares, a teipso et consilium expetendum et auxilium requirendum fuit, quod te video non neglexisse, cum Deum tibi affuisse consolatorem dicas.

¹ haec mi : mi haec V7

² omit. F1; *supralin.* V5

³ imputo quamvis ... fortunae *omit.*
V7

⁴ et V6, V7

⁵ maius V6, V7

⁶ et V7

⁷ his V6, V7

⁸ quae te ... tua *omit.* F1

[28] These are great things, my Pietro, in which not only my smallness but even great virtue would find rest. I have dictated letters for three bishops and as many cardinals. Three supreme pontiffs - Eugenius, Nicolaus, and Felix - inscribed me in their college of secretaries, although the Church has declared the last of these popes illegitimate. At the emperor's, I was raised to the honour not only of a secretary but also of councillor and prince. I do not attribute this to Fortune, although I do not know the cause, but to the ruler of fortune and lord of all, God, who has the power to make vessels for anything He wills and is not subject to human reproach. His secrets are free, and our only duty is to praise the creator and give thanks for His goodness, which abundantly gives to all and does not reproach.

2.2. Piccolomini is unworthy of the cardinalate

[29] Having been shown such great mercy, shall we, then, anxiously await the cardinalate and presume that this honour, too, is due to us? I only wish that we might be found worthy of the dignity we have attained until now and live the rest of our lives in such a way that we may not be blamed for ingratitude. Moreover, we consider the high office of the cardinalate to be too weighty to be placed on our shoulders. I wish that this dignity be entrusted to those who can bring glory to it and not just receive it. We know that we do not belong to those.

3. Consolation of da Noceto

[30] Finally, there remains to say something about consolation, as you show yourself in need of it. Your letter says that two things have disturbed you: your poor health and the death of Pope Nicolaus. When he fell, not one of your friends was there to support you in your misfortune. I am not surprised that your bodily ailment was a very heavy and most troubling burden for you, for hardly anyone can be found who does not succumb to illness and is not overcome by pain. Indeed, many offer good counsel to the sick when they themselves are well, but when they are in pain, they almost lose their minds. Thus, has nature disposed. Many are philosophers in words but few in reality. However it may be, it is not reasonable to wish for a long life unless we also accept old age.

[31] With old age, however, we are surrounded by a host of all kinds of diseases. We must be prepared for this and expect now pains in the loins, now headaches, and arm ourselves against all the evils that we see afflict our fellow men¹. If it does not get so bad, then let it be counted as a gain. When we ourselves and not our friends suffer pain, then let us seek consolation. What is in another's power is never certain. What is in our own power always depends on ourselves alone. Therefore, when you are sick, you should both take counsel from yourself and seek assistance [from others], which I see you have not neglected, as you say that God was with you as a comforter.

¹ "contribuli"

[32] Optimus hic proculdubio et certissimus in omni aegritudine medicus, qui non corporis tantum, sed mentis morbos expellit, estque Deus, quotienscumque volumus, ipse nobiscum, namque dum nobisipsis recte consulimus, mentem nostram divinitas incolit. At tu, quamquam corpore vales, non tamen adhuc mentis {169r} aegritudinem posuisti. Est vulnus adhuc animi recens et amissi regni fortunam maeres. Monstri simile mihi est te virum, qui multa legeris et mundi vices sis contemplatus, idcirco angi, quia blandus fortunae vultus tibi mutatus sit. Cogitare te oportuit hoc, priusquam ascenderes. Neque enim fortuna quemquam extollit, cuius dejiciendi potestatem sibi non¹ reservet. Hac conditione ascendimus, ut, cum velit illa, evestigio descendamus. *Nec longum tenet uva comas, nec populus umbras*, inquit ille. Caduca sunt omnia sub luna². Quanto altius extollimur, tanto periculosius cadimus. Volubilis rota fortunae est. Nemo illi clavum affixit.

[33] Inconstans et infidelis hera fortuna: nulli perpetuo bona est. Alexandrum illum Macedonem, quem mundi dominum fecerat, in ipso juventutis flore veneno extinxit. Pompejus Magnus centies vices semel octuaginta tria milia hominum³ fudit, fugavit, occidit, in deditionem accepit. Naves octingentas quadraginta sex piratarum depressit aut cepit. Castella et oppida mille et quingenta⁴ triginta octo in fidem recepit. Terras omnes a Meoti ad Rubrum Mare subegit. Sed huic quoque fortuna, quamvis seni, caput abstulit. Caesarem dictatorem in senatu trucidavit, quamvis ejus ductu undecies centena⁵ nonaginta duo milia virorum in proeliis interissent, non computatis iis, qui bellis civilibus perierunt. Cum Gaius Mario quantum fortuna luserit, non ignoras, quem⁶ {169v} modo victum apud Minturnas expectare supplicium, modo victorem truci vultu quiritem necis imperare legisti.

¹ sibi non : non sibi V6, V7

² sub luna : sublima V7

³ milia hominum : hominum milia V7

⁴ et quingenta *omit.* V7

⁵ *omit.* V7

⁶ qui V7

3.1. Fortune's fickleness¹

[32] God is the best and most certain doctor in all sickness. He not only drives the bodily ailments but also those of the mind. His with us whenever we wish, for while we take good care of ourselves, the divinity dwells in our mind. You are now well in body, but you have not yet removed the sickness of your mind. The wound of the soul is still fresh, and you mourn the fortune of your lost kingdom. It seems monstrous to me that you, a man who has read much and contemplated the changes of the world, are distressed because the gracious face of Fortune has changed for you. You ought to have thought of this before you began to advance. For Fortune does not raise anyone up without reserving for herself the power to cast them down. We ascend on this condition, that whenever she wishes, we descend immediately. *The grape does not hold its leaves long, nor does the poplar its shade*, as the poet says. All things under the moon are fleeting. The higher we are raised, the more dangerously we fall. The wheel of fortune is fickle. No one can steer it.

[33] Fortune is an inconstant and unfaithful mistress: she is good to no one perpetually. Alexander of Macedon², whom she made lord of the world, she extinguished in his youth with poison. Pompey the Great³ defeated, routed, killed, and received in surrender two million and 830,000. He sank or captured 846 pirate ships. He received the allegiance of a thousand five hundred and thirty-eight castles and towns. He subdued all lands from the Maeotian Sea⁴ to the Red Sea. But even him (though old) she decapitated. She assassinated Caesar⁵ in the Senate, although under his leadership 1,092,000 men had perished in battles, not counting those who perished in civil wars. You know how much Fortune played with Gajus Marius⁶, who – as you have read – at one time was defeated at Minturnae and expected to be punished by death, and at another time, as victor, fiercely ordered the citizens to be killed.

¹ In this section, Piccolomini once again returns to the subject of fortune, see among others his letter to Prokop von Rabenstein of 26 June 1444 (EPI, 3: 152). See ISU / Fortune. In the meantime, he may have seen or been inspired by Poggio Bracciolini's *De Varietate*

Fortunae, though he did not quote from it.

² Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of Macedon from 336 to his death. World conqueror.

³ Pompejus Magnus (106-48 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁴ Sea of Azov.

⁵ Caesar, Gajus Julius (100-44 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁶ Marius, Gajus (157-86 BCE). Roman statesman and general.

[34] Magna de Lucio Metello est opinio, quasi fortuna huic uni semper asserit. Fuit enim bis consul, dictator, magister equitum, duodecimvir agris dandis. Elephantes primus ex primo punico bello duxit in triumpho. Primarius bellator habitus, optimus orator, fortissimus imperator. Auspicio suo maximae res gestae. Magno honore usus (held in high honour), summa sapientia. Summus senator pecuniam magnam bono modo invenit. Liberos multos reliquit. Clarissimus in civitate fuit. At is *orbam luminibus egit senectam amissis incendio, cum palladium raperet ex aede Vestae memorabili causa sed eventu misero*, ut Plinius ait. Hujus quoque nepos, Metellus Macedonicus, fortunati nomen habuit, qui *a quattuor filiis illatus est, rogo, uno praetore, tribus consularibus, duobus triumphalibus, uno censorio*. At hic in flore dignationis suae a Cathino Labeone, tribuno plebis, quem [e] senatu Caesar¹ eiecerat, e capitolio ad Tarpejam raptus est, ut inde praecipitaretur, sed intercedente alio tribuno *a limine ipso mortis ereptus alieno beneficio postea vixit*.

[35] Sed Octavium Augustum, fortasse objicies, qui victor orbis annis sex et quinquaginta imperavit, qui *super Garamantes et Indos protulit imperium*, exemplum hic unicum {170} humanae felicitatis esse videtur his, qui secreta ejus ignorant. Sed multa huic adversa apud avunculum in magisterio equitum; repulsam tulit contra petitionem ejus praelato Lepido. In proelio Philippensi fuga notatus est et in palude triduo aegrotavit. Vita ejus saepe insidiis petita est. Luxit liberorum mortes et adulterium neptis ac filiae. Afflixit eum rebellio Illyrici, pestilentia urbis, Varriana clades, fames Italiae. Quatriduanam inedia sustinuit. Moriendi cupidus herede non suo filio vita excessit.

¹ Error for censor.

[34] Lucius Metellus¹ is held in the highest esteem, as if fortune has always favoured him alone. He was consul twice, dictator, master of the horse, and a duodecimvir for the distribution of lands. After the First Punic War, he was the first to lead elephants in triumph. He was regarded as a foremost warrior, an excellent orator, and a very strong commander. Great deeds were accomplished under his auspices. He was held in high honour and had the utmost wisdom. As a leading senator, he found a great sum of money in a good way. He left many children. He was illustrious in the state. But *he passed an old age of blindness, having lost his sight in a fire, when he was saving the statue of Pallas from the Temple of Vesta, a memorable purpose but disastrous in its result*, as Pliny² says³. His son, Metellus Macedonicus⁴, bore the name of Fortunate, because *he was borne to the tomb by four sons, one a praetor, three ex-consuls (two winners of triumphs), one an ex-censor*⁵. Nevertheless, at the very height of his distinguished career, he was carried off to the Tarpejan by Rock by Gajus Atinius Labeo⁶, a people's tribune, whom Caesar⁷ had ejected from the Senate, with the intention of hurtling *him down from the cliff, but he was recalled from the very threshold of death* by the intervention of another tribune, *and subsequently he lived on the charity of another*⁸.

[35] In objection, you may point to Octavius Augustus⁹, who conquered the world and ruled for fifty-six years, and who *advanced his empire beyond the Garamants and Indians*¹⁰. He seems to be a unique example of human happiness, but only to those who do not know his secrets. As a master of the horse, he faced many adversities with his great-uncle¹¹, and [in an election] he suffered defeat in his candidacy against Lepidus¹² who won. In the battle of Philippi¹³, he fled shamefully and lay ill in the marsh for three days. There were frequent plots against his life. He mourned the deaths of his children and the adultery of his granddaughter¹⁴ and daughter¹⁵. He was plagued by a rebellion in Illyria, a pest in the city, the Varian¹⁶ disaster¹⁷, and famine in Italy. He endured a four-day fast. Desiring to die, he left this life, having an heir¹⁸ who was not his son.

¹ Metellus, Lucius Caecilius (c. 290-221 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

² Plinius Secundus, Gajus [Pliny the Elder] (c. 23-79 CE): Roman author and natural philosopher.

³ Plinius : *Historia Naturalis*, 7: 43, 141.

⁴ Metellus, Quintus Caecilius Macedonicus (c. 188 - c. 116 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁵ Plinius : *Historia Naturalis*, 7: 43, 143.

⁶ Gaius Atinius Labeo Macerio

⁷ Error for Censor [when censor, he].

⁸ Plinius : *Historia Naturalis*, 7: 43, 143.

⁹ Augustus (Gajus Julius Octavianus Caesar) (31 BCE - 14 CE): Roman statesman, first emperor.

¹⁰ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 794-795: *super et Garamantas et Indos proferebat imperium*.

¹¹ Julius Caesar.

¹² Lepidus, Marcus Aemilius (89 – c. 12 BCE): Roman statesman and general. Ally of Caesar and later of Augustus.

¹³ Battle of Philippi (42 BCE): The final battle between Marcus Antonius and Octavian on the one side and Caesar's killers on the other.

¹⁴ Julia the Younger [Vipsania Julia Agrippina] (19 BCE – 28 CE): Daughter of Julia the Elder.

¹⁵ Julia the Elder (39 BCE – 14 CE): Daughter of Augustus.

¹⁶ Varus, Publius Quinctilius (46 BCE - 9 CE): Roman general and politician.

¹⁷ The Battle of Teutoburg Forest, 9 CE, where three legions led by Varus were destroyed.

¹⁸ Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus (42 BCE – 37 CE): Roman emperor from 14 CE to his death. Stepson of Augustus, whom he succeeded as second emperor.

[36] Et ut ad nostra redeamus: Saul regno potitus, victoriis clarus, ad extremum insanit et in proelio victus servi manum, qua percutiatur, supplex orat. A bovium custodia vocatus ad regnum David post claras ex hoste victorias a filio pellitur, contra quem sumptis armis non satis intelligit vincere velit an vinci. Siquidem victo atque occiso filio suo vitae suae eum pertaedit. Dicat aliquis Salomonem sapientem ac pacificum regem perpetuae fortunae afflatu beatum, qui usque ad mortem quieto tranquilloque regno potitus sit. Sed neque hic regnare sine fratricidio potuit, et amicorum saepe neces imperavit. Ad postremum concubinae servitio pressus, diis alienis atque ipsis daemonibus sacrificavit. In qua re msierrimum eum vel suo iudicio fuisse nemo addubitaverit.

[37] Aevo nostro unum omnes felicem Filippum Mariam, Mediolanensem ducem, iudicavimus {170v} qui non Florentinos modo, sed Venetos et universam Italiam conterruit ac regem Alfonsum fratresque cum universo procerum comitatu navali proelio superatos captosque domi suae vidit. Verum hic ante obitum Genuam amisit, agri magna parte mulctatus, adeoque Venetorum armis attritus est, ut vix Mediolani sese tueretur, et quamvis ultra citraque montes regum auxilia imploraret, nullius tamen opem sensit, amisso visu, rege, quem captivum habuerat, herede instituto decessit.

[38] Francisco Foscaro, duci Venetiarum, diu adulata fortuna est, sub quo supra quinque et viginti annos senatus ille populusque Venetus mirum in modum auctus Brixiam, Bergamum et maximam partem Galliae Transpadanae in suam ditionem redegit. Sed gloriam ejus obfuscavit felicitatemque abruptit filius ob turpem causam bis in exilium actus.

[39] Haec cum tibi notissima essent, Petre, non debuisti vel dolere vel admirari, si et tecum suam consuetudinem fortuna servavit, quae jure suo veteri et in omnes aetates praescripto usa¹ est. Nihil de tuo tibi abstulit; quod suum erat repetiit. Potentiam, quam tibi ad tempus concesserat, in eo, quem statuerat termino subtraxit. Quid, obsecro, est, quod de fortuna queraris? Quid tecum ille dure egit? Nicolao papae vitam eripuit, at moriturum eum jam pridem noveras. Illo mortuo et tua potentia mortua {172r} est. At Nicolao cadente sciebas te stare non posse. Nihil tibi adversi accidit, quod non praevideris. Praeter spem vero, si recte iudicas, non pauca bona tibi fortunae beneficio, sive, ut melius loquamur, divina miseratione relicta sunt. Ex palatio salvus existi. Collegisti sarcinas tuas. Nullo fraudatus es lucello, quod ad te detulit secretariatus officium. Cum conjuge, cum liberis absque ulla contumelia dimissus es. Hoc tu beneficium non ponderas, quod tanto majus est, quanto rarius accidit.

¹ uasa V7

[36] To return to our own¹: When Saul² had gained the kingdom and become renowned for his victories, he ultimately went mad. Defeated in a battle, he humbly begged a servant to strike him down³. When David⁴ had been called away from the care of the cattle to [take over] the kingdom, he defeated the enemy in glorious battles. But [later], he was driven away by a son⁵. Taking arms against him, he could not decide whether he wanted to win or be defeated. And when his son was defeated and killed, he lost the will to live. Someone might say that Solomon⁶, the wise and peaceful king, was blessed by perpetual fortune since he ruled in peace and tranquillity until his death. But neither could he reign without fratricide, and he often ordered the slaughter of his friends. Ultimately, under pressure from a concubine, he sacrificed to foreign gods and even to demons. In this matter, no one doubts that he was most miserable, even by his own judgement.

[37] In our own age, we all considered Filippo Maria⁷, the Duke of Milan, as eminently fortunate. He filled not just the Florentines but also the Venetians, and all of Italy with terror and saw, at his home, King Alfonso⁸ and his brothers, captured and defeated in a naval battle⁹ with their entire retinue of nobles. But before his death, he lost Genoa, was penalised by the loss of a large part of his land, and brought so low by Venetians arms that he could hardly defend himself in Milan. Although he called for the aid of kings from both beyond and this side of the mountains¹⁰, he got help from no one. Having lost his sight, he died, having appointed the king, he had held prisoner, as his heir.

[38] Fortune favoured Francesco Foscari¹¹, Doge of Venice, for a long time. Under him, for over twenty-five years, the Venetian Senate and people grew remarkably, conquering Brescia, Bergamo, and most of Transpadanian Gaul. But his glory was obscured and his happiness was shattered by his son¹², who was sent into exile twice for shameful reasons¹³.

[39] You knew all this very well, Pietro, so you ought neither grieve nor wonder that Fortune has treated you as she usually does, exercising her ancient rights, prescribed for all ages. She has taken nothing from you that was yours; she has reclaimed what was hers. The power she granted you for a time, she withdrew from you at the time she had set. Why, I ask, do you complain about Fortune? How did she treat you harshly? She took the life of Pope Nicolaus¹⁴, but you knew that he was going to die long before. With his death, your power also died. But you knew that when Nicolaus fell, you knew you could not stand. Nothing adverse happened to you that you did not foresee. Besides, if you see it correctly, not a few goods have been left to you by Fortune, or, to speak better, by divine mercy. You have left the palace safely. You have gathered your belongings. You were not deprived of the gains that the office of secretary brought you. You have been dismissed with your wife and children without harassment. You do not consider this benefit, which is so much greater as it happens so rarely.

¹ The Old Testament Jews and the Christians.

² Saul (late 11th cent. BCE ?): First King of Israel/Judah.

³ 2. Kings, 4.

⁴ David (9th cent BCE ?): Third King of Israel/Judah.

⁵ Absalom: Son of David.

⁶ Solomon (8th cent. BCE): Fourth King of Israel/Judah.

⁷ Visconti, Filippo Maria (1392-1447): Duke of Milan from 1412 to his death.

⁸ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁹ The Sea Battle of Ponza ...

¹⁰ The Alps.

¹¹ Foscari, Francesco (1373-1457): Doge of Venice from 1423 to 1457. DVI, 15.

¹² Jacopo Foscari (bef. 1416-1457): Son of Francesco Foscari. Died in exile. See DVI, sect. 67.

¹³ Alleged treason.

¹⁴ Nicolaus V.

[40] Etenim quot memorantur, qui potentes in palatio post obitum pontificis non maximas calamitates inciderint? Nepotem Bonifatii non mendicare¹ panem nostra aetas vidit, quem, ut editus in lucem fuerat, in calathis rosarum obtulerant patruo. Sed ne longe petamus exempla, Martino quinto fati functo, qui fuerunt apud eum potentes alii bonis omnibus excussi sunt, alii in carcerem rapti, alii in exilium missi, alii in crucem sublatis, alii alio modo necati, neque ego crediderim omnes, qui Martino placuerunt, poena fuisse dignos. Sed ita mos inolevit: odiosus est successori quisquis antecessori acceptus fuit.

[41] At te Callixti clementia conservavit², qui nihil de³ te sinistre credere voluit, quamvis essent, qui te accusarent non pauci hostes, id est inimici⁴ tui. Corona tua et quidem pretiosissima haec est, Petre, quod integer creditus {171v} intactus abiisti. Hanc tu laudem ad posteros paene solus transmittes nomenque tui minores ex te clarum habebunt. Unus enim ex palatio pontificis omnium iudicio dignus existimatus es, qui salvus evaderes. Fateor, non tanta tibi erunt lucra, quanta erant Nicolao vivente, neque jam tibi assurgent homines, quacumque ieris, sed tibi ego satis pecuniarum esse arbitror, si ad veritatem, non ad opinionem vitam ducere volueris.

[42] Quaerendae pecuniae nullus est finis his, qui vulgo vivunt. *Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.* Si volumus esse divites, non pecuniae adjiciendum est, sed cupiditati detrahendum. Cum propheta dicendum est: *divitias et paupertatem ne dederis mihi, sed tantum victui meo praebe necessaria.* Non habes opes Cosmi, at Martelli habes. Non eris Florentiae primus, at vel Luccae vel Senis esse potes tuoque cum Horatio dicere: *Frui paratis et valido mihi, Latoe⁵, dones. At precor integra cum mente, nec turpem senectam degere nec cithara carentem, nec vero⁶ tu⁷ tibi subtractos honores⁸, quia⁹ rarae¹⁰ potentiae tuae, non tibi detexit turba caput. Saepe tuam manum deosculatus est, qui truncam¹¹ illam optavit. Fumus ille ac ventus fuit, qui¹² cum fortuna, non cum virtute decurrit. Age, quid illa tua potentia miserabilius fuit, quam tu¹³ tantopere amisisse doles? Recogita, obsecro, quo ex loco sis delapsus. Non tu ex paradiso {172r} deliciarum cum primo parente in terram aerumnosam descendisti, sed verius ex procelloso mari in tranquillum portum enavigasti.*

¹ mendicari V6, V7

² servavit V7

³ omit. V7

⁴ em.; minimi codd.

⁵ late F1

⁶ omit. F1

⁷ omit. V7

⁸ A verb expressing regret seems to be missing, e.g., fleres

⁹ em.; quae codd.

¹⁰ raro V7

¹¹ tunicam F1, V6, V7

¹² omit. F1, V5

¹³ te V7

[40] Indeed, how many are recorded, who, powerful in the palace, have not suffered the greatest misfortunes after the death of the pontiff? Our age saw the nephew of Bonifatius¹ begging for bread, whom, when he was born, they presented to his uncle in a basket of roses. But let us not seek distant examples; after Martin V² had passed away, others who were powerful with him were stripped of all their properties; some were seized and thrown into prison, some were sent into exile, some were crucified, and others were killed in other ways; but I do not believe that all those who pleased Martin were worthy of punishment. But this custom has grown: whoever has been accepted by a predecessor is hateful to the successor.

3.2. Da Noceto's favourable situation after his dismissal from the curia

[41] But you were preserved by the clemency of Callixtus³, who would not believe anything ill of you, even though there were many adversaries, your enemies, who accused you. This is indeed your crown, Pietro, that you were considered honest and left untouched. You will be almost alone in passing this praise to posterity, and your children will inherit an excellent reputation from you. For you alone from the pope's palace were deemed worthy to leave safely. I admit that your gains will not be as great as they were while Nicolaus was alive, nor will men rise up for you wherever you go, but I think there is enough wealth for you if you wish to lead your life according to truth, not opinion.

[42] For common mortals, the pursuit of wealth never ends. *Your love of money grows as much as the money itself grows*⁴. If we wish to be rich, we must not increase wealth but diminish desire. We must say with the prophet, "Give me neither beggary, nor riches: give me only the necessities of life"⁵. You do not have the wealth of Cosimo⁶, but that of Martelli⁷. You will not be the first in Florence, but you can be it in Lucca or Siena and say with Horace, "Grant, o son of Latona, that I may enjoy what I possess, in good health, I pray you, and with full mental vigour. And may I have an old age that is not lacking in dignity or bereft of music"⁸ But you will not lose honour, for the crowd bared their heads not to you but to your extraordinary power. Your hand was often kissed by men who really wanted to cut it off. He who hastened forward with Fortune and not with virtue was but smoke and wind. Come, what was more miserable than that power of yours, which you lament having lost? Consider, I beg you, the place you have fallen from. You did not descend from the paradise of delights with the first parent into a wretched land, but rather you have sailed from a stormy sea into a tranquil harbour.

¹ Bonifatius IX [Pietro Tomacelli] (c. 1350-1404): Pope from 1389 to his death.

² Martinus V [Odo Colonna] (1368-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death.

³ Pope Callixtus III.

⁴ Juvenalis, 14: 34.

⁵ Proverbs, 30: 8.

⁶ Cosimo de' Medici.

⁷ Roberto Martelli.

⁸ Horatius: *Carmina*, 1: 31, 17-20.

[43] Nam quid est Romana curia his, qui summam tenent, nisi turbidissimum pelagus ventis undique dirissimisque tempestatibus agitatum? Avaritiae ibi atque invidiae procella vix quemquam intactum praeterit. Laudant in faciem, a tergo ciconia¹ pingit². Quis tela enumeret, quae in potentes³ jaciuntur? Tot tibi retia⁴, mi Petre, tot insidiae tendebantur, ut mortuo Nicolao jure merito dicere posses: *Laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus*. Nam obitu illius carcerem exivisti. Non curiam⁵, miseriam reliquisti. Non potentiam, servitutem posuisti. Non gloriam, bellum effugisti. Non pacem ...⁶ Eras enim illic mancipium Nicolai. Nulla tibi edendi, nulla dormiendi certa hora fuit. Non comites alloqui, non exire in lucem poteras. In aere taetro, in pulvere, in squalore, in fetore latebas. Nunc, quamvis invitus⁷ libertate donatus, ex tuo arbitrio vivis.

[44] In hac vita nemo mortalium felix. Beneque atque indulgenter cum eo agitur, qui vere dici non infelix potest, nam quotus est, cujus non plura mala quam bona invenias? Cujus laetitiam non superaverit maeror? Nemo novit, quid feliciter optet. Quam multos afflixere imperia, quam multos perdidere divitiae et ultimis mersere suppliciis? Moriendum est tandem nobis vel invitis. { 172v } Duo nobis ex hac luce migrantibus itinera occurrunt: altero caelum petimus, altero inferos. Illic cum diis, hic cum sceleratis deputamur. Illic regnum, hic supplicium expectabimus. Iter eligere, dum vivimus, licet. Ex vitae merito patet via. Post mortem nulla merendi facultas. Et nos ergo, amantissime Petre, dum vita comes est, ad opera pietatis exerceamur. Absint voluptates illecebrae, odia, simultates. Absit avaritia et honorum immensa cupido. Satis nobis ipse Deus superque satis elargitus est, nec tu mihi cardinalatum cupias, nec ego tibi optem potentiam curialem. Nimis enim potentes et honorati fuimus, tu apud Romanum praesulem, ego apud imperatorem. Namque si viritim ex aequo externa, quae vocant, bona distribuantur, nec tu medium ejus, quod obtinuisti, accipias, nec ego quartam partem ejus, quod divina bonitas elargita est, consequar.

Vale. Ex Neapoli, Nonas Majas 1456.

¹ ticoma F1

² pingunt F1; *Persius: pinsit.*

³ in potentes : impotentes V7

⁴ tertia V7

⁵ curiae F1

⁶ words missing codd.

⁷ omit. F1

[43] For what is the Roman Curia to those who hold the highest offices but a turbulent sea agitated from all sides by winds and terrible storms? The gale of greed and envy rarely leaves anyone untouched. They praise in your face, but behind your back, *they pummel you like a stork*¹. Who can count the weapons that are thrown against the powerful? So many snares were set for you, my Pietro, so many ambushes were laid that after the death of Nicolaus, you could rightly say, "*The snare is broken, and we are delivered.*"² At his death, you emerged from prison. You did not leave the curia but misery. You did not put away power but servitude. You did not escape glory but war. You did not [leave] peace [but strife]. There, you were the slave of Nicolaus. You had no set time for eating or sleeping. You could not speak with companions, nor could you go out into the light. You stayed hidden in foul air, in dust, in filth, in stench. Though you did not want to get freedom, you now live as you yourself will.

3.3. Conclusion: Gaining heaven by leading a virtuous life

[44] In this life, no mortal is happy. If you cannot truly be called unhappy, you are actually treated well and indulgently, for how few are there for whom the evil does not outweigh the good? Whose joy is not overcome by sorrow? No one knows what happiness to wish for. How many were not harmed by power? How many were not lost by wealth and sunk into dire torments? In the end, we must die, even if unwilling. Two paths meet us as we depart from this light: one leads to heaven, the other to hell. In heaven, we join the saints; in hell, we join the wicked. In heaven, a kingdom awaits us; in hell, punishment. While we live, we are allowed to choose our path. That way is open, which we have merited by our life. After death, there is no opportunity to gain merit. And so, dearest Pietro, while we live, let us engage in works of piety. Away with alluring pleasures, hatreds, and rivalries. Away with greed and insatiable desire for honours. God has granted us enough and more than enough. Do not wish the cardinalate for me, and I shall not wish curial power for you. For we have indeed had too much power and honour, you at the Roman Pontiff's court, and I at the emperor's. Indeed, if external goods, as they call them, were distributed evenly among individuals, neither would you receive half of what you have obtained, nor would I obtain a fourth of what divine goodness has granted to me.

Farewell. From Naples, 7 May 1456.

¹ Persius: *Satirae*, 1: 58: *a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit*.

² Psalms, 123: 7.

685. Letter to the City of Siena (23 May 1456, Naples).

Manuscripts: VI, ff. 87r-88r **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: None.

[1] {87r} Quamvis, magnifici et potentes domini honorandi, communibus litteris ego et collegae mei, quae necessaria iudicavimus collegio vestro ultro diligenter scripserimus, quia tamen ab amicis certior factus sum esse nonnullos ex numero vestro, qui singulares epistolas meas expetunt, in quibus meum iudicium de rebus agendis exprimat, statui breviter haec pauca meo tantum nomine vobis significare.

[2] Tractatus hic pacis perdifficilis fuit, cum sine papa nihil fieri posset. Ille vero nihil nobis committeret, et aliquando opera nostra moleste ferret. Itaque navigandum nobis fuit inter contrarios ventos in agitato mari. Tractatus ipse concordiae modo huc, modo illuc pulsus est, et saepe naufragium passus. Nunc dux Mutinae, nunc cardinalis Sancti Marci clavum apprehendet, ut navim in portu traheret. Remiges admodum multi, inter quos et frater Filippus sese adjecit, sed vani fuerunt omnium conatus. Perditio temporis fuit, quod interim nostra civitas passa est.

[3] Reducta {87v} est iterum res ad regem hunc. Is volentem sese exhibet. Habet omnem potestatem componendi negotium ex parte papae. Piccininus sive velit, sive nolit regiae voluntati acquiescere cogetur, quia si relinquatur a rege, non habet, quo confugiat. Sumus nos tres quotidie cum rege, et adest magister Johannes Soleri, orator papae. Curamus quam diligenter expeditionem negotii. Regia majestas dicit, ut bono animo simus, quia¹ rem absque dubio quam celerrime terminabit. Affirmat se compati Senesi populo, qui indigna patitur; velle papae rem gratam facere, postquam in se confidit; nolle pati, quod ulterius Italia intricata sit, sed jam denique contra Turcos procedi possit. Ut igitur dicam, quod sentio, spero quam brevissime alterum de duabus: aut pacem per medium hujus regis consequemur et amissa recuperabimus, non tamen sine aliqua solutione pecuniae; aut hic rex Piccinino indignatus manum suam ab eo subtrahat, neque permittet {88r} aliquem subditis suis opitulari.

¹ *em.*; quam cod.

685. Letter to the City of Siena (23 May 1456, Naples).

Context: The Sienese delegation had finally begun to negotiate directly with King Alfonso.

Subject: Piccolomini gives a positive account of the development of the peace negotiations in Naples and foresees a speedy conclusion of a peace treaty.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords.

[1] My colleagues¹ and I have diligently sent joint letters to your College with the information that we deemed necessary. But now friends have let me know that some among you request individual letters from me with my personal assessment of the affairs being treated here. So, I have decided to briefly inform you about them in my own name.

[2] The peace negotiations here have been exceedingly difficult since nothing could be accomplished without the pope². However, he would not entrust anything to us and would sometimes be irritated at our efforts. Thus, we had to sail against opposing winds in a troubled sea, and the peace negotiation itself was sometimes driven hither, sometimes thither, and often suffered shipwreck. Now the Duke of Modena³, now the Cardinal of San Marco⁴ would seize the helm to pull the ship into port. Many rowers, among them Brother Filippo, also joined the fray, but all their efforts were in vain. It was a waste of time, and in the meantime, our city suffered.

[3] The matter has now, again, been referred to the king⁵. He shows himself willing. He has full power to resolve the matter on behalf of the pope. Piccinino, whether he wants to or not, will be compelled to comply with the king's will, because if he is abandoned by the king, he has no refuge. We three are with the king daily, and Magister Juan Soler, the pope's ambassador, is present. We take care to negotiate diligently. His Royal Majesty says that we should take courage because he will certainly conclude the matter as quickly as possible. He states that he has sympathy with the people of Siena, whose sufferings are unmerited; that he wishes to please the pope, since he has shown confidence in him; and that he does not wish further problems for Italy but to now, at last, be able to proceed against the Turks. Therefore, to speak frankly, I hope that we shall, as soon as possible, accomplish one of two: either we shall obtain peace through the agency of the king and recover what has been lost - although not without some monetary compensation; or the king will, angered at Piccinino, withdraw his hand from him, nor will he allow anyone to assist his help Piccinino's men and clients⁶.

¹ Galgano Borghese and Leonardo Benvoglianti. On the new Sienese embassy to King Alfonso, see Banchi, p. 243.

² Callixtus III.

³ Borso d'Este.

⁴ Pietro Barbò

⁵ Alfonso V the Magnanimous.

⁶ "subditi".

[4] Quod autem haec negotia tam diu protracta sunt, non est huic regi ascribendum. Sed causa primo exinde ortum habuit, quia nec ego venire potui, cum mitterer, neque Jacobus Guidini. Et cum postea nos tres venimus, advocata fuit causa e manibus nostris, et - ut praedictum est - diversimode agitata. Nunc auctore Deo paene in portu navis est. Spero intra paucissimos dies, nisi aliud adversetur, consolationem recipietis optatam. Et invenietis hunc regem non esse alienum a republica vestra, quamvis aliqua praecesserint, quae suum animum conturbaverunt. Deinde cavendum erit, ut ejus benevolentiam et gratiam custodiamus, quia longas habet manus, sive prodesse, sive obesse velit. Haec habui, quae nunc de mea opinione scribere possem.

Ex Neapoli, die 23. Maji 1456. Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis.

[4] That these matters have taken so long is not the king's fault.¹ The reason is, firstly, that I could not come when I was sent², and neither could Jacopo Guidini³. And when afterwards we three came, the matter was taken out of our hands and, as has been said, treated differently. Now, with God's help, the ship is almost in port. I hope that you will, within a very few days, receive the desired consolation.⁴ And you will find this king to not be estranged from your republic, although some things have upset him. Therefore, you must care to preserve his goodwill and grace, for he has long arms, whether he wishes to help or to harm. This is what I could write now regarding my personal opinion.

From Naples, 23rd May 1456. Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Indirectly, Piccolomini blames the pope who delayed the sending of a Siennese embassy for months.

² Due to the pope's resistance.

³ The pope sent Bindo Bindi instead.

⁴ On the conclusion of the peace treaty, see introduction to oration "Modestius" of ... July 1456 (ORA, 6: 27).