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Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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

Vol. 5: Letters 1448-1452 (nos. 226-283)

Preliminary version

**Copenhagen
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Abstract

The present volume contains Enea Silvio Piccolomini's personal letters from the years 1448-1452, altogether 57 letters. These letters cover a period when he became Bishop of Trieste and was later transferred to the See of Siena. During this period, he acted as a senior imperial diplomat and councillor, being sent on important missions to the King Alfonso V in Naples, to the pope and to Bohemia.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papst Pius II; Papa Pio II; Emperor Frederick II (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich II (Habsburg); Epistolae episcopales; King Alfonso V the Magnanimous; Pope Nicolaus V; Renaissance Humanism; Letters; Imperial coronation, 1452.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The major political events in the period 1448 to 1452 reflected in Piccolomini's correspondence were:

- the fall¹ of his benefactor and mentor, Chancellor Kaspar Schlick,
- the Second Battle of Kosovo (1448), which resulted in yet another Christian defeat at the hands of the Turks and increased Turkish pressure on Hungary and the neighbouring lands, including Austria,
- the appointment of Georg Podiebrad and Janós Hunyadi as governors of Bohemia and Hungary, respectively,
- the imperial coronation and wedding in Rome (1452), and
- the Austrian rebellion against the emperor as guardian of the young king Ladislaus.

For Piccolomini personally, this period meant an important step forward in his ecclesiastical career: his efforts for the German recognition of the Roman papacy were rewarded with his appointment as Bishop of Trieste in 1447 (soured somewhat by a temporary estrangement from the imperial court) and his transferral to the See of Siena, his hometown, in 1450 (letter 247). Consequently, he left his position at the imperial chancery and became a full-fledged imperial councillor and senior diplomat as well as a prince of the Empire (1451) (letter 258). Also, the pope appointed him apostolic legate to Central Europe (1452) (letter 269). In 1450-1451, he undertook diplomatic missions to King Alfonso V, Rome and Bohemia, and it fell to him to prepare the emperor's coronation voyage to Rome, to receive the empress at her arrival in Italy, and later to participate in the negotiations following the Austrian rebellion against the emperor.

1. Themes

1.1. External

1.1.1. War: The Second Battle of Kosovo

There can be no doubt that Pius had some fascination with military matters. His own father had served in the army of the Duke of Milan; his revered model, Virgil's Pius Aeneas, was a mighty warrior; and the twin concept of *arma et litterae* was dear to humanists, including Piccolomini. He admired military leaders like Albrecht of Brandenburg, Francesco Sforza and János Hunyadi. Probably inspired by Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* and *Commentarii de Bello Civili*, he wrote

¹ Or at least his estrangement from the emperor.

and spoke about such matters not only in his papal *Commentarii*, where he devoted much space to the wars he conducted as a pope,¹ but also in his orations letters and other works.²

An example of his battle descriptions is given in a letter to Pope Nicolaus V of 25 November 1448 about the Second Battle of Kosovo, where he also gives the harangues³ of the two opposing generals to their troops:

I do not report or hear bad news gladly, but when there is no good news, then what can I write but the bad ones? The strongest men have fallen in Hungary, a Christian army has been overthrown, the standard of the most holy Cross is trodden by swine, and an immense gate to evils has opened before us. I do not write this to sadden you but so that you will know it and be on your guard lest worse things happen. The unhappy message, confirmed by many letters, has reached the emperor's ears that on the Vigil of Saint Luke, the Turks defeated the Christian army. Hear now what is said to have happened: we only report things we have heard, not things we have seen.

It is now four years since Giuliano, Cardinal of Santa Sabina, and Wladyslaw, king of Poland, two blessed souls, with many others, lost their lives in battle and joined their fathers. János, Voivode of Transylvania, would have fallen, too, if he had not saved himself by flight. Being a Wallachian, who knew the region and was clever, he easily avoided the danger in which he involved the others. Afterwards, János was made governor [of the realm], and this summer, he raised a large army and marched against the ruler of the Turks. He was followed by many Germans and Bohemians whom he had hired as mercenaries. In the meantime, the Turk, with oriental cleverness, had not been idle, but thinking that the Hungarians would not settle down before they had tried to avenge themselves - as was the case - he gathered an innumerable army from the whole of Asia. But János, believing his own numbers to be more important than the enemies', thought that no one could equal him. Moreover, he despised the enemy fighters as effeminate, though in military matters, one should neither fear the enemy overly nor underestimate him. It is helpful to remember the verse of the Comic writer, "Nothing in excess."

He now held the territory of Moesia, today called Bulgaria. Janos' plans were known to the Turks, but though he knew he had the upper hand, he pretended to flee. Thus, enemies are caught either by ruses or because they become less careful when buoyed by success. It is reported that when a Turkish scout was caught, János ordered them to follow Scipio's example and send the man back unharmed so that he could tell the Turk what he had seen. (When I hear descriptions of events that are similar to those of old authors, I usually consider them to be fictitious rather than true, and the English have a historian⁴ who ascribes grand deeds like those of the Romans, drawn from Livy, to his fellow Englishmen). I resume my account: János' gesture did terrify the enemies, and when the scout had been sent back, it was reported that the Turks, though still preparing for the coming battle, were withdrawing, having fired the farms

¹ These wars together led a modern scholar to accuse Pius of personal bellicosity (Chambers), an opinion actually held by many

Italians at the time, in Rome and even in the College of Cardinals.

² See COR, 6: 4: Pius' wars.

³ Fictive - in the classical fashion.

⁴ Piccolomini probably refers to Geoffrey of Monmouth (ca. 1095 – ca. 1155). and his *De Gestis Britonum* (or *Historia Regum Britannia*).

in all directions. Maybe they were searching for a better place to fight and wanted to make their adversaries less careful as they thought themselves to be safer.

János followed them, but when he was close, and the battle could no longer be avoided, the Turks sent eight high-ranking ambassadors who said they abhorred the shedding of human blood and, therefore, offered a permanent peace, promising to pay 100,000 gold ducats in compensation for the costs of the war. This is what his Royal Highness was told, in my presence, by the younger count of Cilly, who quickly gets news from these parts from his father-in-law, the Despot of Rascia - though princes may err, be mistaken, deceive and even lie! But János, whom success had made arrogant, scorned the offer, holding that peace should be sold with blood rather than gold. When the Turk heard it, he said, "The higher beings are my witnesses that I enter this fight unwillingly and do not thirst for human blood. Since we have acted with humility, Fortune, mistress of wars, will smile upon us." Then he exhorted his men to fight valiantly for their fatherland, children and wives. This war, he said, would put an end to their labours, for the Hungarians had previously been defeated in two battles¹ and would scarcely be able to win a third. He pointed to the great size of his army and the small size of the enemies' and told them that they would be fighting men whose brothers had been destroyed almost four years ago in this very region.

On his side, János said, "Fellow soldiers, today, we shall free Europe from the violent domination of the Turks, or, dying for Christ, we shall be crowned martyrs. Who will not gladly take part in a battle where it is a boon to win and a blessing to be defeated. I will not keep you with a speech, for words do not give courage to men. Men usually show their worth on the battlefield. You have come from the remote regions to fight; you will stand as armed against unarmed; and you will wield the sword as Christians against infidels. Defend Christ today with your arms and throw Muhammad back beyond the Hellespont. The whole Christian religion will honour you, though today we are going to plunder rather than war and will bring back the wealth of all of Asia."

The soldiers on each side having been thus encouraged, the battle began. Reportedly, 15,000 Turks, were killed in the first assault, but others replaced them, and a bitter battle ensued. The Turks fought with their numbers and the Christians with their valour. So much blood was shed that torrents of gore flowed under the horses' feet. When the sun went down, the dark night ended the battle, but all during the night, the two armies, separated only by the distance of an arrow's flight, harassed each other with a swarm of missiles. A large part of the Hungarians escaped during the night, not wanting to try the fortune that morning would bring. This weakened János' strength and resolve. At daybreak, the mass of Turks formed wedges and attacked the fortified wagons - behind which the Hungarians, imitating the Bohemians, had taken cover - with swords and lances so quickly that they could not be hit with missiles. A hand-to-hand fight ensued in which foot pressed against foot and man against man. In the end, the Hungarians paid the price for their unwise strategy and were worn down by numbers rather than vanquished, and the Turks gained victory. They say the Germans and Bohemians fell to a

¹ The last battle was the Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444.

man, while around 30,000 Hungarians died. They also say that three times as many Turks fell, but I think it is the only consolation of the vanquished, that they should not be thought to have given their enemy an easy victory!

Some claim that János saved himself by flight and was protected by some mountain people, others that he was killed while fleeing, and others again that he was treacherously captured by the despot¹: the truth will be known from people arriving later. Some say that camels were somehow set aflame and sent against the Christians, causing havoc among János' cavalry. Many think the Hungarians were defeated because of János' temerity since he wanted to fight outside the wagon fort. This presupposes that he could not have been defeated had he stayed inside the wagon fort, which I rather doubt. Had they remained inside and nobody forced them to fight the Turks, their cavalry and infantry could still have been flanked by the Turks. In any case, victory belonged to the Turks. They, astute and clever, remembered the saying of Augustus Caesar that he who willingly enters a battle without having the advantage and certain hope of victory is like those who fish with a golden hook and will more likely suffer loss than gain profit. When János saw that a battle was necessary because he could not keep back his large army for long, he had to fight outside the wagon fort. Moreover, the Turkish troops were so numerous that it would be easy for them to fill the ditches with corpses, storm the wagons and disperse the fortifications. Indeed, it does not bother the Grand Turk to lose 10,000 men in battle. One of the Persian kings sent such large troops to Scythia that he considered the loss of 70,000 men as nothing.

Anyhow, it is clear that the Turks won and the Hungarians lost. Many Hungarian barons fell. Those who are given to exaggerate even great things claim that János' army counted 70,000 men and the Turkish 200,000. Simple people blame the stars for favouring the enemies of the Cross. They do not consider [the punishment] that our crimes have deserved in the sight of God but claim that "our cause was just". In fact, Israel's anger against Benjamin was just when they marched against Saba after the levite's wife had been heinously killed, but still they lost 18,000 soldiers on the first day and 8,000 on the second. Something in God's people merited this punishment. How do we know what went on in the minds of the Christian soldiers who marched against the Turks: some wanted salaries, and others spoils. Some did not go voluntarily, whereas others, [treasuring] secular military service and the empty name of soldier, would rather have golden spurs than an incorruptible crown of glory. (Letter 228: 5-12).

Note, in the last passages, the theme of Turkish victories as a divine punishment for the sins of the Christians, a recurrent theme in Piccolomini's later letters and orations.

¹ The despot of Serbia, Durad I Brankovic.

1.1.2. Church unity

1.1.2.1. *The aftermath of the Basilean schism*

After the German recognition of the Roman papacy in 1447 and the subsequent concordat between the Apostolic See and Germany, the situation of the papacy was much improved but still perilous: generally, papal authority had suffered a severe blow, and there was reason to fear the spread of the ecclesiastical policies of France, where the king had, in 1438, issued a Pragmatic Sanction that in practice made the French church greatly independent of Rome. In the above-mentioned letter of 25 November 1448, Piccolomini wrote to the pope:

In Antiquity, men said, "If you are well, we are well, too." But I say that if you are well, then so is Peter's Bark, so is Noah's ark, God's house, the Church and Christ's mystical body, for if some members are rotten, but the head is well, they can be healed or cut off. The Spouse of Christ is radiant and immaculate, but the times are perilous, and gales are raging everywhere. But it is during the storm that seamen show their worth. (Letter 228: 1).

The rump council of Basel was still sitting, and its schismatic pope, Felix V, had not abdicated. In the same letter, Piccolomini wrote:

The Basilean waves have not yet subsided. Small winds rage under the water and reach us through many hidden pipes. The Devil, with a thousand ruses, sometimes changes into an angel of light. I do not know what they want in France, still clinging to the council. What we have is not a peace but a truce. They claim we have yielded to force, not to reason, and that we still retain our former positions. They are hoping for another battlefield with a new fight about the majority. If you want to battle there, then choose one where you will not be hampered by winds, sun or adverse natural conditions. You should fear ambushes and the cunning French of our age. The end of times is upon us, and as we are buffeted by doctrinal gales, we cannot reach the sealed-up fountain or seek the enclosed garden. We would not be learned but only to appear to be so. You cannot be a teacher if you yourself need a teacher. The togate [scholar] knows how to question everything, but the hooded one considers that to be beneath him as, with inflated cheeks, he disputes about heaven, the stars, the angels, the trinity and the unity. But when, living in the desert and the remote areas of Syria, Jerome did not communicate with those he might in the East but consulted Damasus in the West, not fearing to ask him in what sense one could talk about the hypostasis. But today, learning may have reached the summit and, under the guidance of the Paraclete, [men] prefer the tribunes of scholars to the tribunals of the Apostolic See! (Letter 228: 1-2).

Eventually, a compromise settlement was reached with the schismatic pope, who was made a cardinal of a prestigious Roman title church, and some of his cardinals were reappointed by the pope. All this was not without its problems, as shown by Piccolomini in a letter to Cardinal Carvajal of 9 February 1450:

[4] Now, I pass on to other matters. I have related to His Majesty what you asked me to, and it pleased him greatly. I excused the lateness of the message, and the reason was accepted. You will get letters from His Royal Serenity and see what he feels and thinks about the matter. I understand that the agreement with the envoy from Savoy was always pleasing to His Majesty - for several reasons that you know better than my pen can explain. His Imperial Highness has not forgotten what, some time ago, you told him in the chancellor's presence. At any rate, I have fulfilled your wish and explained the matter to many, showing that the rumour claiming the king had not been informed about the Savoyard matter¹ was false. You do write quite sparingly to me, though: you say that we² have accepted some of the Savoyard cardinals as a clear manifestation of the unity,³ but you do not write whom. But that we should very much like to know. You may have lacked paper or ink, or maybe you did not wish to be too accommodating?. (Letter 243: 4)

1.1.2.2. The Hussites

Though the Basilean (Savoyard) schism had been settled, Church unity was threatened from another side, the Hussites in Bohemia.⁴ In the letter of 25 November 1448, Piccolomini wrote to the pope, advocating a military solution:

Thus, the infidel Hussites claim the Roman See has been granted no more than the other sees. Rokycana, that pestilence, that son of darkness, worshipper of the Devil and prophet of Antichrist, without your permission and against the canonical sanctions has usurped the episcopacy of Prague. You already know this and have heard from the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, wisest of Fathers, that Prague has been occupied [by the Hussites]. The heretics now want a meeting with the Catholics and will hold talks in Prague, and they have facilitated travel for the participants. But what happened once cannot happen again. If they come to an agreement, I do not see how the [Hussite] heresy can be vanquished unless a grand army and the forces of all Germany assemble again. But that is surely hopeless unless you give your assistance, send legates and exhort the prelates and princes. It is indeed unheard of, terrible and abhorrent that Rokycana appoints himself archbishop and governs the capital when he has not been called or sent or, as some claim, ever been ordained as a priest. Surely, Your Holiness will not let this outrage go unpunished! We read that Ozias was struck by leprosy because he dared to interfere with the holy rites. And since Isaiah had not rebuked him for invading the temple and - following Elijah's example - fearlessly declared him impious, he was said to have unclean lips and for a time lacked his gift of prophecy. So, draw Your Highness' sword and destroy the dragon's head. It is easier to heal fresh wounds than old ones. I do not write this letter as a preceptor but purely as an informant. I show the wound, but the remedy depends on you. The shepherd knows better than the sheep what medicine its sickness requires. (Letter 228: 4).

¹ Since antipope Felix was the former Duke of Savoy and had mostly openly been obeyed by Savoy, the Church schism had now become "the Savoyard" matter.

² The winning party of the pope in Rome, Pope Nicolaus V.

³ The same had happened in 1417, when the new pope, Martin V, elected at the council, accepted the

cardinals of the popes deposed by the council..

⁴ See COR, 6: 3, 4.

1.1.3. The imperial coronation and wedding

A major political event in this period was the emperor's coronation and wedding in Rome in 1452.

It fell to Piccolomini, imperial top diplomat and specialist in Italian affairs, to prepare the emperor's voyage, to receive the future empress on her arrival in Italy, and to accompany and speak for the emperor in Rome and while travelling.

The travel conditions were not conducive to letter writing, and most of the letters from these months were brief letters between Piccolomini and the city government of Siena, in urgent need of information on the emperor's travel plan.

One of the letters stands out, however. It is a letter that Piccolomini sent to Pope Nicolaus in December 1451. The pope had become nervous about the imperial travel to Italy and Rome and its possible unfortunate consequences for the papacy. The letter is not included in Piccolomini's letter collections but only in his *Historia Australis*. It says:

As you know, I came to you more than a year ago on my way back from Naples. I told you that Leonora, sister of the king of Portugal, now betrothed to the emperor, would arrive in an Italian harbour city on 1 November, and that Friedrich around that time would come to Rome to be crowned and married. I requested that you fulfil his wish and prepare for the coronation. Then I asked you to advise your son on the best season to come to Italy and what route to take. Having heard this, you praised the emperor's marriage and plans and said you looked forward to his visit. You advised him to come in winter, stating that the Italian summer heat is unhealthy for a German body. Moreover, you recommended a route through Venetian territory. I told the emperor this, and eager to receive his crown, he took your advice concerning the time and the route.

I have now been informed that you have sent a message to Friedrich counselling him to arrive in summer, giving the [present] lack of provisions as the cause. This makes me appear a liar to Friedrich, to whom I reported your position differently. But this would not disturb me if I thought it was suitable for Your Dignity to which I owe all I have. However, unless I am mistaken, it is unsuitable for your exalted state. For what befits the Roman Pontiff more than fidelity in words and acts? If your words are uncertain, whose promises will be certain? Your counsel was to come in winter; now you advise summer. If you had said it to me alone, I could appear to have lied, and my shame would cover your fault, but two colleagues were present who heard you, too. So, you will appear to be changing, and some may claim that you now recommend an unhealthy period because you wish Friedrich dead. Moreover, it is not believable that the City¹ lacks grain and other necessary victuals, for the state of Italy is not unknown, and the Germans know about the situation there and about our ways. They are aware that last year, a jubilee² was held when an immense crowd of people visited Rome and lacked

¹ Rome.

² The papal jubilee year of 1450.

for nothing due to your provident foresight. So why should fewer people [coming to Rome] now lack grain? This year was not less fertile than the year before, and new crops have filled the barns. I fear the emperor will take your message to mean that your sentiments towards him have changed.

Perhaps you think that a good prince may have bad companions. You fear that the Romans and the other Italians will poison the pious prince's mind and persuade him who knows better ways to follow bad ones. But this man's mind cannot be induced to do evil. His companions will be illustrious princes, high-born nobles, for whom it would be unsafe and shameful to disturb [the peace of] cities and get involved in uprisings. Indeed, they treasure a good reputation more than all gains. But if an uprising should occur in the City, the German sword will protect your person as much as Friedrich's. Your Piety will be safer among German swords than among Italian, for the Italians who wield arms are from the people, unreliable men, mercenaries for whom nothing is sweeter than money. In contrast, the Germans choose their knights from the nobility, serious men of strong loyalty, for whom nothing is more important than honour. Neither the emperor nor his companions can be suspected of deceit.

Concerning the soothsayings mentioned by some, I am sure that, in your great wisdom, you will laugh at them, for who can claim to know the future. Who knows what evening will bring? God in his providence hides future events in murky darkness. And you should not worry about the books of modern prophets, for their doubtful words can be interpreted in many ways and are only understood after the events. Everyone interprets them according to his own fears or hopes. A wise man attaches no importance to them, for either the prophecies are false and should be rejected and spurned, or they are true and cannot be avoided. For what divine providence shows will happen must, of necessity, happen. Therefore, wisdom does not fear prophecy. The wise man ponders the future rationally and believes that men will act according to their nature.

For these reasons, I do not see why Your Holiness should fear Friedrich or impede his arrival. His coronation will make your honour complete. In your time, church union has been restored, and the jubilee year was held. The third honour will be the imperial coronation. If you postpone it now, I see Italy so mired in troubles that no wise man, Italian or German, can hope the emperor will enter Italy during your pontificate. [Letter 261]

Piccolomini's correspondence with Siena reveals the city government's three anxieties about the imperial visit. The first was that the conditions of the designated port of arrival, Talamone, an insignificant coastal town, would not be fitting for the future empress. In a letter of 5 August 1451, it wrote to him:

Concerning the arrival of his Most Serene and August spouse in our harbour city of Talamone, we have already said and now reiterate that we hope she [will arrive safely] there. We have made arrangements to serve and please Her Imperial Highness there as far as possible under the restricted conditions of the place, unsuitable for such a great lady, and to fulfil our obligations with devoted diligence. Indeed, we have the best intentions to do so. (Letter 257: 2).

The city government's second anxiety was that the future empress would not come to meet the emperor in Siena but to Siena's eternal rival, Florence, instead. In a letter of 5 February 1452, it wrote:

Your Reverend Paternity will have received a letter from us of yesterday, in which we inform you that the Most Serene Queen¹ has arrived in the harbour of Pisa, and what we should like Your Paternity to do in the matter. We wrote how pleased we are that Her Serenity has arrived safely and tranquilly. However, we fear that the honour prepared for us² may go to another³: nothing could be more embarrassing for our city, which is why we have decided to write to Your Paternity again. We ask, pray and beg Your Paternity to apply your care, efforts, energy, mind and diligence to this matter. What we wish and intensely desire is that the Most Serene Queen does not proceed to Florence but comes directly to our city since we have prepared all for the reception of Her Highness as we know to befit the honour and glory of our city. Your Paternity will understand how [little] it will gladden and please us should she go elsewhere. But knowing that Your Paternity is as much concerned as we are about our honour, we are sure that you will make all effort, both with His Imperial Majesty and otherwise, to ensure that we do not lose and may in no way be deprived of the honour previously promised to us, which we are most anxious to keep and defend. (Letter 266: 1)

A third anxiety was that the emperor would come to Siena with a strong company of soldiers, enabling him to effect political changes in the city, should he so wish. In a letter of 27 April 1452, the government wrote:

Your previous letter informed us about the return of the Most Serene Emperor and his passage through our territory, for which we thank Your Reverend Paternity. Now, we urgently wish to know how large the emperor's company will be, how many horses will be with him, and when His Illustrious Majesty will enter our city. May it please Your Reverend Paternity to inform us about these issues as soon as possible through the present messenger. We urgently request that you make all efforts to ensure that His Imperial Majesty enters this city with somewhat few men and that he sends some ahead and lets others follow later. We ask this to ensure abundant and better provisioning of these men, for there is presently a great lack of fodder for horses, as Your Paternity could easily see when you were here the last time. Moreover, please ensure that stewards are sent ahead to arrange everything with our officials charged with this matter. If, as we hope, Your Reverend Paternity does this, we trust that it will greatly further the honour of our state. (Letter 272: 1)

1.1.4. The Austrian rebellion against the emperor

When the newly crowned emperor returned to Austria, he landed in a full-scale rebellion of the Austrians against his rule as guardian of his cousin, the boy Ladislaus the Posthumous, Duke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia. Again, Piccolomini only had little time and opportunity to write letters, so the rebellion is only mentioned in a few of his letters from 1452. One of them is a letter of 10 July to the city government of Siena, where he wrote:

¹ Leonora de Portugal.

² The reception of Princess Leonora and her meeting the emperor.

³ Florence.

I will write a little about the situation here: though Austrian affairs are of little interest to you, you should know about the imperial. The Austrian rebels against the emperor continue their campaign and gather soldiers from everywhere, declaring that they will establish a camp. Some Bohemians and Moravians support them, but most of those provinces stay calm. The Hungarians have allied themselves with the Austrians but have yet to send help. The Count of Cilly follows them, though he may regret the enterprise. Many Austrian barons and powerful men support the emperor. They hold more than 150 fortresses, amply fortified and difficult to conquer. The emperor sends them cavalry. A great conflagration threatens. An army is expected from Steiermark and Kärnten. There is no traffic between the Austrian rebels and the emperor's supporters. In many places, neighbouring castles side with opposing parties. Everybody is preparing for war. Though we are in a state of conflict, hostilities have not yet begun. So, we are now waiting for the first one to go to war. We believe that our own cause is more just and better founded. The Austrians say they will begin an intensive campaign in 8 days, but that does not seem credible to us. However, if they do, they will have attacks and burnings behind them. This is how matters stand for now. May God give peace to us and to all. (Letter 276: 2).

In later developments, the Austrians actually attacked the emperor who was forced to release Ladislaus from his guardianship

1.1.5. The Prussian rebellion against the Teutonic Order

A large group of Prussian cities had made an alliance against the Teutonic Order that ruled Prussia. The matter had been referred to the imperial court. The emperor wanted Piccolomini's counsel on the matter and his participation in the court trial, which meant that his long-planned return to Italy would be delayed and eventually cancelled because, in the meantime, his participation in three German diets on a crusade against the Turks would be required.¹

In a letter to the Polish Cardinal Olesnicki of 24 December 1452, Piccolomini wrote:

Distinguished ambassadors from the nobility and people of Prussia have come to the emperor, bringing with them the letter from you that I have wished and waited for. It told me that Your Grace is well and remembers me, which I am most happy to hear. I pray to Merciful God to grant me the opportunity to meet in person with you, whose favour I have gained though absent. But to return to your letter: it laments the situation in Prussia and expresses fear that the future will turn even more troubled and disturbing. Moreover, it appears to criticise the Christian leaders for issuing decrees favouring one of the two parties, and, finally, it recommends concord and peace. I shall reply briefly and freely - in my customary manner.

You justly lament the ruin of this once noble and flourishing province. But it is a fact of nature that no province enjoys peace forever. Some even believe that God, whom all obey, cannot give eternal peace to the lands through established power: in the beginning of the world, strife would not let the first brothers² have peace between them. And according to Lucan, the rising walls

¹ In his report on the Diet of Regensburg, Piccolomini would

give an account of the court trial (CRDM, 4: sect. 3, 3; 9, 3; 9, 5).

² Cain killed Abel. See Genesis, 4.

of Rome were wetted with a brother's blood. And Statius speaks of fraternal warfare and alternate reigns fought for in unnatural hate. And Ovid says, "Brother was not safe from brother, guest was not safe from host, nor father-in-law from son-in-law, and sons inquired into their fathers' years before the time." So, it is no surprise that the Prussians are quarrelling, for they are men and yield to human error. But peace between them must be sought by all means, and the decrees of neither the Apostolic See nor the Empire deprive them of the blessing of peace and would in no way make a judgment without hearing both parties.

The function of this tribunal is to admonish those who are at fault. However, they are not denied the opportunity to defend themselves: they can appear [before the tribunal] and plead their rights, stating how they are being molested and harmed. Then, by the authority of the presiding [judge], the admonishment and all punishments are issued as a simple citation. This procedure was also followed in the present case. The Prussian ambassadors, with great modesty and prudence, came before the emperor, and, having given their version of the matter, they accepted the course of justice. This pleased the emperor, and His Serenity commended their humility. With the agreement of all, he announced the date on which the conflict would be settled either amicably or by a trial. In the meantime, both parties were forbidden to proceed by way of deed but to remain within their present borders and abstain from any violent action. I worked strenuously to achieve this, though the ambassadors never spoke with me. But I was moved by your letter and the law of friendship by which you may command me to do all I can. I am also influenced by the need for an equitable solution, for I have always favoured sincere peace. Now, no more about the Prussians: I hope your wish for unanimity in the Lord's house will be fulfilled. (Letter 282:1-3).

1.2. Personal

1.2.1. Bishop of Trieste

Piccolomini was appointed Bishop of Trieste on 19 April 1447 and took up residence in his diocese in 1448. His absence from the court coincided with that of his mentor, Chancellor Schlick, estranged from the emperor. Piccolomini fervently wished to return to the court. He had earlier had very negative views on court life, but now that he was no longer a lowly secretary but an important court official and royal councillor and diplomat as well as a bishop, court life would presumably be quite different. Money was still a problem, however. Apparently, Bishop Piccolomini's income was insufficient to finance a suitable episcopal household and lifestyle, especially at a royal court. In a letter to Johann, one of the royal secretaries, from Spring 1448, he wrote:

You write that you wish me to return to court. I want the same. Without comparison, life together with you, our Michael and the other people at court is most pleasant. I hope to spend the rest of my life with you. I know it will be even better because it will be an otium dedicated to letters, for a life is most similar to that of the gods when people who study meet. The court is also rather

enjoyable if you live in it not as one who loves it but as one who observes it. I wish to return there and enjoy being with you, but I do not have the means. Living at court takes money, and I do not have it. But I seek it and gather it from everywhere to hasten back to you. However, it will not be before autumn, but then I shall spend winter with you since you do not entirely despise wine! ... I shall return to you as a poor man, but if to be poor means to become wise, nobody is wiser than I. However, I accept this kind of life. It helps that the chancellor has become reconciled with His Royal Majesty. (Letter2 26 : 1).

It is interesting to see, in this letter, Piccolomini's longing to return to the life of a courtier, which he had so delightfully excoriated in his treatise *De Miseriis Curialium* from 1444, four years earlier.

The appointment to the See of Trieste was only the first step in a brilliant ecclesiastical career which would later lead to his appointment as Bishop of Siena: on 23 September 1453, Pope Nicolaus V transferred him from the See of Trieste to the venerable See of Siena.

1.2.2. Longing for Italy

When he returned to the imperial court after a period in his Diocese of Trieste, Piccolomini - now 44 years old - apparently went through what was probably a mild depression due to his lack of involvement in great affairs. Moreover, he now intensely desired to return to Italy with Rome as the centre of the ecclesiastical world, of which he was now firmly a part, and Siena, his beloved home town.

In a letter to Cardinal Carvajal of 9 February, before his transferral to the See of Siena, he gave free rein to these feelings:

I am happy to hear what you relate about Grosseto and the city of Siena, and I shall be even happier when I see it happen. As for the Supreme Pontiff's [good] intentions towards me, I would rather know than believe them to be true. If what has often been promised does not happen, I shall rebuke you most of all for maintaining that sons dear to their fathers should be kept far away on campaigns or studies. But now that I am a veteran, I should be released from service, and neither weapons nor learned disputations befit me any longer. I do not demand to be called to higher honours or to material gain, but I wish to be recalled as a wizened old man to his burial. I have little left of life, and that little I would be happy to spend among people known to me. 20 years I have stayed in foreign lands, and the cold and damp climate in Germany is now fatal to me. Why, oh lords and fathers,¹ will you not take pity on me? I am not angry as I write this, but I wish to admonish you and inform the others. If you believe I am useful to the Apostolic See here, you are badly mistaken. This court is different from the one you knew. Prelates are trusted no more, and only those are held to be wise whom the abbot² favours.

¹ The pope and the College of cardinals.

² Probably a circumlocution for the emperor whom it would not be wise to criticise openly.

If you believe I am honoured here because I serve the emperor, I do not make much of it or desire an honour that is harmful. The German cold, my Father, is most unhealthy for me. I am not the man I was when you left¹ and have been ill many times since. You say that I would not recognise the apostolic palace if I saw it again, for it has been rebuilt wondrously after the design of the Supreme Pontiff. In the same way, you would not recognise me now, weakened by various illnesses. But hopefully, Your grace would wish to see me again as much as I should like to see the Apostolic Palace. But if the decision stands that I should die in Germany, I shall complain no more nor importunate you or others. I only demand this of you to let me know what has been decided. I shall adapt to the place and time and bear the fortune you grant, and I shall not consider it infelicitous to die here since the road to Heaven is not longer from Germany than from Italy. (Letter 243: 2-3).

1.2.3. Humanism

Various aspects of Piccolomini's activity as a humanist are reflected in his letters from this period: his literary production, his fascination with books and libraries (with book hunting), his hopes for the spread of humanism to Germany and Poland, and humanist script and style.

1.2.3.1. Literary production

In the abovementioned letter of 9 February to Cardinal Carvajal, Piccolomini commented on the compromise settlement between the Roman papacy and the schismatic Basilean (Savoyard) papacy and Pope Nicolaus' re-appointment of some of the Basilean cardinals. He approves of this compromise but adds that this end to the schismatic council was different from the one he had described in his *De Rebus Basiliae Gestis Commentarius* from 1450 and that he would, therefore, have to revise:

You do write quite sparingly to me, though: you say that we have accepted some of the Savoyard cardinals as a clear manifestation of the unity, but you do not write whom. But that we should very much like to know. You may have lacked paper or ink, or maybe you did not wish to be too accommodating? You say that accepting [the other party's] cardinals clearly demonstrates the unity. But people here in Vienna triumphantly claim that the way unity was reached does not show which party was right since they both accept the other's acts. However, I think this way served peace well. But I shall have to change many things in my treatise on the Council of Basel, which you praised highly and I wrote at your instigation and have almost finished, for it did not end as I thought. (Letter 243: 4)

He adds a comment on the difficulties of writing contemporary history as compared to past history:

¹ Piccolomini had left Rome almost a year before, in April 1447.

Indeed, it is risky to write about the history of current affairs, whereas you can write about past events with no risk! (Letter 243: 4)

In a letter to Pope Nicolaus of 25 November 1448, Piccolomini also had a comment on writing past history which shows the critical sense absent from his treatise on heralds:

When I hear descriptions of events that are similar to those of old authors, I usually consider them to be fictitious rather than true, and the English have a historian¹ who ascribes grand deeds like those of the Romans, drawn from Livy, to his fellow Englishmen². (Letter 228: 7).

After Piccolomini's protector and mentor, Chancellor Schlick, had died, Piccolomini wrote one of his *somnium* pieces in his memory (Letter to Juan Carvajal of 13 October 1449). Carvajal had apparently sent Piccolomini some negative comments on this *somnium*, to which Piccolomini replied in the letter of 9 February 1450:

I am not surprised if there was anything in my dream that you think should be different, for there were several matters I would have judged differently [in real life]. But we are not the masters of our dreams, and we cannot dream whatever we want to. Moreover, what is seen on the other side of the gate of horn is neither clear nor certain. Maybe reality is quite different from what was shown to us in the dream - and perhaps many things were true! (Letter 243: 5).

In 1451, Piccolomini penned a treatise/letter dated 1 June (letter 251) to Johann Hinderbach with an *account of the history of heralds*. It is a baffling piece since it is entirely fictitious and based on a) a false etymological link between the Latin word "heraldus", derived from the Anglo-French word "heraut", and the Greek word "hero", leading to a faulty identification of heroes with heralds, and b) a faulty identification of veterans with heroes. Piccolomini's account of the institution of heralds may have been an innocent literary exercise or a literary joke to be enjoyed by a few friends or a piece of fraudulent historical writing, but in any case, he did not want it to circulate - one understands why - and did not include it in his collection of *Epistolae Saeculares*. How the text came to the compilers of the only two presently known manuscripts containing it (the BSB / CLM 519; the HAB / Guelf 90 Weissenburg) and the manuscript used for the Koberger edition is not known, but Piccolomini might not have been pleased had he known the text would be much later brought to light through this channel.

Some months later, in a letter of 23 July 1450 to Bishop von Eich, Piccolomini mentions the work *De Viris Illustribus*³ on which he had been working intermittently for several years. It was never completed, and the only known version (autograph) does not contain the section on Albrecht von Brandenburg mentioned by Piccolomini:

I saw what you wrote about the recent doings of the magnificent and courageous Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg,⁴ of illustrious blood. I congratulate him on his strength and courage

¹ Piccolomini probably refers to Geoffrey of Monmouth (ca. 1095 – ca. 1155). and his *De Gestis Britonum* (or *Historia Regum Britannia*).

² See *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, 2020, ch. 2: *Geoffrey of Monmouth's classical and biblical heritage*.

³ DVI.

⁴ Albrecht III Achilles (Hohenzollern).

and rejoice that our age is adorned with such a great man, who equals the excellence of Achilles and Hector. I have kept a prominent place for him in a work on illustrious men of our time, I am working on, so I shall say no more about him here. (Letter 246: 4).

In a letter to the Polish Cardinal Olesnicky of 16 July 1450, Piccolomini mentioned a formal collection of his *secular letters* and announced a collection of his *episcopal letters*:

Several times you have asked me to send you my letters, by which I speak to my friends. Desiring to fulfil your wish, I have given the work to my scribe, who, unfortunately, is not as diligent as I should wish. In the meantime, I myself have been in Istria. There are two volumes of letters, one containing my secular letters and the other containing my episcopal letters. The secular letters are those written before the episcopacy was conferred on me. What I have written since is named after the episcopacy. When I returned from Trieste, I found that the first volume, containing the secular letters, was finished. I have corrected it and would immediately have sent it to Your Grace if only there had been a reliable letter-bearer. However, I do not know of men going to you, and I prefer a late and successful dispatch to one to a rapid but unsuccessful one. So, write to me if you know that a trustworthy person is coming here and afterwards returning to you, and I shall entrust the book to him. It consists of 18 sexterns. It contains many trifles, and I am ashamed when I read it and would never have published such ineptitudes unless forced to it by your authority, which I must obey. I have nothing more to write about this.

The book of episcopal letters, of which I shall eventually have a copy made, contains less foolishness and has more vigour and salt unless we deceive ourselves as we get older and love our works beyond reason, which is a common error not only of poets but of all writers. (Letter 245: 1-2).

Since no trustworthy messenger had presented himself, Piccolomini again wrote to the cardinal on 24 May 1451:

When you asked for a copy of my letters, I arranged for such a copy to be made. Leaving for Rome almost a year ago, I gave it to the excellent Johann Hinderbach so that he could forward it to you if a messenger from you should ask for it. When I returned from Italy, I was astonished that, in the meantime, you had not asked for the volume nor written a letter, and I feared that something bad had happened to you, whose good health and fortune I consider my own. So, I grabbed a pen and wrote a short letter to let you know my surprise. So, I took a pen and wrote a short letter to you expressing my surprise. But - strange to say and to hear - just as I was closing and sealing the letter for Your grace, your messenger arrived and delivered your most ornate letter to me, telling me that you are well, that you remember and love me, that you ask for the volume of letters, and that you send many greetings. Your letter and messenger touched and gladdened me deeply since it told me that you and all yours are well.

As I said above, when I left, the transcribed letters remained here until now, neither requested nor demanded. Now that they have been requested, they will be delivered to you if the messenger is reliable and nothing unfortunate happens on the way. Hopefully, they are worthy of being read and discussed by you and inhabiting your library. I send them to you not to be praised but to be corrected and polished by your keen and severe judgment. You will find nothing in them

that is suitable for your ways and dignity: they are secular, not episcopal letters. When we were young and had not entered the clerical order, we were just fooling around. All that we wrote before becoming a bishop tastes of the world, and maybe we were really too worldly. But now, our age and dignity demand another life, other ways, and other writings from me. Therefore, I have undertaken to edit a volume with the letters I have written after becoming a bishop. If it pleases you to read my foolish trifles, I shall share them with you at some time. And this is enough concerning my letters. (Letter 250: 1-2).

1.2.3.2. Fascination with books and libraries

Piccolomini's fascination with books and libraries is shown by his letter of 18 January 1449 to Abbot Abzehn of Heiligenkreuz, describing his visit to the abbey library:

I saw your library: you possess a great treasury there, and the riches of Darius and Croesus cannot be compared with yours. How I wish to stay with your books and embrace your holy inheritance. My uncertain life vexes me. Nowhere do I have a fixed abode: I must move around at the king's orders. I am not where it would be good for me to stay. I could claim my freedom, but I fear being censured and called ungrateful if, having acquired the king's grace, I would not continue in his service. You monks are blessed, for you have a permanent and stable home, honest companionship, chaste conversations, and sober meals together. You live away from civil disturbances and ignore the allurements of the world. You only seek and possess God. You live a tranquil life in this world and look for a better life in the next. For you, the yoke of Christ is sweet and his burden light, whereas we are floundering in the world and tossed around by terrible gales: we neither taste the sweetness of the present world nor know our lot in the next. We are mired in uncertainty and forced, like cattle, to feel the approach of the last day rather than foresee it.

If I could live in one of your cells and peruse the books of Augustine and Jerome, I would undoubtedly put on another man,¹ and, having always lived for others, I would finally live for myself. But since this is not possible, I humbly ask you to allow me to have copies made of some of your books whose names I shall communicate to you through my familiar. They shall be safe with me and returned to you in sincere faith. Thus, you would do me a great favour and fulfil the wishes of their authors who wrote to be read and profit as many people as possible (Letter 229: 2-3).

Like his admired humanist models, Leonardo Bruni and Poggio Bracciolini, Piccolomini would much have liked to find manuscripts with lost books of classical authors. This desire is probably the reason for the claim in his letter to Johann Hinderbach of 1 June 1451 to have found a copy of Thucydides:

But desiring to know many things - as the human intellect is wont to - and seeking information on this issue, I once, in England, formerly called Britannia, in the sacristy of the noble Church of Saint Paul in London,² had in my hands an old history book, written - according to the

¹ Ephesians 4: 24.

² Piccolomini visited London in 1435.

signature - more than 600 years before. If it is a true account it may satisfy yours and others' curiosity. In it, I found what I have now decided to write to you so that you, with your keen judgement and together with that eminent and most learned man Ulrich Sonnenberger, can determine what to believe and write back to me about it. As noted in the book, the author of the history was the Greek Thucydides, a famous and illustrious man, as we know. Nowhere could I find the name of the translator. He must, however, have been a learned man to be able to translate this great and most eloquent author into a Latin that did not make him smaller than he was in the Greek. (Letter 251: 1).

This claim is patently false since the first Latin translation of Thucydides was only finished by Lorenzo Valla in 1452. Moreover, Piccolomini would not have been able to assess the quality of the translation, as he says he did, since he did not know Greek. Then, why would he claim to have seen such a manuscript? There are at least two possible reasons: firstly, he wanted to bolster his humanist credentials by referencing to activities as a classical book hunter in old monastic libraries after the example of Bruni and Bracciolini. Secondly, he may have wished to obscure his possession of Vergerio's original manuscript translation of Anabasis's *Anabasis Alexandri* (with his *Indica*), which he used as a source for his spurious history of heralds (letter 251) and which he may not have acquired quite honourably.

In a letter to Gregor Heimburg of 31 January 1449, Piccolomini mentioned his "book hunting" in another abbey library, that of the venerable abbey of Sankt Gallen:

In Sankt Gall, a Swiss town, there is an old monastery with an ancient library where I found beautifully written books whose authors were German. (Letter 230: 2).

However, it is not otherwise recorded that Piccolomini ever visited Sankt Gallen. He may have wished to emulate Poggio Bracciolini, who did once visit Sankt Gallen and found old books there, and invented the visit for the sake of argument in the letter to Heimburg at the same time as demonstrating his humanist credentials ("I, too, found books in Sankt Gallen"). At any rate, a year later, he did not mention this visit or such finds to Antonio Beccadelli when asked by him if he had found rare books in German libraries (letter 477:1). He only mentioned Vergerio's translation of Arrian, but that manuscript he could not have found in an abbey library but would possibly have had from Kaspar Schlick.

1.2.3.3. *Humanism in Italy, Germany and Poland*

Piccolomini has, with some justice, been called the apostle of humanism in Germany and Central Europe. Three letters reveal his perception of nascent humanism in these regions seen from the perspective of the humanist Renaissance in Italy. The first is the above-mentioned letter to Gregor Heimburg of 31 January 1449, where he wrote:

When Cicero was still a young man, he delivered a splendid oration to a Greek audience. All who were present admired his speech and praised the new orator to heaven. However, an old man who loved his fatherland was the only one to cry despite the general joy and praise. The

others were surprised and asked, "Why are you sad when we others are glad?" He replied, "All the arts of the Greeks have migrated to Latium except eloquence, unique to us, familiar and most dear. But even that is now taken from us by Cicero and taken to Italy. Is that not a just cause for tears?" Today, I thought the same about you when I heard you speaking in the palace about the studies of the humanities, for, surpassing the jurist and the German, you had the fragrance of Italian oratory and eloquence. But that which made the Greeks unhappy made me happy.

For though Germany excels in the letters, Italy, who passed them on to her, will not lack them. Indeed, the sciences are like light: when you light someone else's light, you still keep your own light and dispel the darkness from another. In Sankt Gall, a Swiss town, there is an old monastery with an ancient library where I found beautifully written books whose authors were German. I wondered why no eloquence shines forth in these regions today, but then I remembered that in Italy, too, there was a time when the art of speaking lay buried, and barbarian ignorance prevailed. Before the 14th and 15th centuries, you will not find anybody in Italy who mastered elegant and clear speech. It was the same with the arts of painting and sculpture. If you look at the sculptures and paintings before the 13th and 14th centuries, you will not find the images of men but of monsters and beasts. In Antiquity, we know that Apelles and Zeuxis, Polykleitos, Phidias and Praxiteles excelled. But, concerning statuary today, we see and trust Virgil saying that sculptors "shall coax lifelike figures from the marble." And concerning the painters, we have the testimonies of outstanding men who would not have praised them so highly if they had not seen painting to be at the same or even a higher level than sculpture. So, today, the arts of sculpture and painting have been reborn.

Eloquence, too, has revived to flourish magnificently in present-day Italy. I hope the same will happen in Germany if you and like-minded men decide to pursue and wholeheartedly embrace oratory. I have heard that the parish priest of Sankt Sebaldus,¹ a thoughtful man, at your instigation has been persuaded to undertake an intensive, even nightly study of history and rhetorics. I love both of you since you not only adorn your fatherland with your conduct but also endow it with letters. (Letter 230: 1-3).

The other is a letter to the learned Polish Cardinal Olesnicky of 23 February 1450:

I am defeated by you, I yield to you, I yield to your letters that seem to have come not from Poland but from Athens. I have written against Poland several times but without considering enough what I wrote. I did not believe that men of the North pursued the delights of letters. I was wrong, and maybe many deride me now, for if I am criticised when I write carefully and correctly, how will I be judged when I use the pen carelessly? Your missive shows that Polish letters are not inferior to Italian elegance. The nation of the Poles should be praised to Heaven: though the Germans and Hungarians lie between them and Italy, source of eloquence, they sought out this fountain before the others, and having drunk from the clear waters, they brought home with them the splendour of eloquence. (Letter 244: 2).

¹ Heinrich Leubing (bef. 1420 – 1472).

And in a letter to the same cardinal of 16 July 1450, he wrote:

I am defeated by you, I yield to you, I yield to your letters that seem to have come not from Poland but from Athens. I have written against Poland several times but without considering enough what I wrote. I did not believe that men of the North pursued the delights of letters. I was wrong, and maybe many deride me now, for if I am criticised when I write carefully and correctly, how will I be judged when I use the pen carelessly? Your missive shows that Polish letters are not inferior to Italian elegance. The nation of the Poles should be praised to Heaven: though the Germans and Hungarians lie between them and Italy, source of eloquence, they sought out this fountain before the others, and having drunk from the clear waters, they brought home with them the splendour of eloquence. (Letter 244: 2).

1.2.3.4. Script and style

A letter to Niklas von Wyle of July 1452 reveals his interest in humanist script and style. Thanking Niklas for a painting, Piccolomini commented, once again, on humanism in Germany and the Italian Renaissance in the arts:

... your letter also brought me joy, for I see it contains two things all letters should have. [Firstly,] the characters are rounded, well connected, and pleasing to the reader. [Secondly,] the style is elegant, the syntax agreeable, and the sentences worthy of a serious man, as - until now - I have not found in German letters. I rejoice to see Germany return to eloquence. I hope that letters will soon revive under these skies, for once, many Germans were learned and wrote the most elegant letters. Do pursue this course and persuade others to follow it since it may illuminate your whole country.

I have seen your painting. In this art, you are so accomplished and proficient that I may compare you to Apelles and Zeuxis, greatly admired in Antiquity. Painting demands talent, and so do letters. Eloquence and painting spring from one and the same source and experience the same bad and good fortunes. Eloquence once flourished amazingly, and then it lay prostrate for many years – from Augustine and Jerome until Petrarca. But then it began to raise its head, and now it shines forth again and seems to equal Cicero's times. In the same way, painting flourished immensely in the former age, when the Roman Republic was at its height, but then it fell into decline until Giotto, who restored and reformed it. After that, there have been many good [painters], and today the art of painting is at its peak. Indeed, painting appears to rise and fall together with eloquence. So I rejoice to see you both a painter and an orator. (Letter 275: 2-3).

2. Manuscripts

Manuscripts collated directly for the present edition are marked with the siglum. For manuscripts not marked with the siglum, only the collation of Wolkan and van Heck has been used. For a description of the individual manuscripts, see the appropriate library catalogues and other catalogues.

- **Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)**
Ott. lat. 347¹ (V6)²
Ott. lat. 351
Urb. lat. 401 (V7)
Wat. lat. 1787³ (V5)
Wat. lat. 3887⁴ (V10)
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana (BML)**
Plut. 45, 19 (F1)⁵
- **Göttweig / Benediktinerstift Göttweig (BSG)**
390 (G1)
- **Melk / Stiftsbibliothek (MSB)**
786 N 13
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB)**
clm 70⁶ (M3)
clm 519⁷ (M5)
clm 5311 (M4)
clm 12725⁸ (M1)
clm 14134⁹ (M2)
- **München / Universitätsbibliothek (MUB)**
4o, 812

¹ https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.lat.347

² In: F1, V5, V6, V7: Begin with the letter of Cardinal Olesnický to Piccolomini of 10 September 1453. Then follows the title of the collection of episcopal letters: *Epistolarum pontificalium Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei episcopi Senensis qui tandem Romano pontificio praefectus Pius secundus*

appellatus est, liber incipit (feliciter).

³ https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1787

⁴ *Autograph*
https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3887

⁵ <http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOItZhiI1A4r7GxMMFJ&c=Aeneae%20Silvii%20Epistole#/oro/7>

⁶ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00089871?page=,1>

⁷ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00018792?page=,1>

⁸ 1443-1446. Paper. HE, p. 6; WO, 1: 1, p. ix-xiv.

⁹ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00035476?page=,1>

- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF)**
NAL 1302¹
- **Schwaz / Franziskanerkloster (SCH)**
S IV/7-335
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis (BCAH)**
Ms. Picc. II 44 (T1)²
- **Vorau / Stiftsbibliothek (VOS)**
345 (Y1)
- **Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)**
3338
3389³ (W1)
3419
3473 (W2)
3520 (W3)
4498
- **Wolffenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB)**
Guelph 90, Weissenburg, 90⁴ (X1)

2.2. Editions⁵

- *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].⁶ (HO)
- *[Pii II] 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].⁷ (KO)

¹ Arrianus: *Historia Alexandria*. Translated by Pier Paolo Vergerio for Pope Nicolaus V by Jacobus Cassenhem.

² https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/risultati-ricerca-manoscritti/-/manus-search/detail/888050?fondo_id_s=2120&page=2

³ Mostly autograph. The autograph letters contain both corrections made by Piccolomini as he wrote the original text and corrections made later.

⁴ https://hab.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/en/image-viewer/?manifest=https://iiif.hab.de/object/mss_90-weiss/manifest

⁵ For other early editions, see vol. 1

⁶ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00040473?page=,1>

⁷ <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00043819/images/index.html?id=00043819&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=1>

2.3. Translations

- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papst Pius II: *Ausgewählte Texte aus seinen Schriften*. Hrsg. & übers. Von Berthe Widmer. Basel, 1960. **(WI)**
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Briefe*. Hrsg. M. Mell. Jena, 1911. [Reprint, München, 1966]. (Das Zeitalter der Renaissance; I, 3). **(ME)**¹
- *Selected Letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*. Transl. A. Baca. Northridge, 1969.² **(BA)**
- *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius. Selected Letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Edit. Th. M. Izbicki. Washington, 2006.³ **(RE)**

3. Bibliography

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¹ 38 letters from 1431 to 1448 and one letter from 1456

² 10 letters from 1443 to 1453.

³ 75 letters from 1432 to 1453.

⁴ <https://www.treccani.it/biografico/>

⁵ <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044081375305&view=1up&seq=19>

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- In: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918 / II: pp. 164-228, nr. 44
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4. Abbreviations and sigla

Manuscripts

F1 = Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana / Plut. 45, 19

G1 = Göttweig / Benediktinerstift /390

M1 = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 12725

M2 = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 14134
M3 = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70
M4 = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 5311
M5 = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 519
T1 = Trieste / Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis / Ms. Picc. II 44
V5 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1787
V6 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ott. lat. 347
V7 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Urb lat. 401
V10 = Città del Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 3887
W1 = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / 3389
W2 = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / 3473
W3 = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / 3520
X1 = Wolfenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek / Guelph 90, Weissenburg
Y1 = Voralpe / Stiftsbibliothek / 345

Editions

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

Libraries

AAV = Città de Vaticano / Archivio Apostolico Vaticano
ASS = Siena / Archivio Statale di Siena
BAV = Città de Vaticano / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BCAH = Trieste / Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis
BML = Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BNU = Torino / Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria
BRI = Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana
BSB = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BSG = Göttweig / Benediktinerstift Göttweig
BTR = Milano / Biblioteca Trivulziana
GSB = Göttweig / Stiftsbibliothek
HAB = Wolfenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek
HOH = Hohenfurt¹
MSB = Melk Stiftsbibliothek
MUB = München Universitätsbibliothek
ÖNB = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
SCH = Schwaz / Franziskanerkloster
VOS = Voralpe / Stiftsbibliothek

¹ See WO, 2: 1, p. 158.

Works

BA = *Selected Letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*. Transl. Baca. Northridge, 1969.

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

CB = *Concilium Basiliense*.

COD = *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*. Edit. G. Alberigo. 1952.

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

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

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

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.

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

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

DLE = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Liberos Educatione* [1450]. In: *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Ed. and transl. 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. Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.

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

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- Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Europe (c. 1400-1458)*. Ed. Nancy Bisaha. Transl. Robert Brown. 2013.

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

HE = Eneae Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium seculare*. Complectens De duobus amantibus, De naturis equorum, De curialium miseris. Edit. A. van Heck. 2007. (Studi e testi; 439).

HG = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Historia Gothorum*. Edit. Francesca Sivo. 2021. (Edizione nazionale dei testi della storiografia umanistica; 14).

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*. Transl. M. Mells. 1966.

MPL = Migne. Patrologia Latina.

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

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

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

WI = Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papst Pius II. *Ausgewählte Texte aus seinen Schriften*. Transl. B. Widmer. 1960.

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

Others

** Lead manuscript.

BCE = Before Common Era

CE = Common Era

DV = Digital version

HRE = Holy Roman Empire

Editions A = Incunabula editions..

Editions B = Modern editions (20th and 21st c.)

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

226. Letter to Johann, royal secretary (Spring 1448, Trieste)

Manuscripts: XI, f. 135v **.
Editions A: None.
Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 21, pp. 66-67.

{ 135v } Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, viro docto domino Johanni, secretario regio et amico singulari salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Optas me, ut scribis, ad curiam redire. Id quoque mihi desiderio est. Nolo comparare quemquam, sed tua consuetudo, Michaelis quoque nostri et ceterorum curialium suavissima mihi est. Utinam, quod superest aevi, apud vos degam. Scio, juvabit litteratum otium. Vita enim est diis simillima, cum studiosi conveniunt. Curia quoque nonnihil voluptatis affert, si quis in ea non amator, sed spectator assit. Opto illuc reverti et te frui, sed abest facultas. Aurum curia poscit, id mihi deest. Sed quaero et corrodo undique, ut ad vos volem, si non prius, saltem {136r} in autumno, vobiscum postea hiematurus, quando vinum non omnino contendis¹. Vina ingenium faciunt et vinosus cantat Homerus, nec patiuntur frigora flumen. Revertar ad vos pauper et, si pauperem esse philozophari est, nemo me philozophior reperietur. Tolerabo tamen vitam. Juvat me conciliatum esse regiae majestati cancellarium. Bene actum est, nec ille regi nec rex illi perdendus erat. Audivi libenter, quae de Hungaris scripsisti. Faxit deus, ut compositio, quam optamus, sequatur. Bohemorum impetus etiam frenabitur, nec enim diuturna sunt, quae violenter fiunt, nec haereses nec superbia longum habent imperium.

Magistrum Udalricum jubeo verbis salvere meis, cui scribo, dum tibi scribo. Et tu vale. Ex Tergesto.

¹ contempnis WO

226. Letter to Johann, royal secretary (Spring 1448,¹ Trieste)

Context: Sometime after his return from the imperial mission in Milan, October 1447, Piccolomini was consecrated bishop and took up residence in his new diocese, Trieste. His absence from court coincided with that of his mentor, Chancellor Schlick, estranged from the emperor. Apparently, the chancellor had now reconciled with the emperor but had not regained his former influence. Piccolomini fervently wished to return to the court. He had earlier had very negative views of court life,² but now that he was no longer a lowly secretary but an important court official and royal councillor and diplomat as well as a bishop, court life would presumably be quite different. Money was still a problem, however. Apparently, Bishop Piccolomini's income was insufficient to finance a suitable episcopal household and lifestyle, especially at a royal court.

Subject: Piccolomini assures Johann of his friendship and expresses his desire to return to court as soon as he can afford it. He also notes his satisfaction with the reconciliation between the emperor and his mentor, Chancellor Schlick.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings to the learned Herr Johann,³ royal secretary and special friend.

[1] You write that you wish me to return to court. I want the same. Without comparison, life together⁴ with you, our Michael⁵ and the other people at court is most pleasant. I hope to spend the rest of my life with you. I know it will be even better because it will be an otium dedicated to letters, for a life is most similar to that of the gods when people who study meet. The court is also rather enjoyable if you live in it not as one who loves it but as one who observes it. I wish to return there and enjoy being with you, but I do not have the means. Living at court takes money, and I do not have it. But I seek it and gather it from everywhere to hasten back to you. However, it will not be before autumn, but then I shall spend winter with you since you do not entirely despise wine! Wine sharpens the mind, and the winebibber Homer⁶ sings [its praises],⁷ and frost does not suffer the river [to flow].⁸ I shall return to you as a poor man, but if to be poor means to become wise,⁹ nobody is wiser than I. However, I accept this kind of life. It helps that the chancellor¹⁰ has become reconciled with His Royal Majesty.¹¹ It is good that they have found each other again. I read with pleasure what you wrote about the Hungarians. May God give that the settlement we are hoping for will happen soon. As for the Bohemian attack, it will be checked, for violent endeavours do not last, and neither heresy nor pride reign for long.

Greet Magister Ulrich¹² from me. I write to him when I write to you. And farewell to you. From Trieste.

¹ Date after Wolkan (WO, 2/1, p. 60).

² See his *De Miseriis curialium* from 1444.

³ Not identified.

⁴ "consuetudo"

⁵ Michael von Pfullendorf (-1451): Colleague of Piccolomini in the imperial chancery.

⁶ Homeros: Ancient Greek poet. Reputed to be the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

⁷ Horatius: *Epistolae*, 1: 19, 6: *laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus*.

⁸ ? Corrupt text?

⁹ "philozophari"

¹⁰ Kaspar Schlick (1396-1449): Count of Passaun and Weisskirchen. Chancellor of emperors Sigismund, Albrecht II and Friedrich III. Patron and friend of Piccolomini.

¹¹ Friedrich III (1415-1493): Duke of Kärnten, Krain, Steiermark and Austria. Elected HR Emperor and King of Germany in 1440. Crowned emperor in 1452.

¹² Ulrich Riederer (ca. 1406-1460): Doctor utriusque juris. Official and close advisor of Friedrich III.

227. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (13 September 1448, Pisino).

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 95r-98r^l **; M3, ff. 368v-370r²; X1, ff. 134-135vr.

Editions A: KO, nr. 110³.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 22, pp. 67-71 (on the basis of M3 and X1).

Translations: ME, 38, pp. 205-210.

{95r} Aeneas Silvius⁴, episcopus Tergestinus⁵, domino Gaspari Slihk, imperiali cancellario, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Aeger est animus tuus et cor tuum vulnere grandi vulneratum, nec ab re, laetissimo namque et jucundissimo conjugio privatus es, nec scio, an operam medicantis expectes. Nam et ego quoque, qui medicinam praeparo, medico sum indigus⁶. Aegroto tecum et tuae sum particeps calamitatis, nec sine me licet te miserum esse. Scribunt mihi amici tui ex Austria feminarum decus, illustrem conthoralem tuam, dum partum vult in lucem edere, cum partu diem obiisse. O gravem jacturam, o inextimabile⁷ damnum, o dolorem acerbissimum. Expostulant, qui te diligunt, meis ut⁸ te litteris soler.

[2] Sic apud veteres usurpatum est: funebres epistolae scribebantur multumque profuit amici scriptum amico turbato. In evangelio quoque legimus ex Jerosolymis complures⁹ venisse Judaeorum, qui Martham atque Mariam in Bethania super morte Lazari consolarentur. {95v} Conturbantur saepe homines ex conjugum, filiorum, parentum ceterorumque necessariorum mortibus et, nisi vel verbis vel litteris recreentur amicorum¹⁰, plurimi saepe tabescentes doloribus interirent. Arbitrantur igitur, qui te salvum cupiunt, epistolas meas utiles tibi¹¹ fore, utque te maestum atque acerbo casu consternatum verbis soler hortantur. At ego tecum patior, tecum excrucior tecumque consolatore indigeo. Nec enim tibi quicquam molestum est, quod non sit idem mihi. Aequo¹² tuo vulnere vulneror, et quaecumque doles pariter doleo. Nec quisquam est¹³, qui tua damna quam ego melius norit.

[3] Sciebam conjugem tuam inter castas esse castissimam, inter prudentes prudentissimam et, quamvis alto sanguine nata, inter humiles humillimam. Fuit in illa delectatio, fuit utilitas, fuit honestas, una tibi cum ea mensa, unum marsupium, unus lectus. Quidquid tibi placuit, illi cordi fuit; ex tuo vultu risum fletumque¹⁴ sumpsit. Notum est mihi prae multis, quanta tibi ex ejus obitu calamitas acciderit, et, quia tibi afficior maxime, non possum tecum non dolere.

¹ DV, 199-205

² DV, 739-742

³ DV, 78v-80r

⁴ omit. X1, WO

⁵ Tergestini X1

⁶ indignus KO; indiguus WO

⁷ inextinguibilem M3

⁸ meis ut : ut meis M3

⁹ complices M3

¹⁰ omit. M3

¹¹ utiles tibi : tibi utiles X1

¹² aequo M2, KO

¹³ omit. M3

¹⁴ accepit aliter add. M2

227. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (13 September 1448, Pisino).

Context: Chancellor Schlick, Piccolomini's benefactor and mentor, had suffered a series of misfortunes, including a temporary estrangement from the emperor, and, lastly, the death of his wife.

Subject: Piccolomini, in the style of the classical letter of consolation to bereaved friends, consoles the chancellor with the argument that his wife now has a better life in Heaven, where she awaits him if only he will change himself and live a life dedicated to God.

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

[1] Your soul grieves, and your heart is suffering terribly, and understandably so, for you have been robbed of a most joyous and happy marriage. I do not know whether you expect the help of a doctor, but I, too, who is preparing the medicine, need a doctor. I suffer with you and share your tragedy: do not be miserable without me [at your side]. Your friends write to me from Austria that your illustrious spouse,¹ the ornament of womanhood, lost her life while trying to bring forth a child. Oh, what terrible misfortune! Oh, what inestimable loss! Oh, what bitter pain! Those who love you ask me to comfort you with a letter.

[2] This was the custom of the ancients: they wrote funerary letters, and the letter of a friend much helped a friend in distress. And in the Gospel, we read that many Jews came from Jerusalem to Bethania to comfort Martha and Maria at the death of Lazarus.² Men are often perturbed by the death of a spouse, sons, parents, relatives and friends, and unless they are comforted by words or letters from friends, they often die consumed with grief. Therefore, those who wish you to be safe think that a letter from me will be helpful, and they urge me to send words of comfort to you, grieving and perturbed by bitter calamity. But I suffer with you, I am pained with you, and like you, I need someone to comfort me. No misfortune befalls you that I do not share. I am wounded with the same wound as you; whatever you suffer, I suffer. No one knows your loss better than I.

[3] I know that your wife was the most chaste of chaste women, the most prudent of prudent women, and - though born of high blood - the most modest of modest women. In her, there was delight, usefulness and decency. You and she shared one table, one purse and one bed. What you wanted, she took to heart. Your face made her laugh or cry. I know more than most how great a disaster her death is for you, and since I love you greatly, I cannot but suffer with you.

¹ Agnes von Oels (-1448): wife of Chancellor Kaspar Schlick.

Daughter of Duke Konrad V Kantner of Oels (Olesnicka).

² John, 11: 19.

[4] Ceterum, dum me animo magis magisque¹ recolligo, invenio et hujus quoque doloris solamina, quae tibi mihiq[ue] simul communicabo. Frustra sane prosequimur² lacrimis, quod amissum recuperari non potest. Quae ventura omnino³ mors est, incassum timetur. Lex naturae est certa atque inevitabilis: mori omnes, qui nati sunt. Potuisset conjugis tuae longius vita trahi, si plus staminis dedisset Lachesis⁴. Mortalis tamen erat nec illi fortasse amplius vivere conducebat. Inspicit ex alto⁵ Deus⁶ hominum vitas⁷ et⁸ non quae⁹ jucunda, sed quae sunt utilia hominibus impartitur. Stulti sumus, turba mortalis, qui rem dietim perituram sic¹⁰ possideri¹¹ posse, quasi perpetua sit, arbitramur. Sapientissimus ille, qui nuntiata filii morte¹² non¹³ lacrimas, non ejulatus emisit, sed “*sciebam,*” inquit, “*me genuisse mortalem.*”

[5] Alius, cum dilectissimam sibi mors conjugem eripuisset, “Hac,” ait, “conditione accepi, ut perderem.” Multis modis amittitur uxor, sed nullo melius quam morte. Unius conjugem¹⁴ sic longa validudo deturbat, ut perisse¹⁵ potius sit¹⁶ expetendum. Alteri nuptam subtraxit adulter. Per hos novissime dies uxorem amatissimam illustri Croatiae¹⁷ comiti saevissima barbarorum manus abduxit. Quis numerare queat varios fortunae casus, quibus ludens humanum affligit fortuna genus¹⁸? O¹⁹ beatum²⁰, cui nullo²¹ conjunx exilio²², nulla fraude²³ nullaque manu hominum, sed divino dumtaxat imperio subripitur. Beatior, quem usque in senium casta²⁴, fecunda et placida²⁵ prosequitur uxor. Sed *pauci, quos aequus²⁶ amavit Jupiter*, hujus sortis existunt.

[6] Tecum bene actum est, Caspar, qui etsi non es beatissimus, felicem tamen compellare te²⁷ possumus. Tibi nobilissima conjunx nupsit ex generoso ducum Silesie sanguine. Formosa erat et honestatis specimen²⁸ prae²⁹ se tulit. Tuo fuit animo semper morigera, prolem tibi utriusque sexus pulcherrimam peperit. “Sed abscessit,” ais³⁰, “nempe decem aut³¹ viginti annis ante opinatum tempus³² 33.” Esto³⁴ ita, moriendum tamen³⁵ illi erat, et multae poterant interciderere calamitates, quae obitum ejus optabilem reddidissent. Non quae optatur, sed quae timetur felicius mors venit.

¹ omit. M3

² et add. M3

³ omnia M2

⁴ Lachis KO

⁵ alio KO

⁶ corda add. M3

⁷ et add. M3

⁸ omit. WO

⁹ sunt add. M3

¹⁰ omit. M3

¹¹ possidere M3

¹² filii morte : morte filii M3

¹³ omit. WO

¹⁴ conjugis M3

¹⁵ periisse WO

¹⁶ potius sit : sit potius M3

¹⁷ principi add. M3

¹⁸ affligit fortuna genus : genus

affligit fortuna M3

¹⁹ et M2

²⁰ O beatum : genus optimum M3

²¹ nullus M3

²² exilis M3

²³ fraude M3

²⁴ jocunda add. M2

²⁵ placita M2, M3

²⁶ equos M2, M3

²⁷ compellare te : te appellare M3

²⁸ speculum M3

²⁹ ubi M3

³⁰ abscessit ais : ei M3

³¹ et M3

³² opinatum tempus : tempus opinatum M3

³³ exutibus (?) add. M3

³⁴ omit. M3

³⁵ moriendum tamen : tamen moriendum M3

[4] Thinking deeply about this matter, I find some consolations for this pain that I shall share with you. In vain, we cry over what is lost and cannot be recovered. In vain, we fear the death that will surely come. It is nature's firm and inevitable law that all who are born will eventually die. Your wife might have lived longer if Lachesis¹ had given her a longer thread. But she was mortal, and maybe it would not have been good for her to live longer. From on high, God looks at the lives of men and gives them not what they like but what they need. We, the mortal crowd, are fools to think we can possess a passing thing as if it were permanent. He² was truly wise who when told that his son had died said, "*I knew that I had sired a mortal.*"³

[5] Another one said when death had taken his wife, "I received her with the condition that I would lose her." A wife can be lost in many ways, but none is better than death. One wife is plagued by illness for so long that it is better she should die. Another is carried off by an adulterer. Recently, a savage gang of barbarians abducted the beloved wife of the illustrious count of Croatia. Who can count the various accidents of Fortune by which she, jestingly, afflicts the human race? Oh, blessed is the man whose wife is not lost by exile, deceit or a human hand but only by God's command! And even more blessed is he who is accompanied until old age by a chaste, fertile and pleasant wife. *Some few whom kindly Jupiter has loved*⁴ had this fate.

[6] You have been fortunate, Kaspar, whom we can call happy even though you are not the most blessed of all. A most noble wife from the illustrious ducal house of Silesia married you. She was beautiful and honourable. She always obeyed you, and she bore you beautiful offspring of both sexes. "But she died," you say, "10 or 20 years before the expected time." That may be so, but in any case, she had to die, and many misfortunes could have occurred that would have made it better for her to die. It is better to die when one's death is lamented than when one's death is hoped for.

¹ Lachesis: (myth.) the second of the three Fates, measurer of the thread on her sister's spindle.

² Anaxagoras (ca. 500-428 BCE): Greek philosopher.

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 3: 14, 30.

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneas*, 6: 129.

[7] At “uxorem,” dicis, “amisi.” Non amisisti, Caspar, sed praemisisti, sequeris enim, cum tempus aderit. Tria sunt omnibus consignata hominibus loca: unum patriae, alterum peregrinationis, exilium tertium¹. Patria caelum est, peregrinationem in terris agimus, exilium, quia duplex² est, alterum perpetuum, temporaneum alterum, hoc purgatorio, illud inferno cedit. Insulsi est animi manentem in terris exquirere civitatem. Si Paulum sequi volumus, si Christo credere salvatori, patriam in caelo quaeramus. Vita brevis est homini, quasi somnium fugax. Nulli crastina dies certa³ est. Quid nos sumus, nisi ventus et umbra? Ubi nunc inelyti reges? Quaere nunc⁴ Priamum et Agamemnonem, quaere Julium, quaere⁵ Pompejum, apud inferos cruciantur. *Vidi impium superexaltatum*⁶ *super cedros Libani et*⁷ *transivi*⁸, *et ecce non erat*. Quanta nuper gloria pollebat Philippus Maria, Mediolanensium dux, quem captis Hispanie regibus terra mareque formidabant. Is, ubi mortem obiit, vix {96r} habuit, qui corpus⁹ tumulandum ferrent. Funebres abfuerunt pompae, et quamvis in modum idoli aut sancti alicujus corporis in sublimo loco majori imminens arae¹⁰ tumuletur, foetidus tamen paulo post deponitur atque inter illos collocatur, quorum ad effigiem non tantum merere¹¹ fas est¹².

[8] At carissima¹³ tua conjunx, Caspar, quia *non in terra, ubi fures effodiunt, sed in caelo, ubi neque tinea est neque rubigo*¹⁴, *suum thesaurum collocavit*, peregrinatione finita non exilio damnata, sed caelesti patria donata est¹⁵, ubi te expectans multo lucidior multoque formosior quam hic fuit. Jam est immortalitate vestita et cum beatissimis spiritibus gloriae conditoris assistit, jamque Deo gratias agit, quia non est diutius peregrinare¹⁶ permissa. Quid tu reris, Caspar, an non est magna pars beneficii, cui¹⁷ peregrinatio centum est¹⁸ annorum¹⁹, si medio tempore revocetur? Sic actum est cum tua conjuge, nam cum corpore in humano vitam duceret angelicam, jam eo²⁰ vocata est ejus anima, ubi semper²¹ fuit. Illic omnia suo desiderio consonant, quidquid optat, praesto est. At tu desiderio ejus tabescis? Inique agis, congaudere illi debes, quae omnia, quae vult, habet. Beatitudinem suam tu solus minuis. Ad plenam felicitatem uno²² te caret²³ nec te semper²⁴ carebit. Orat enim altissimum dies²⁵ noctesque, tuos *ut*²⁶ *gressus dirigat* teque in caelum advocet, ubi secum²⁷ perpetua²⁸ laeteris²⁹ beatitudine, jamque impetravit, ut opinor.

¹ exilium tertium : tertium exilium
M3

² dux M2

³ omit. M3

⁴ omit. WO

⁵ et M3

⁶ exaltatum M3

⁷ omit. M3

⁸ transiit M3

⁹ qui corpus omit. M2

¹⁰ arte WO

¹¹ merori M3

¹² omit. M2

¹³ castissima WO

¹⁴ erugo M3

¹⁵ fuit M2

¹⁶ peregrinari M2, KO

¹⁷ non add. M3

¹⁸ centum est : est centum WO

¹⁹ amoris M3

²⁰ ei M2

²¹ super M3

²² uiro M3

²³ te caret : carebat M3

²⁴ te semper : semper te M3

²⁵ diesque M3

²⁶ et M2

²⁷ ubi secum : verse cum M3

²⁸ perpetue M3

²⁹ letaberis WO

[7] “But I have lost my wife,” you say. But you did not lose her, Kaspar, you sent her ahead, for you will follow her when the time comes. All men are destined for one of three places: one is the fatherland, another is the place of pilgrimage, and the third is exile. The fatherland is Heaven, the place of pilgrimage is the Earth on which we live, and the exile is double, either the perpetual one, that is Hell, or the transitory one, that is Purgatory. Only fools seek a permanent abode on Earth. If we want to follow Paul and believe in Christ the Saviour, then let us seek our fatherland in Heaven. A man’s life is short, fleeting like a dream. No tomorrow is certain. What are we but air and shadow? Where are now the illustrious kings? Seek Priam and Agamemnon, seek Julius, seek Pompey: they are suffering the pains of Hell. *I have seen the wicked highly exalted, and lifted up like the cedars of Libanus. And I passed by, and lo, he was not: and I sought him and his place was not found.*¹ Not long ago, Filippo Maria, Duke of Milan, enjoyed great glory. All on land and sea were in fear of him, who captured the kings of Spain.² But when he died, there was almost no one to carry him to his grave. There was no pompous funeral. And although his body was first placed above the altar, like an idol or a saint, it was afterwards, rotten and stinking, taken away and placed among the tombs of those who did not merit a monument.³

[8] *But your beloved wife, Kaspar, laid up to herself a treasure in Heaven, where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through, nor steal.*⁴ Therefore, when her pilgrimage was over, she was not condemned to exile but granted the heavenly fatherland. There, she is waiting for you, even more bright and beautiful than she was here. Now, she is clothed in immortality and, together with the blessed spirits, she stands before the glory of the creator, giving thanks to God for not allowing her pilgrimage to last longer. What do you think, Kaspar: is it not a great favour if someone whose pilgrimage would last 100 years is called home⁵ after half that time? This is what happened to your wife, for in her human body she led an angelic life, and now she has been summoned where her soul always was. There, all her desires are fulfilled, and what she wishes happens immediately. Are you wasting away, longing for her? That is not good! On the contrary, you should be happy for her, who has all she wants. You alone diminish her happiness, for to be completely happy now, she only lacks you, but she will not be lacking you forever. Indeed, she, night and day, prays to the Highest to *direct your steps*⁶ and call you to Heaven, where you will enjoy eternal happiness together with her, who, I believe, has already gained it.

¹ Psalms, 36: 35-36: *et transivi, et ecce non erat*

² At the Sea battle of Ponza, August 1435.

³ “atque inter illos collocatur, quorum ad effigiem non tantum mere-re fas est”. In his biography of Visconti from 1447, Pier Candido Decembrio had written: *Filippo’s body lay throughout the night in his bedchamber. On the following day toward evening it was lifted up*

by his servants and placed between the two bridges of the castle. From there it was carried by the leading men of the court in a procession to the Duomo, with the people of the city following behind. The funeral itself was witness to tumultuous scenes, as the body was hauled up to a prominent place overlooking the high altar. But soon the body began to dissolve and decompose

due to the summer heat, so it was taken down and buried deep in the ground (Decembrio, 71 (Janziti), p. 148).

⁴ Matthew, 6: 20: *Thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo, ubi neque aerugo, neque tinea demolitur, et ubi fures non effodiunt, nec furantur.*

⁵ To Heaven.

⁶ Jeremiah, 10: 23.

[9] Hinc enim sunt¹ adversitates² tuae. Vixisti hactenus, ut³ nosti, voluptati deditus, totus fuisti⁴ carneus, totus terrestris, nihil habuisti caeleste. Toleravit hoc aequus et misericors Deus. Nunc te⁵ sinistris admonet casibus. Unde urtica haec, nisi ut convertaris? Salvum te Deus cupit. Hinc ecclesiae Frisingensis diu⁶ continuata conflictatio, hinc manus laesio, hinc impositae calumniae, hinc ad extremum dulcissima conjunx mortua, ut te vivum faciat, praecessit. Illam⁷ sequemur omnes, atque⁸ utinam⁹ bene sequamur. Taedere¹⁰ jam te¹¹ opinor vitae hujus¹², quam tot molestiis plenam cernis. Invidere est, non amare, si uxorem in terris potius viventem quam in caelo regnantem cupis.

[10] Filiorum fortasse curam geris. Ne dubita, *caeli* aves et bestiae terre alitorem¹³ habent. *Jacta cogitatum tuum in domino et ipse te* atque illos *enutriet*. Filii¹⁴ regum sine parentibus saepe exteres fuerunt. Cyro canem, conditoribus urbis lupam referunt ubera praebuisse. Antiquius¹⁵ aliquando fuit matribus caruisse. Humana mens sibi saepe noxia quaerit. Deo major est nostri cura quam nobis. A Gadibus Herculis usque Auroram et Gangen quid sibi¹⁶ sit utile, novit nemo, nisi qui voluntatem suam Dei voluntati submittit. Ne cupiamus, obsecro, plurima, *mentem sanam* dumtaxat optemus *in corpore sano*. Forsitan et hoc ambitiosum est, quod de corpore diximus, nam et filiolum¹⁷ Petri apostoli¹⁸ in¹⁹ aegritudine sedentem legimus, quoniam sanitati mentis adversa erat corporis sanitas. Fac, mi Gaspar, quod tuum est de filiis, enutri eos et bonis imbue moribus.

¹ enim sunt : sunt enim M3

² voluptates WO

³ ubi KO; uti WO

⁴ fuit M3

⁵ de M3

⁶ tua M3

⁷ em. WO; illa M2, M3, KO

⁸ et WO

⁹ ut WO

¹⁰ dedere M3

¹¹ jam te : te jam M3

¹² vitae hujus : hujus vitae M3

¹³ alitorem M3

¹⁴ filie M3

¹⁵ antiquitus M3; antiquis KO;

aliquando WO

¹⁶ tibi M2, M3

¹⁷ beati *add.* M3

¹⁸ *omit.* M2, M3

¹⁹ *omit.* WO

[9] This explains your misfortunes. Until now, you have, as you know, lived a life given to pleasure: you have been entirely carnal, entirely a man of the Earth, with nothing of Heaven. Kind and merciful God¹ has tolerated this, but now he warns you with dire calamities. The purpose of the stinging nettle is to make you change your ways. God wants to save you. Thence the long conflict about the church of Freising, your hand lesion, the slanders you are exposed to,² and lastly, your dead sweet wife has preceded you in order to make you live. Let us all follow her, and let us do it well. I believe you are now tired of this life, seeing it so full of misery. To want your wife to live on Earth rather than reign in Heaven is not to love her but to envy her.

[10] Maybe you are concerned about your children. Do not doubt that *the birds of the air*³ and the animals on Earth have one who nourishes them. *Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee*⁴ and them. Sons of kings deprived of their parents often lived elsewhere. They tell that a dog gave milk to Cyrus,⁵ while a she-wolf offered her teats to the founders of Rome.⁶ Indeed, sometimes it has been better to lack mothers. The human mind always seeks what harms it. God takes better care of us than we do. From Hercules' Gades⁷ to the East and Ganges, no one knows what is best for him unless he submits his will to God's. Let us not, I beg, desire more. Let us wish for *a healthy mind in a healthy body*.⁸ Maybe what we say about the body is overly ambitious, for we read that the daughter of the Apostle Peter was ill because the physical health opposed the mental.⁹ Do what you should with your sons, Kaspar, nourish them and give them a good character.

¹ Cf. *aequus Jupiter*, sect. 5: an example of Piccolomini's use of the attributes of pagan Jupiter for the Christian God.

² In his COM, Piccolomini wrote: *Meanwhile, Caspar Schlick had been falsely accused before the emperor and was compelled to give up the church of Freising, which he had obtained for his brother. Day by day he fell into greater disfavor with the emperor, and Aeneas, on account of the friendship and almost continuous association he had enjoyed with the chancellor, fell under suspicion, too. His position seemed precarious; but by steering a middle*

course, causing offense to neither his friend nor his master, he returned to favor (COM, 1: 18, 6 (Meserve, 1: p. 83)). Piccolomini's temporary estrangement from the emperor coincided with his stay in Trieste in 1448.

³ Mark: 4: 32.

⁴ Psalms, 54: 23.

⁵ Cyrus II the Great (ca. 600 – 530 BCE): Founder of the Achaemenid Empire, the first Persian Empire.

⁶ Romulus and Remus.

⁷ Present-day Cadiz. According to legend, the city of Gades was built between Hercules' pillars, and it

contained a famous temple to Hercules Gaditanus.

⁸ Juvenalis, 10: 356.

⁹ Petronilla: legendary daughter of Saint Peter who, thinking her too beautiful, asked God to send her a fever, of which he refused to cure her until she began to be perfected in the love of God, cf. Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea* (Ryan), vol. 1, ch. 78, p. 315. Piccolomini had related this episode in his oration to the parishioners of Haspach, the "*Non est apud me dubium*" (1445). (COR, 3: 6, 85).

[11] Cetera Deo committe. In omnibus, quae agimus quaeque optamus, nullum est consilium sanius quam Dei ordinationi beneplacitoque quiescere. Is filiorum loco nos habet et ut filios corripit atque castigat. Ille invisus¹ est Deo, qui delicate atque desidiose sinitur² vivere, quia non putat hunc Deus sua correptione dignum: veniet ejus dies exactisque voluptatibus perpetuo cruciandus apud inferos³ sepelietur. Qui vero in anxietate vivunt in terris et nunc hac nunc illa decoquuntur adversitate, per patientiam suamque⁴ tolerantiam caelum acquirunt, ubi cum angelis cumque ipso Deo felices aevo fruuntur sempiterno. Tu ergo, mi Gaspar, in tot tantisque rebus adversis, in jactura fortunarum, in honoris damno, in⁵ laesione corporis inque morte conjugis, ut⁶ boni consulas, rogo. Nam et ego in bonam recipio partem tuarum particeps miseriarum, quod in me belli impetum labi video, quo mulctandus sum agro et omni privandus⁷ aere. Idque nec hactenus potui nec modo possum vitare. At sic tibi et mihi⁸ superintendere divinam censeo pietatem, nostrae salutis cupidam et vires nostras in adversitate probantem. Haec habui modo, quae repente ad te consolatorie scriberem. Cetera ex te ipso collige, qui, ut es sapientissimus, sic humanos ferre casus sapientissime nosti.

Vale optime. Ex Pisino, Istriae oppido, Idibus Septembris⁹ 1448.

¹ naustus M3

² *omit.* M3

³ *que add.* M3

⁴ sanamque KO

⁵ *omit.* M3

⁶ et M3

⁷ mulctandus M2

⁸ tibi et mihi : mihi et tibi M3

⁹ idibus Septembris *omit.* M3

[11] Leave the rest to God. In all we do and wish for, no advice is better than to obey God's command and yield to His will. He considers us his sons and corrects and chastises us.¹ But God detests the man whom he permits to live in pleasures and indolence, for He does not consider him worthy of correction: the day will come when his pleasures end, and he is banned to Hell and perpetual sufferings. But those who live anxiously on Earth and suffer one misfortune after the other gain Heaven through their patience and fortitude, and there, they will enjoy everlasting happiness together with the angels and God himself. So, dear Kaspar, I ask you to make the best of your many and great misfortunes: the reversal of fortune, the slights on your honour, the lesion to your body, and the death of your wife - as I myself, sharing your misery, make the best out of a situation where I am threatened by a war that will cost me much land and all my treasure.² I have not been able to avoid it before, and I cannot avoid it now. But I believe that merciful God looks after you and me, desires our salvation and strengthens us in adversity. This is what I can write now to console you. The rest you must get from yourself: being most wise, you know how to wisely bear with human misfortunes.

Live well. From Pisino, a town in Istria, 13 September 1448.

¹ Cf. Hebrews, 12:6.

² Probably, a local conflict between the diocese of Trieste and

Reinpert von Wallsee, see letter 237.

228. Letter to Nicolaus V (25 November 1448, Wiener Neustadt)

Manuscripts: M2, ff. 96v-98r^l **; W2, ff. 1r-4r; W3, ff. 43v-47r²; MSB, 786 N 13, ff. 230 ff.³

Editions: WO, 2: 23, pp. 72-77 (based on W3 and MSB).

Translations: RE, 70, pp. 286-293.

{96v} Domino beatissimo ac viro⁴ sancto, domino Nicolao V., pontifici maximo, Aeneas sacerdotum minimus, in Christo salutem.

[1] Longa taciturnitas brevi nequit epistola compensari. Dabit igitur veniam tua beatitudo, si ad te post⁵ diutina silentia scribens pluribus utar, quam tuae sinant occupationes. Nam et res non parvae sunt, quas attingam et tuo non indignae consistorio. Si vales, dicebant veteres, et nos valemus. Ego vero, si⁶ vales, inquam, valet Petri navicula, valet arca Noae, salva est domus Dei, valet ecclesia, mysticum corpus Christi⁷, quia si quaedam membra putrescunt, valente capite vel curari possunt vel resecuri. Ipsa tota est candida et sine macula sponsa Christi⁸, sed tempus adest periculosum, saeviunt undique procellae. Nautarum peritia in tempestate cognoscitur. Nondum sedati sunt Basilienses fluctus, sub aqua luctantur ventuli et ad nos usque⁹ fistulis latentibus perflant¹⁰. Mille artifex diabolus in angelum sese lucis¹¹ quandoque transfigurat.

[2] Nescio, quid in Gallia quaeritur¹², adhuc concilium pectoribus insidet. Indutias belli, non pacem habemus. Potentiae cessimus, ajunt, non rationi. Quod semel induimus etiam hodie retinemus. Campus expectatur, ubi rursus de majoritate certetur. Tu, si pugnandum est illic, decerne, ubi nec venti noceant, nec sol adversetur, nec loci contra te pugnet iniquitas. Tu¹³ vero insidias cave et vafros¹⁴ nostro tempore Gallos. Nos sumus, in quos fines saeculi devenerunt¹⁵, et, cum fluctuemus omni vento doctrinae, nec *fontem signatum* adimus nec *conclusum* quaerimus¹⁶ *hortum*. Videri¹⁷ docti quam esse maluimus¹⁸. Nec magister est, cui magistro est opus¹⁹. Togatus omnia novit interrogare²⁰, quippiam cucullatum²¹ dedecet, cuius est inflatis buccis de caelo, de sideribus, de angelis, de trinitate unitateque disputare. At Jeronymus in eremo atque in extremis Syriae finibus constitutus, quibus in oriente communicare debeat, Damasum in occidente consulit, nec hypostasion, quo pacto dicere liceat, interrogare veretur. Ad summum forsitan hodie doctrina pervenit et, Paraclito direttore, scholarum subsellia, non apostolicae sedis tribunalia gaudent.

¹ DV, 202-205

² Collated after WO

³ Collated after WO

⁴ ac viro : et vere MSB

⁵ omit. M2

⁶ omit. W3

⁷ corpus Christi : Christi corpus MSB

⁸ Christi sponsa : sponsa Christi M2

⁹ visa M2

¹⁰ perflant M2

¹¹ sese lucis : lucis sese M2

¹² et add. M2

¹³ tum MSB

¹⁴ sanabros M2

¹⁵ aduenerunt M2

¹⁶ credimus M2

¹⁷ plus add. M2, MSB

¹⁸ malumus M2

¹⁹ est opus : opus est W2, MSB

²⁰ omnia add. M2

²¹ decet alias add. M2

228. Letter to Nicolaus V (25 November 1448, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: János Hunyadi and a large Hungarian army had been decisively defeated by the Turks in the Second Battle of Kosovo. This meant that the road to the conquest of Constantinople was now open to the Turks.¹

Information: Piccolomini sends various news from the imperial court to the pope and gives him a detailed account of the Second Battle of Kosovo.

To the most blessed and holy Lord Nicolaus V, Supreme Pontiff, Eneas, humblest of priests, sends greetings in Christ.

[1] A small letter cannot compensate for a long silence. Your Holiness will therefore forgive me that, after such a long period of silence, I write to you at greater length than your occupations warrant. But I am writing about important matters, worthy of your consistory. In Antiquity, men said, “If you are well, we are well, too.” But I say that if you are well, then so is Peter’s Bark, so is Noah’s ark, God’s house, the Church, and Christ’s mystical body, for if some members are rotten, but the head is well, they can be healed or cut off. The Spouse of Christ² is radiant and immaculate, but the times are perilous, and gales are raging everywhere. But it is during the storm that seamen show their worth³. The Basilean waves have not yet subsided. Small winds rage under the water and reach us through many hidden pipes. The Devil, with a thousand ruses, sometimes changes into an angel of light.

[2] I do not know what they want in France, still clinging to the council.⁴ What we have is not a peace but a truce. They claim we⁵ have yielded to force, not to reason, and that we still retain our former positions. They are hoping for another battlefield with a new fight about the majority. If you want to battle there, then choose one where you will not be hampered by winds, sun or adverse natural conditions. You should fear ambushes and the cunning French of our age. The end of times is upon us, and as we are buffeted by doctrinal gales, we cannot reach the *sealed-up fountain* or seek the *enclosed garden*.⁶ We would not be learned but only to appear to be so. You cannot be a teacher if you yourself need a teacher. The togate [scholar] knows how to question everything, but the hooded one considers such to be beneath him as, with inflated cheeks, he disputes about heaven, the stars, the angels, the trinity and the unity.⁷ But, living in the desert and the remote areas of Syria, Jerome⁸ did not communicate with those he might in the East but consulted Damasus in the West,⁹ not fearing to ask him in what sense one could talk about the *hypostasis*.¹⁰ But today, learning may have reached the summit and, under the guidance of the Paraclete, [men] prefer the tribunes of scholars to the tribunals of the Apostolic See!¹¹

¹ See Antioche, p. 265.

² The Church.

³ “peritia”

⁴ The schismatic council in Basel, dominated by the French.

⁵ The papal party.

⁶ Canticle of Canticles, 4: 12.

⁷ The opposition between the gowned (togati) scholars and the

hooded (cucullati) ones is unclear. It may imply an opposition between traditional (clerical) scholarship and modern (secular) academic scholarship. In his treatise on fortune, Piccolomini uses the word *togatus* to refer to high-ranking prelates (letter 152:27).

⁸ Jeronimus, Eusebius Sophronius (ca. 342-42): Church father.

⁹ Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 15 (MPL, 22: 1, col. 355).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 22: 2-5, col. 355-358.

¹¹ Sarcastic comment.

[3] Hinc Hussitarum perfidia nihil Romanae sedi praeter ceteras datum asserit. Hinc pestifer Rokyzana, tenebrarum filius, confessor diaboli et Antichristi propheta, injussu¹ tuo et contra canonicas sanctiones Pragensis ecclesiae praesulatum invasit. Nosti ista jam² et occupatam Pragam sapientissimi patris cardinalis Sancti Angeli litteris didicisti. Nunc haeretici conventum cum catholicis³ quaerunt et apud Pragam colloquia sunt habituri, in habentibus symbolum facilis est transitus. Quod olim fuit, iterum esse non⁴ potest. Si consonant animi⁵, non video, quibus modis haeresis armata vincatur, nisi rursus grandis exercitus et totius Alamaniae vires conveniant. Sed hoc certe desperatum est, nisi tu manus apponas, nisi legatos mittas, nisi praelatos invites et principes. Inaudita res est, horrenda, detestanda: archiepiscopum se nominat et metropolim regit, qui nec vocatus est nec missus, et, ut quidam asserunt, characterem presbyterii numquam suscepit.

[4] Proh, tantumne flagitium tua sanctitas impunitum dimittet⁶? Oziam legimus lepra percussum, quia temere se sacris immiscuit⁷ et quoniam illum Isaias in templum irruentem⁸ non corripuerat nec juxta Heliae exemplum libera voce impium designarat, immunda labia dicitur habuisse et ad tempus prophetiae spiritu caruisse. Exurgat igitur tui culminis gladius et conterat draconis caput. Recentia vulnera facilius quam inveterata curantur. Index⁹ ego has litteras non monitor scribo, vulnus ostendo, remedium ex te pendet. Quae morbo medicina conveniat, pastor ovis melius quam ovis intelligit.

[5] Sed accipe gravius damnum. Epistolam quasi Micheam audi, filium¹⁰ Jembla, de quo inquit Achab rex: *odi eum, quia non prophetizat mihi bonum, sed¹¹ malum omni tempore*. Invitus refero malum¹² invitusque audio at¹³, quando felicia desunt¹⁴, quid nisi tristia scribere possumus? Ceciderunt in Hungaria fortissimi, prostrata est {97r} Christianorum acies, sacratissimae crucis vexillum a porcis conculcatur, ingens aperta est in nos porta malorum. Non ut¹⁵ doleas scribo, sed ut scias¹⁶, et, ne pejora contingant¹⁷, uti caveas, oro. Infelix nuntium ad regias delatum est aures scriptisque plurimis confirmatum¹⁸ in vigilia Sancti Lucae victores Turcos Christianum exercitum prostravisse. Nunc rei seriem, uti praedicatur agnosce: audita, non visa narramus.

¹ non jussu M2

² ista jam : jam ista W2

³ *illeg.* W2

⁴ *omit.* MSB

⁵ iterum W3

⁶ dimittat WO

⁷ Inmisit WO

⁸ uenientem W2; irruisse W3

⁹ iudex M2, W2

¹⁰ *omit.* W3

¹¹ nisi M2

¹² *omit.* W2, WO

¹³ et M2

¹⁴ desinit M2

¹⁵ *omit.* M2

¹⁶ scribo sed ... scias : sed ut scias scribo W2

¹⁷ contingunt M2

¹⁸ affirmatum WO

[3] Thus, the infidel Hussites claim the Roman See has been granted no more than the other sees.¹ Rokycana,² that pestilence, that son of darkness, worshipper³ of the Devil and prophet of Antichrist, without your permission and against the canonical sanctions has usurped the episcopacy of Prague.⁴ You already know this and have heard from the Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,⁵ wisest of Fathers, that Prague has been occupied⁶ [by the Hussites]. The heretics now want a meeting with the Catholics and will hold talks in Prague,⁷ and they have facilitated travel for those who follow the creed.⁸ But what happened once cannot happen again. If they come to an agreement, I do not see how the [Hussite] heresy can be vanquished unless a grand army and the forces of all Germany assemble again. But that is surely hopeless unless you give your assistance, send legates and exhort the prelates and princes. It is indeed unheard of, terrible and abhorrent that Rokycana makes himself an archbishop and governs the capital when he has not been called or sent or, as some claim, ever been ordained as a priest.

[4] Surely, Your Holiness will not let this outrage go unpunished! We read that Oziás was struck by leprosy because he dared to interfere with the holy rites.⁹ And since Isaiah¹⁰ did not rebuke him for invading the temple and - following Elijah's example¹¹ - fearlessly declare him impious, he was said to have unclean lips and for a time lacked his gift of prophecy.¹² So, draw Your Highness' sword and destroy the dragon's head. It is easier to heal fresh wounds than old ones. I do not write this letter as a preceptor but purely as an informant. I show the wound, but the remedy depends on you. The shepherd knows better than the sheep what medicine its sickness requires.

[5] But hear now something that is even more serious. Hear my letter as if it were *Micheas, son of Jembla*, about whom King Achab said, "*I hate him, for he doth not prophesy good to me, but evil.*"¹³ I do not report or hear bad news gladly, but when there is no good news, then what can I write but the bad ones? The strongest men have fallen in Hungary, a Christian army has been overthrown,¹⁴ the standard of the most holy Cross is trodden by swine, and an immense gate to evils has opened before us. I do not write this to sadden you but so that you will know it and be on your guard lest worse things happen. The unhappy message, confirmed by many letters, has reached the emperor's ears that on the Vigil of Saint Luke,¹⁵ the Turks defeated the Christian army. Hear now what is said to have happened: we only report things we have heard, not things we have seen.¹⁶

¹ I.e., The Roman See (the pope) had no power, privileges or jurisdiction in relation to the rest of the Church.

² Jan Rokycana (ca. 1396 - 1471): Bohemian Hussite theologian and a leader of the Bohemian reformation.

³ "confessor"

⁴ Rokycana had been elected archbishop of Prague by the Bohemian estates, which was recognised by Emperor Sigismund in 1436, in Jiglau, as part of a settlement with

the Bohemians who then recognised his kingship.

⁵ Juan Carvajal, who in May 1448 was on an unsuccessful papal legate mission to Prague. See Palacky, pp. 184-191; Heymann, pp. 36-41.

⁶ 2-3 September 1448 (WO). The occupation of Prague was led by Georg Podiebrad, a moderate Hussite leader (later governor, and later again king of Bohemia). See Palacky, pp. 197-199; Heymann, pp. 43-44.

⁷ See Heymann, pp. 48-49.

⁸ "in habentibus symbolum facilis est transitus": i.e. the Catholics.

⁹ 2. Chronicles, 26: 18-19.

¹⁰ Error for Azarias.

¹¹ 1. Kings, 17: 1.

¹² Source not identified.

¹³ 3. Kings, 22: 8.

¹⁴ At the Second Battle of Kosovo, 17-20 October 1448.

¹⁵ 17 October 1448.

¹⁶ On the Second Battle of Kosovo, see Antioche. Piccolomini gave another account of this battle in his DVI, ch. 6.

[6] Quartus hic annus est ab eo, quo Juliani, Sanctae Sabinae cardinalis, et¹ Wladislai, Poloniae regis², felices animae, cum pluribus aliis in bello corporibus perditis ad patres migrarunt. Cecidisset etiam tunc Johannes³, vayvoda Transilvanus⁴, nisi fuga salutem quaesivisset, ac⁵ homo⁶ Walachus, regionis⁷ gnarus et ingenii callidi, periculum, quo ceteros irretivit, absque negotio declinavit. Hic postmodum regni gubernator creatus grandem exercitum in hac⁸ aestate coegit⁹ atque adversus imperatorem Turcorum profectus est¹⁰. Quamplures eum Teutones ac¹¹ Bohemi secuti sunt, quos stipendio conduxerat. Nec Turcus orientali sapientia fretus medio tempore deses fuerat¹², sed ratus, quod erat, Hungaros minime quieturos, donec ulcisci temptarent, innumerabilem Asia tota comparat exercitum. At Johannes suam magis quam hostium metitus multitudinem, neminem sibi comparem¹³ arbitrabatur et quasi feminarum acies adversarios contemnebat, quamvis militaris disciplina sit nec timere¹⁴ hostes nimirum¹⁵ nec parviperendi oportere, ut Comici quoque versus meminisse conveniat: *Ne quid nimis*.

[7] Jam campos tenebat¹⁶ Moesiae¹⁷, quae nunc Bulgaria nuncupatur¹⁸. Explorata jam¹⁹ erant Turco Johannis consilia, et, quamvis superiorem se nosset, fugam tamen simulabat. Sic enim hostes vel insidiis capiuntur vel successibus elati minus considerationis habere solent. Ajunt unum ex Turcis exploratorem captum, cui prioris exemplo²⁰ Scipionis monstrari singula Johannes jussit et hominem impune dimissum referre Turco, quae vidisset. Soleo²¹ ego, cum²² similia priscis audio nunc fieri, conficta magis quam vera existinare, nam et Anglici quendam historicum habent, qui egregia quaevis Romanorum facinora ex Livio²³ imitatus²⁴ contribulibus suis conscribit²⁵. Sed pergo coeptum iter. Terruit hostes Johannis factum, remisso tamen homine nuntiatur Turcos²⁶ belli se copiam facturos, incensisque interim undique circa se mappalibus amplius fugiunt. Locum²⁷ fortasse opportuniorem²⁸ quaerebant, ut²⁹ adversarios tanto inconsultiores redderent quanto securiores³⁰ se judicarent.

¹ ac W2

² legis M2

³ Transilvanus *add.* M2

⁴ *omit.* WO

⁵ at M2

⁶ hunc M2

⁷ regione M2, W3

⁸ *omit.* M2

⁹ collegit alias coegit M2

¹⁰ *omit.* M2

¹¹ et WO

¹² fuit M2

¹³ parem W2

¹⁴ timeri M2

¹⁵ nimium WO

¹⁶ tenebant W3

¹⁷ Morsee M2; Morse W3;

Morsie MSB

¹⁸ appellatur WO

¹⁹ *omit.* W2

²⁰ exemplum W3

²¹ sileo M2, W3

²² tamen M2, W3

²³ ex Livio *omit.* W3

²⁴ mutuatus MSB

²⁵ asscribit W2

²⁶ nuntiatur Turcos : nunciant

Turci W2; renuntiant Turci WO

²⁷ lucrum M2, W3

²⁸ opportunus M2

²⁹ et M2, W2

³⁰ tanto inconsultiores ...

securiores *omit.* M2

[6] It is now four years¹ since Giuliano,² Cardinal of Santa Sabina, and Wladyslaw,³ king of Poland, two blessed souls, with many others, lost their lives in battle and joined their fathers. János, Voivode of Transylvania, would have fallen, too, if he had not saved himself by flight. Being a Wallachian knowing the region and clever, besides, he himself easily avoided the danger in which he had involved the others.⁴ Afterwards, he was made governor [of the realm],⁵ and this summer, he raised a large army and marched against the ruler of the Turks.^{6 7} He was followed by many Germans and Bohemians whom he had hired as mercenaries. In the meantime, the Turk, with oriental cleverness, had not been idle, but thinking that the Hungarians would not settle down before they had tried to avenge themselves - as was the case - he gathered an innumerable army from the whole of Asia. But János, believing his own numbers to be more important than the enemies', thought that no one could equal him. Moreover, he despised the enemy fighters as effeminate, though in military matters, one should neither fear the enemy overly nor underestimate him. It is helpful to remember the verse of the Comic writer, "*Nothing in excess.*"⁸

[7] He now held the territory of Moesia, today called Bulgaria. Janos' plans were known to the Turks, but though he knew he had the upper hand, he pretended to flee. Thus, enemies are caught either by ruses or because they become less careful when buoyed by success. It is reported that when a Turkish scout was caught, János ordered them to follow Scipio's example and send the man back unharmed so that he could tell the Turk what he had seen.⁹ (When I hear descriptions of events that are similar to those of old authors, I usually consider them to be fictitious rather than true, and the English have a historian¹⁰ who ascribes grand deeds like those of the Romans, drawn from Livy, to his fellow Englishmen¹¹). I resume my account: János' gesture did terrify the enemies, and when the scout had been sent back, it was reported that the Turks, though still preparing for the coming battle, were withdrawing, having fired the farms in all directions. Maybe they were searching for a better place to fight and wanted to make their adversaries less careful as they thought themselves to be safer.

¹ At the Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444.

² Giuliano Cesarini.

³ Wladislaw III (Jagiellon).

⁴ Muresanu, p. 93.

⁵ At a diet in Rákos, June 1446, Hunyadi was elected governor or Hungary during the minority of Ladislaus the Posthumous.

⁶ Mehmed II / Murad II.

⁷ On Hunyadi's campaign and the Second Battle of Kosovo, see Antoché; Engel, pp. 291-292; Muresanu, pp. 132 ff.

⁸ Terentius: *Andria*, 61.

⁹ Livius, 30: 29, 2-4.

¹⁰ Piccolomini probably refers to Geoffrey of Monmouth (ca. 1095

– ca. 1155). and his *De Gestis Britonum* (or *Historia Regum Brittanica*).

¹¹ See *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, 2020, ch. 2: *Geoffrey of Monmouth's classical and biblical heritage*.

[8] Insequitur Johannes cumque jam proximus esset nec posse ulterius detractari proelium videretur¹, oratores octo ex primoribus² Turcorum advenerunt, qui humani sanguinis effusionem detestati pacem perpetuam et impensas belli aurique centum milia promittunt. Sic me praesente regio culmini junior Ciliae³ comes asseruit, cui ex socero, Rasciae⁴ despoto, illarum partium novitates facile conscribuntur, licet errare⁵, falli, decipi atque⁶ mentiri etiam⁷ principes conveniat. Johannes vero, successibus elatus, vendi pacem sanguine melius quam auro putans singula contempsit, quod postquam Turco relatum est, “Testor,” inquit, “superos pugnam invitus in eo nec humanum sitio sanguinem. Unde⁸ quanto nos gessimus humiliter, tanto nobis heri bellorum, Fortuna, secundior erit, hortatusque suos pro patria, liberis ac conjugibus forti animo proelientur⁹, hoc bello finem imponi laboribus dicit, quoniam victi duobus certaminibus Hungari restaurare tertium minime possint. Numerositatem sui exercitus ante oculos ponit, hostium paucitatem extenuat, cum eis quoque pugnandum asseverat, quorum germanos in eisdem fere¹⁰ locis ante triennium delevisset¹¹.

[9] Contra Johannes “Hodie, commilitones,” inquit, “aut violenta Turcorum dominatione¹² liberabimus Europam aut pro Christo cadentes martyrio coronabimur. Quis non ei¹³ bello¹⁴ libenter intersit, ubi et vincere pulchrum est¹⁵ et¹⁶ vinci beatum? Non morabor¹⁷ vos orationibus, quia virtutem viris verba non addunt. Quantus quisque est, tantum in acie se¹⁸ solet ostendere. Ex remotis¹⁹ ultro regionibus pugnatum venistis, armati stabitis adversus²⁰ inermes, Christiani adversus infideles educetis gladium. {97v} Defendite Christum hodie vestris brachiis et Hellespontum ultra rejicite Mahumetum. Tota vos Christiana religio venerabitur, quamvis ad praedam potius quam ad bella descendimus, qui Asiae totius hodie reportabimus opes.”

¹ proelium videretur : proelia videntur M2

² principibus M2

³ Cillaceus M2; Sillaceus WO

⁴ Ruscie WO

⁵ errari M2, W2

⁶ sciam *add.* MSB

⁷ *omit.* WO

⁸ verum W2, MSB

⁹ proeliare M2

¹⁰ feri WO

¹¹ delevisset WO

¹² Turcorum dominatione : dominatione Turcorum W2

¹³ eo W2

¹⁴ non ei bello : eo bello non M2

¹⁵ *omit.* W3

¹⁶ non M2

¹⁷ moneo M2

¹⁸ acie se : animositate M2

¹⁹ remotissimis W2

²⁰ versus WO

[8] János followed them, but when he was close, and the battle could no longer be avoided, the Turks sent eight high-ranking ambassadors who said they abhorred the shedding of human blood and, therefore, offered a permanent peace, promising to pay 100,000 gold ducats in compensation for the costs of the war.¹ This is what his Royal Highness² was told, in my presence, by the younger count of Cilly,³ who quickly gets news from these parts from his father-in-law,⁴ the Despot of Rascia - though princes may err, be mistaken, deceive and even lie! But János, made arrogant by success, scorned the offer, holding that peace should be sold with blood rather than gold. When the Turk⁵ heard it, he said, “The higher beings are my witnesses that I enter this fight unwillingly and do not thirst for human blood. Since we have acted with humility, Fortune, mistress of wars, will smile upon us.”⁶ Then he exhorted his men to fight valiantly for their fatherland, children and wives. This war, he said, would put an end to their labours, for the Hungarians had previously been defeated in two battles⁷ and would scarcely be able to win a third. He pointed to the great size of his army and the small size of the enemies’ and told them that they would be fighting men whose brothers had been destroyed almost four years ago in this very region.

[9] On his side, János said, “Fellow soldiers, today, we shall free Europe from the violent domination of the Turks, or, dying for Christ, we shall be crowned martyrs. Who will not gladly take part in a battle where it is a boon to win and a blessing to be defeated. I will not keep you with a speech, for words do not give courage to men. Men usually show their worth on the battlefield. You have come from the remote regions to fight; you will stand as armed against unarmed; and you will wield the sword as Christians against infidels. Defend Christ today with your arms and throw Muhammad back beyond the Hellespont. The whole Christian religion will honour you, though today we are going to plunder rather than war and will bring back the wealth of all of Asia.”⁸

¹ On the peace offer of the sultan, who did not at the time want a direct military confrontation with the Hungarians, see Antoche, p. 257

² Friedrich III.

³ Ulrich II of Cilly.

⁴ Durad I Branckovic.

⁵ Murad II (1404-1451): Sultan of the Turks. Murad had abdicated after the Peace of Szeged but was recalled by his son, Mehmed II, to conduct the war against the Hungarians.

⁶ The theme of making offers to the opposite party before battle as a sign of humility pleasing to the higher beings had also used by Piccolomini in his DVI (written previously), where he described the battle of Azincourt (1415): *When Henry [V] realised that he was surrounded and [his army] inferior in numbers to so many enemies, he sued the French for*

peace, promising to abandon all his possessions in France and only requesting that he and his army could leave unharmed. He also promised to return the booty, to release the captives, and to be content with the Kingdom of England alone and never to attack France again. But the arrogant French rejected these conditions that would have given them the whole kingdom and permanent peace. They refused to grant peace unless King Henry and his army surrendered and the French were free to decide whether the king should stay alive or be killed. Angered at this response, Henry summoned his fellow soldiers and told them about his offer and the enemies’ response. Then he added, “Now, soldiers and brothers, we are the victors. Since we have made honest and decent offers and been refused, we no

longer have to fear that the Divine Piety, in whose hands is victory, will be against us. If we had begun the battle before now, I would have feared God’s anger, for perhaps our raid against French lands has not been just. But now that we have offered to return all, just keeping our lives, and they only want us dead, will their insolence not displease the heavenly beings? So, take courage and prepare yourselves for battle in the morning (DVI, 213-214). It is remarkable that Piccolomini attributes such a gesture to the Turkish sultan.

⁷ The last battle was the Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444.

⁸ The two speeches given here are, of course, fictitious, in the manner of the Roman historians. See Muresanu, p. 140.

[10] Sic animatis utrimque militibus, initur bellum. Quindecim milia Turcorum, quibus candidae erant vestes¹, primo concursu caesa feruntur, quorum loco ceteri succedentes atrocissimum proelium commiserunt², ac dum³ Turci multitudine, Christiani virtute pugnant, tantum sanguinis funditur⁴, ut torrentis instar sub pedibus equorum rivuli cruore⁵ decurrerent. Sed, occidente sole, proelium nox perobscura⁶ diremit, exercitibus ad jactum sagittae separatis ac tota se nocte missilium⁷ turbine infestantibus. Interea non parva Hungarorum manus per tenebras elapsa est, quae secuturae lucis noluit experiri fortunam. Ea res Johanni vires et animum ademit. Ceterum, ubi⁸ sequens dies illuxit, in cuneos adunata⁹ ¹⁰ Turcorum multitudo tam repente munitiones curruum¹¹, quibus imitati Bohemos Hungari confidebant, ensibus invasit et lanceis, ut nullus posset offendi missilibus, sed omnem manu conserere pugnam, quominus oporteret, ut pes pede et viro vir¹² premeretur et sic multitudine fatigati magis quam victi, inconsulti certaminis Hungari poenas dederunt, et Turci victoria sunt¹³ potiti. Teutones atque Bohemi¹⁴ ad unum obcubuisse narrantur¹⁵, ex Hungaris circiter triginta milia caesa¹⁶, ex Turcis ter totidem, sed hoc mihi videtur unicum¹⁷ victis solamen solamen, ne gratis victoriam hostibus dimisisse credantur¹⁸.

¹ erant vestes : vestes erant W2

² proelium commiserunt : commiserunt bellum WO

³ in demum M2

⁴ effunditur M2

⁵ crebre M2

⁶ obscura W2

⁷ missilibus W3

⁸ omit. W3

⁹ adurata WO

¹⁰ in cuneos adunata : adurata in cuneos MSB

¹¹ curauimus M2

¹² viro vir : vir viro WO

¹³ victoria sunt : multitudine fuerint M2; fuerint multitudine WO

¹⁴ Bohemos M2

¹⁵ narratur M2

¹⁶ cesi M2

¹⁷ mihi videtur unicum : vere unicum videtur W3

¹⁸ victoriam hostibus ... credantur : victoria hostibus dimissa credantur M2, W3

[10] The soldiers thus harangued, the battle began. Reportedly, 15,000 Turks, were killed in the first assault, but others replaced them, and a bitter battle ensued. The Turks fought with their numbers and the Christians with their valour. So much blood was shed that torrents of gore flowed under the horses' feet. When the sun went down, the dark night ended the battle, but all during the night, the two armies, separated only by the distance of an arrow's flight, harassed each other with a swarm of missiles¹. A large part of the Hungarians escaped during the night, not wanting to try the fortune that morning would bring. This weakened János' strength and resolve. At daybreak, the mass of Turks formed wedges and attacked the fortified wagons - behind which the Hungarians, imitating the Bohemians, had taken cover - with swords and lances so quickly that they could not be hit with missiles. A hand-to-hand fight ensued in which foot pressed against foot and man against man. In the end, the Hungarians paid the price for their unwise strategy and were worn down by numbers rather than vanquished, and the Turks gained victory. They say the Germans and Bohemians fell to a man, while around 30,000 Hungarians died. They also say that three times as many Turks fell, but I think it is just the consolation of the vanquished, that they should not be thought to have given their enemy an easy victory!

¹ Probably from light canons, see Antoche, pp. 250-251. On this nocturnal fighting, see also p. 262.

[11] Johannem quidam fuga salvatum ac montanis se¹ nonnullis tueri, quidam inter alios neci datum inter fugiendum, alii despoti fraude captum astruunt², veritas apud tardiores reperietur. Sunt, qui dicunt arte quadam camelos ingentibus flammis ardentibus³ in Christianos irruere visos, equitatum Johannis universum perturbasse. Nonnulli putant Hungaros ducis temeritate subactos, qui extra munitiones curruum pugnare voluerit, tamquam in munitionibus vinci non posset, quod mihi nulla ratione dictum videtur. Sunto⁴ enim in curribus Hungari, quis Turcos pugnare compelleret, nisi⁵ equites⁶ redarum⁷ cursu, nec pedites circumveniri possent. Ergo arbitrium⁸ pugnae in Turcis⁹ erit. Illi, ut sunt oculati et astu providi, Augusti Caesaris sententiae¹⁰ meminerunt, qui voluntarie proelium sine praerogativa et spe certa victoriae committentem *aureo piscantem hamo* comparat, cui certe plus instat damni quam lucri. Cum igitur Johanni pugna necessaria videretur, qui tantum exercitum diu retinere non poterat, extra munitiones proeliari oportuit. Ingentibus insuper Turcorum copiis haud magnum erat, impletis cadaverum fossis, ad currus prolabi munitionesque dissipare. Nec enim decem milia hominum magni inducunt¹¹ Turci¹² in bello relinquere. Ex Persarum quidam regibus tantas in¹³ Scythiam trajecit copias, ut amissionem septuaginta milium inter damna non duceret.

[12] Sic¹⁴ superasse Turcos, cecidisse Hungaros constat. Quamplures ex baronibus Hungariae desiderantur¹⁵. Ajunt, qui de magnis majora loquuntur, Johannis exercitum septuaginta milium, Turcorum ducentorum milium extitisse. Indoctior plebs caelestia quaedammodo¹⁶ numina¹⁷ redarguit, quae¹⁸ crucis faverint¹⁹ inimicis²⁰, nec in divino conspectu, quid nostra mereantur scelera, pensat, at²¹ causam justam, inquit²², habuimus. Justa etiam Israel²³ ira contra²⁴ Benjamin fuit, quando turpissime interemptam Levitae conjugem adversus Saba profectus, primo²⁵ die duo et viginti, secundo ducem et octo milia pugnatorum amisit. Erat aliquid in populo²⁶ Dei hac²⁷ censura dignum. Quid scimus nos, qua mente in Turcos est itum: quidam stipendia, quidam spolia sequebantur, nonnulli vel inviti profecti fuerant, alii propter militiam saecularem et inane militis nomen incorruptibilem glorie coronam cum aureis commutaturi calcaribus erant.

¹ *omit.* M2

² captum astruunt *omit.* W3

³ ardentibus MSB

⁴ simiti M2

⁵ nec M2, W2

⁶ equitea M2

⁷ cedarum M2

⁸ *omit.* M2

⁹ Teucris WO

¹⁰ *omit.* W3

¹¹ *omit.* M2; ducunt W2

¹² Teucris M2, WO

¹³ *omit.* M2, WO

¹⁴ utcumque sit W2

¹⁵ considerantur M2

¹⁶ quodammodo WO

¹⁷ *omit.* WO

¹⁸ qui M2

¹⁹ favent M2

²⁰ inuitis M2

²¹ ac WO

²² justam inquit : inquit justam M2, W2

²³ *omit.* M2, W3

²⁴ que M2, W3

²⁵ prima M2

²⁶ prelio M3, W3

²⁷ iudicio et M2

[11] Some claim that János saved himself by flight and was protected by some mountain people, others that he was killed while fleeing, and others again that he was treacherously captured by the despot¹: the truth will be known from people arriving later. Some say that camels were somehow set aflame and sent against the Christians, causing havoc among János' cavalry. Many think the Hungarians were defeated because of János' temerity since he wanted to fight outside the wagon fort. This presupposes that he could not have been defeated had he stayed inside the wagon fort, which I rather doubt. Had they remained inside and nobody forced them to fight the Turks, their cavalry and infantry could still have been flanked by the Turks. In any case, victory belonged to the Turks. They, astute and clever, remembered the saying of Augustus Caesar that he who willingly enters a battle without having the advantage and certain hope of victory is like *those who fish with a golden hook*² and will more likely suffer loss than gain profit. When János saw that a battle was necessary because he could not keep back his large army for long, he had to fight outside the wagon fort. Moreover, the Turkish troops were so numerous that it would be easy for them to fill the ditches with corpses, storm the wagons and disperse the fortifications. Indeed, it does not bother the Grand Turk to lose 10,000 men in battle. One of the Persian kings³ sent such large troops to Scythia that he considered the loss of 70,000 men as nothing.

[12] Anyhow, it is clear that the Turks won and the Hungarians lost. Many Hungarian barons fell. Those who are given to exaggerate even great things claim that János' army counted 70,000 men and the Turkish 200,000.^{4 5} Simple people blame the stars for favouring the enemies of the Cross. They do not consider [the punishment] that our crimes have deserved in the sight of God but claim that "our cause was just". In fact, Israel's anger against Benjamin was just when they marched against Saba after the levite's wife had been heinously killed, but still they lost 18,000⁶ soldiers on the first day and 8,000 on the second.⁷ Something in God's people merited this punishment. How do we know what went on in the minds of the Christian soldiers who marched against the Turks: some wanted salaries, and others spoils. Some did not go voluntarily, whereas others, [treasuring] secular military service⁸ and the empty name of soldier, would rather have golden spurs than a incorruptible crown of glory.⁹

¹ The despot of Serbia, Durad I Brankovic.

² Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum / Augustus*: 25.

³ Darius I the Great.

⁴ On this passage, see Antoche, p. 253.

⁵ Antoche gives credence to a figure between 24,000 and 30,000 for the Hungarian army (p. 253) and a figure between 50,000 and 60,000 for the Turkish army (p. 255).

⁶ Judges, 19: 22

⁷ Judges, 19-20. According to Judges, Israel lost 22,000 men on the first day and 18,000 men on the second (Judges, 20: 21, 25).

⁸ To military service in the name of Christ.

⁹ In Heaven.

[13] Wladislaus, Polonie quondam rex¹ ...² superatis Turcis, stabilire in Hungaria, Johannes³ acquirere⁴, ut rumor est⁵, regnum putabat⁶ et Ladislaum pupillum atque orphanum, indolis nobilissimae regem, paterno avique regno spoliare nitebatur. Sed est domino in altissimis ejus cura, scriptura testimonium perhibente: *Tibi derelictus est pauper, orphano tu eris adjutor*. Ceterum, si tertio adversus Turcorum perfidiam jam non Hungariae solius sed totius Christianae reipublicae viribus⁷ bellum instauretur, facile Deus, nostri misertus, sicut Israelitis tribum Benjamin delere sceleratam⁸ dedit, sic et nobis ad interneccionem⁹ Turcos prosternere dabit. Sed hoc efficere, sicut et¹⁰ Hussitas corripere, tui muneris est et opus jubilai. Tui est atque Caesaris pro communi omnium excubare salute. Ideo supplex oro Deum, ut te cum Caesare sospitem tueatur¹¹ et in adversis fortem praebeat animum, quia valente capite Christiana¹² res publica periclitari non potest.

Vale¹³ optime in Christo¹⁴, domino nostro, et quae a nobis scribuntur, fidelibus servis, in meliorem suscipito partem¹⁵. Ex Nova civitate Austriae, 7. Kalendas Decembris anno domini¹⁶ 1448.

¹ Wladislaus Poloniae ... rex : Wladislaum Poloniae quondam regem W2; Wladislaum quondam Poloniae regem W3

² *Textus corr.*

³ Johannis M2

⁴ acquirerent M2

⁵ ut rumor est : ruinam et M2

⁶ putabatur M2, W3

⁷ *omit.* W3

⁸ sceleratum M2

⁹ interemptionem M2

¹⁰ *omit.* W3

¹¹ teneatur W3

¹² capite Christiana : Christiano capite M2

¹³ valete W2

¹⁴ Jesu *add.* M2

¹⁵ vale optime ... partem *omit.* W2

¹⁶ *etc. add.* M2, W2

[13] Wladyslaw, former king of Poland, [planned] to settle down in Hungary when the Turks had been defeated, and it is rumoured that János wished to gain the kingdom for himself and endeavoured to deprive Ladislaus, a child and an orphan, a king of most noble character, of his father's and grandfather's kingdom. But the Lord on High takes care of him, as Scripture witnesses, "*To thee is the poor man left: thou wilt be a helper to the orphan.*"¹ If they go to war against the infidel Turks a third time with not just the forces of Hungary but those of the whole Christian commonwealth, then God will take mercy upon us and easily strike down the Turks to be killed by us, just as he delivered up the criminal tribe of Benjamin to Israel.² But it is your task and the work of the jubilee³ to do this as well as to chastise the Hussites. And it is yours and the emperor's task to provide for the welfare and salvation of all. Therefore, I humbly beg God to keep you and the emperor safe and sound and give you courage in adversity, for as long as the head is strong, the Christian commonwealth cannot be endangered.

Farewell in Christ, Our Lord, and take in the best meaning what we, your faithful servant, write. From [Wiener] Neustadt, 25 November 1448.

¹ Psalms, 10: 14.

² See sect. 12 and Judges, 20.

³ Jubilee year to be held in 1450.

229. Letter to Johann Abzehn (18 January 1449, Baden).

Manuscripts: XI, ff. 136r-136v **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2, 1: 24, pp. 78-79.

{136r} Patri sancto, Johanni, abbati monasterii Sanctae Crucis in Austria, theologo perspicaci, Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, in Christo salutem cupit.

[1] Allectus¹ fama tui nominis visere atque affari te cupiens tuum, jam triduum est, accessi coenobium. Nescio, quis te casus mihi eripuit: Wiennam te petivisse ferebant causis non levibus accersitum. Sed blandus vultu et amicis verbis me prior excepit, grandis sanctimoniae pater Henricus, et omnes, qui secum fuere, humanitatem mihi maximam ostenderunt. Locus sanctorum est et vera domus Dei, ubi tanta caritas tantaque dilectio viget. Beatus es, qui talem familiam nutris; beati monachi, qui te magistrum habent.

[2] Vidi bibliothecam {136v} tuam, magnum thesaurum possides, non opes Darii aut Croesi divitiae comparanda sunt tuis. Utinam liceret me apud illos degere vitam et sanctis haerere reliquiis. Me vita quidem incerta vexat. Nullibi certa sedes, ad regis nutum mutanda² sunt tecta: ubi manere juvat, ibi sum minime. Possem in libertatem me vindicare³, sed timeo notari dicitque ingratus, qui regis auctus beneficentia regio nolim insistere servitio. Vos monachi felices, quibus fixa domus est et certi penates, honestae familiaritates, casta colloquia, sobriae commessiones. Sepositi estis a tumultu civili, illecebras ignoratis saeculi. Solum quaeritis et possidetis Deum. Vitam hic quietam ducitis et altero in saeculo meliorem spectatis. Vobis Christi *jugum suave est et onus leve*, nos in mundo fluctuamur et horrendis agitatur procellis, nec praesentis saeculi dulcedinem degustamus nec futuri sortem cognoscimus. Labimur incerti et pecudum more ultimam diem sentire magis quam praevidere compellimur.

[3] At si tuam apud cellulam me victitare contingeret et Augustini Jeronimique libris intendere, *induerem* procul dubio alterum *hominem* et, qui semper aliis vixi, mihi aliquando viverem. Et quoniam haec non datur, supplex oro, mihi ut copiam nonnumquam facere velis aliquorum opusculorum, quae tibi per familiarem meum nominavero. Erunt enim apud me tuta et tibi sincera fide restituentur. Sic mihi multum commodi afferes et auctoribus geres morem, qui propterea scripserunt, ut legerentur, volueruntque prodesse quamplurimis.

Vale in Christo optime et, si qua in re me tibi vel tuis tuoque conventui speras utilem fore, tuo me utere pro⁴ arbitrio. Orationum, quae fiunt in sancto collegio vestro, cupio me fieri participem, ut propria negligentia inito alieno praesidio sistar. Ex Balneis Viennensibus, 15. Kal. Februarii 1449.

¹ *em.* WO; Albertus cod.

² *em.* WO; imitanda cod.

³ vindicare WO

⁴ *omit.* WO

229. Letter to Johann Abzehn (18 January 1449, Baden).

Context: Piccolomini had visited the Cistercian Abbey of Heiligenkreuz and was impressed by its monks and library.

Subject: Piccolomini compliments the abbot and asks for the loan of some books for the purpose of copying.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, wishes salvation in Christ for Johann, Abbot of Heiligenkreuz Monastery¹ in Austria and eminent theologian.

[1] Impressed with your reputation and desiring to speak with you, I came to your monastery three days ago, but some matter, I know not which, deprived me of your company. They told me you had gone to Vienna, having been summoned for important reasons. But I was received joyfully and with kind words by the prior, Father Heinrich, a man of great holiness, and all who were with him showed me the greatest possible kindness. Your abbey is a place for holy men and truly a house of God, where great charity and love reign. You are blessed to foster such a family, and the monks are blessed to have you as their teacher.

[2] I saw your library: you possess a great treasury there, and the riches of Darius and Croesus cannot be compared with yours. How I wish to stay with your books and embrace your holy inheritance. My uncertain life vexes me. Nowhere do I have a fixed abode: I must move around at the king's orders. I am not where it would be good for me to stay. I could claim my freedom, but I fear being censured and called ungrateful if, having acquired the king's grace, I would not continue in his service. You monks are blessed, for you have a permanent and stable home, honest companionship, chaste conversations, and sober meals together. You live away from civil disturbances and ignore the allurements of the world. You only seek and possess God. You live a tranquil life in this world and look for a better life in the next. For you, *the yoke of Christ is sweet and his burden light*,² whereas we are floundering in the world and tossed around by terrible gales: we neither taste the sweetness of the present world nor know our lot in the next. We are mired in uncertainty and forced, like cattle, to feel the approach of the last day rather than foresee it.

[3] If I could live in one of your cells and peruse the books of Augustine³ and Jerome, I would undoubtedly *put on another man*,⁴ and, having always lived for others, I would finally live for myself. But since this is not possible, I humbly ask you to allow me to have copies made of some of your books whose names I shall communicate to you through my familiar. They shall be safe with me and returned to you in sincere faith. Thus, you would do me a great favour and fulfil the wishes of their authors who wrote to be read and profit as many people as possible.

Farewell in Christ, and if I can be of assistance to your or yours or your monastery, then use me as you wish. I should wish to be included in the prayers of your holy brotherhood so that in my neglectful life, I may be supported by help from others.

From Baden at Vienna, 18 January 1449.

¹ Cistercian monastery in Wienerwald, founded in 1133.

² Matthew, 11: 30.

³ Aurelius Augustinus (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Doctor of the Church.

⁴ Ephesians 4: 24.

230. Letter to Gregor Heimburg (31 January 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: X1, f. 144v (incomplete); MUB / 812, ff. 26r-27r^l **; (Bamberg / M II, 9, f. 166r; Luzern / M 320, f. 84r)²; (BAV / Reg. lat. 552³).

Editions A: KO, 120⁴.

Editions B: WO, 2, 1: 25, pp. 79-81 (based on the manuscripts listed above).

Translations: BA, 9, pp. 42-43; RE, 71, pp. 293-294.

{86r} Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, juris consultissimo viro, domino Gregorio Heimburgensi⁵, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Cicero, cum adhuc juvenis apud Graecos mirificam orationem habuisset⁶, admirabantur⁷, qui aderant, omnes mirisque laudibus novum⁸ oratorem efferebant. Senex autem quidam, amantissimus patriae, inter omnium laetitiam atque tripudium solus flebat. Mirati circumstantes: “Quid est,” inquit, “quod te laetantibus ceteris⁹ maerore conficit?” Tum ille: “Omnes, inquit, Graecorum artes in Latium¹⁰ migrarunt, unica nobis et familiaris et carissima remanserat eloquentia. Sed hanc etiam Cicero nobis aufert atque in Italiam secum ducit. Numquid justa est causa lacrimarum¹¹?” Sic mihi hodie de te visum est, cum in regia de studiis, quae vocant humanitatis, dissertares, nam et legistam et Teutonem superabas et Italicam redolebas oratoriam facundiamque¹². Sed quod fuit maerori Graeco, mihi laetitiam praebuit.

[2] Neque enim, si Teutonia litteris claret, quae¹³ illas¹⁴ tradidit, Italia minus habet litterarum. Sunt scientiae sicut et lumina: qui de suo lumine lumen accendit, et¹⁵ sibi retinet lucem et accipienti¹⁶ tenebras aufert. Inveni apud Sanctum Gallum, quod Suicensium¹⁷ est oppidum, in veteri monasterio bibliothecam pervetustam, ubi et libros reperi ornatissime conscriptos, quorum auctores fuerunt Teutones. Mirabar, cur hodie nihil eloquentiae his¹⁸ in regionibus eluceret, sed venit in mentem¹⁹, apud Italos quoque tempus fuisse, quo sepulta dicendi facultate barbarorum inscitia²⁰ dominabatur. Ante centum ferme annos et antea trecentis quadringentisque non invenies²¹, qui per Italiam sermonem habuerit tersum et lucidum. Sic pingendi sculpendique accidit²² arti. Si ducentorum trecentorumque annorum aut sculpturas²³ intueberis aut picturas, invenies non hominum²⁴ sed monstrorum portentorumque facies. Priscis vero saeculis Appellem atque Zeuxim, Polycletum²⁵, Phidiam et Praxitelem magnos fuisse comperimus. Et de statuariis quidem ipsi videmus et Vergilio fidem habemus, dum ait: “Credo²⁶ equidem vivos facient de marmore vultus.” De pictoribus vero testimonia sunt clarissimorum virorum, qui profecto minime tantis eos praeconiis extulissent, si picturam non aspexissent sculpturae vel similem vel illa pulchriorem. Sed ecce jam revixerunt sculpendi pingendique disciplinae.

¹ DV, 55-57

² Collated after WO

³ Not collated

⁴ DV, ff. 98v-99r

⁵ Bamburgensi KO

⁶ Mirificam orationem habuisset : orationem habuisset mirificam X1

⁷ admirarenturque X1

⁸ nomini KO

⁹ ceteros X1

¹⁰ em.; Latinum codd., KO, WO

¹¹ causa lacrimarum : lacrimarum causa X1

¹² oratoriam facundiamque : oratoriamque facundiam X1, MUB, KO

¹³ quas WO

¹⁴ illas WO

¹⁵ sed MUB, KO, WO

¹⁶ recipienti X1

¹⁷ em.; Suevorum codd., KO, WO

¹⁸ hic WO

¹⁹ Here ends X1.

²⁰ iusticia KO

²¹ inueniens MUB; inuenisses WO

²² accedit MUB

²³ sepulturas WO

²⁴ hominem MUB, KO

²⁵ Pollicretum MUB, KO

²⁶ cedo WO

230. Letter to Gregor Heimburg (31 January 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: During his stay in Austria, Piccolomini promoted the humanities, especially rhetoric. He developed several friendships with men pursuing similar interests. The present letter witnesses an early connection with Gregor Heimburg, who would later become a bitter opponent of Pius II in his crusade and other endeavours and was even excommunicated by him.

Subject: Piccolomini compliments Heimburg on a speech about the study of humanities. He comments on the revival of eloquence and arts like painting and sculpture in Italy and expresses the hope for a similar development in Germany.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings to Gregor Heimburg,¹ most learned jurist.

[1] When Cicero was still a young man, he delivered a splendid oration to a Greek audience. All who were present admired his speech and praised the new orator to heaven. However, an old man² who loved his fatherland was the only one to cry despite the general joy and praise. The others were surprised and asked, “Why are you sad when we others are glad?” He replied, “All the arts of the Greeks have migrated to Latium except eloquence, unique to us, familiar and most dear. But even that is now taken from us by Cicero and taken to Italy. Is that not a just cause for tears?”³ Today, I thought the same about you when I heard you speaking in the palace about the studies of the humanities, for, surpassing the jurist and the German, you had the fragrance of Italian oratory and eloquence. But what made the Greeks unhappy made me happy.

[2] For though Germany excels in the letters, Italy, who passed them on to her, will not lack them. Indeed, the sciences are like light: when you light someone else’s light, you still keep your own light and dispel the darkness from another. In Sankt Gall, a Swiss town, there is an old monastery with an ancient library where I found beautifully written books whose authors were German.⁴ I wondered why no eloquence shines forth in these regions today, but then I remembered that in Italy, too, there was a time when the art of speaking lay buried, and barbarian ignorance prevailed. Before the 14th and 15th centuries, you will not find anybody in Italy who mastered elegant and clear speech. It was the same with the arts of painting and sculpture. If you look at the sculptures and paintings before the 13th and 14th centuries, you will not find the images of men but of monsters and beasts. In Antiquity, we know that Apelles and Zeuxis,⁵ Polykleitos, Phidias and Praxiteles⁶ excelled. But, concerning statuary today, we see and trust Virgil saying that sculptors “*shall coax lifelike figures from the marble.*”⁷ And concerning the painters, we have the testimonies of outstanding men who would not have praised them so highly if they had not seen painting to be at the same or even a higher level than sculpture. So, today, the arts of sculpture and painting have been reborn.

¹ Gregor Heimburg (-1472): German jurist.

² Apollonius, son of Molon: Cicero’s teacher in rhetorics in Rhodes.

³ Ploutarkos: *Vitae / Cicero*, 4: 4-5.

⁴ It appears to be not otherwise recorded that Piccolomini ever visited Sankt Gall. Maybe he was, in this letter, drawing on the

experiences of earlier humanists - like Poggio Bracciolini, who did visit Sankt Gall and found old books there - and invented the visit for the sake of argument at the same time as demonstrating his humanist credentials (“I, too, found books in Sankt Gallen”). At any rate, a year later, he did not mention this visit and such finds to

Antonio Beccadelli, when asked by him if he had found rare books in German libraries (letter 477:1).

⁵ Greek painters from the 5th century BCE.

⁶ Greek sculptors from the 4th and 5th centuries BCE.

⁷ “vultus”: faces, looks

⁸ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 848.

[3] Revixit etiam eloquentia et nostro quidem saeculo apud Italos maxime floret. Spero idem in Teutonia futurum, si tu tuique similes continuare et amplecti totis conatibus oratoriam decreveritis. Accepi apud Nurembergam plebanum Sancti Sebaldi, virum gravem, tua permotum suasionem, multis lucubrationibus historiam¹ atque rhetoricam {83v} persequi². Diligo ego vos ambos, qui patriam moribus ornantes etiam litteris munire studetis.

[4] Ceterum, quia³ de Nilo fuit hodie nobis sermo, non video, quo pacto ex paradisi monte⁴ progredi possit, paradisum namque terrestrem, quam deliciarum vocant, in oriente⁵ positam volunt atque ex ipsa Eufratem fluere, quem scriptura Tigrim appellat, quamvis et *Tigris* alius in *Armeniae regione caput tollat*, qui Solino teste *Eufratem fluvium in Persicum defert sinum. Nilus vero a monte inferioris Mauritaniae, qui Oceano propinquat, originem habet. Sic affirmare feruntur Punici libri et Jubae regis scripta*. Si Solino credimus, et hic nunc latens nunc apparens diversis argumentis deprehenditur is esse, qui irrigat Aegyptum et terminus est Africae atque Asiae, licet Lucano hujus origo fluminis incognita videatur, dum ait: “*Et gens⁶, si qua jacet nascenti conscia Nilo.*”

Vale, et quod verbis fieri debuisset scriptis accipe. Ex Nova civitate, pridie Kalendas Februarii⁷ 1449⁸.

¹ historicam KO

² prosequi MUB

³ ceterum quia : ceterumque
MUB, KO

⁴ monti KO

⁵ orienti MUB

⁶ et gens: egens MUB, KO

⁷ Februarium KO

⁸ omit. 1449

[3] Eloquence, too, has revived to flourish magnificently in present-day Italy. I hope the same will happen in Germany if you and like-minded men decide to pursue and wholeheartedly embrace oratory. I have heard that the parish priest of Sankt Sebaldus,¹ a thoughtful man, at your instigation has been persuaded to undertake an intensive, even nightly study of history and rhetorics. I love both of you since you not only adorn your fatherland with your conduct but also endow it with letters.

[4] We spoke today of the Nile. I do not see how it could flow from the mountain of Paradise, for they place the earthly Paradise, called the “[Garden] of Pleasures”, in the East and believe that Euphrates (called Tigris in Scripture – though there is another *Tigris*² which originates in the region of Armenia and, according to Solinus,³ carries the Euphrates into the Persian Gulf⁴) flows from it. But the Nile originates from a mountain in Lower Mauretania close to the Ocean.⁵ This is what the Punic books and the writings of King Juba are reported to say.⁶ If we believe Solinus, its flow is sometimes hidden and sometimes in the open.⁷ Various arguments are advanced to demonstrate that this is the river which irrigates Egypt and divides Africa from Asia, though Lucan considers the origin of this river to be unknown since he mentions “any nation that knows the secret of Nile’s cradle.”⁸

Farewell, and receive in writing what I should have said in speaking. From [Wiener] Neustadt, 1 February 1449.

¹ Heinrich Leubing (bef. 1420 – 1472): Parish priest of Sankt Sebald in Nürnberg. Imperial protonotary. Canon of Meissen. Accompanied the emperor on his coronation voyage to Rome in 1452 and delivered orations on his behalf when Piccolomini was absent (COR, 1: p. 372).

² Piccolomini distinguishes between the Tigris mentioned in the Bible and the Tigris mentioned by Solinus.

³ Solinus, Gajus Julius (fl. early 3rd century): Latin grammarian, geographer and compiler. Piccolomini knew and referred to his *Collec-*

tanea Rerum Mirabilium (De Mirabilibus Mundi).

⁴ Solinus: *Collectanea*, 37: 5.

⁵ The Atlantic Ocean.

⁶ Solinus: *Collectanea*, 32: 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Lucanus: *De Bello Civili*, 1: 20.

231. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (15 February 1449, Baden).

Manuscripts: None.

Editions A: KO, 121¹ **.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 27, pp. 83-84 (on the basis of KO).

Splendido et magnifico viro, domino Gaspari Schlick, imperiali cancellario, Eneas, episcopus Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Cogor sequi regem quocumque ierit, dum me poscit. Si manum retrahit, longe fugiendum est. Ago tibi gratias, idoneum qui fugae equum ministrasti! Tua sunt innumerabilia in me beneficia. Expectare vicem ex me non debes, qui vix possem numerare, quot me beneficiis cumulasti. Beneficia ante exhibita sunt quam praemiata². In animo quisque suo benefactori³ praemium tulit. Quaecumque possidemus viventes, heres nobis morientibus vel invitis aufert; sola⁴ fugiunt heredis manus avari, quae amico dispensantur animo. Reclusos⁵ in arca thesauros fures expilant, praedia latronibus patent. Nihil tam rigide servari potest, quod fortunae non subjaceat. *Extra fortunam est, quidquid donatur amicis. Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes*, sic Martialis ait. Tua munificentia digna est laudum praeconiis sempiternis.

[2] Ignorant te tempora nostra. Sic est invidia, viventes urit, calcatur, exterminat. Rari viventes laudati sunt. Recte noster Horatius: *Virtutem incolumem odimus, sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi*. Sed vive tu diu invitis aemulis, laudabere vivens. Et si tacuerint alii, nostra loquax non tacebit musa. Invida⁶ cessabunt fata: *non semper glacies Geticis horrent⁷ in agris nec semper mare vexant inaequales procellae*. Jam diffugere nives, jam campis gramina redeunt et arboribus comae crescunt. Mutantur⁸ omnia vices, quae sub luna sunt, nec felicia nec adversa sunt immortalia. Pruinae succedit ver, pomifer aestatem sequitur autumnus. Quamvis beatus es, te ipso et tua virtute contentus, speramus tamen beatiorem te cernere, soli et stellis acceptiorem. Vincet invidiam virtus, perpauci immo nulli sunt tui similes. Inhonoratam esse oportet curiam, nisi tu quoque honoreris.⁹ Mittimus ista modo.

¹ DV, 99r

² exhibita sunt quam praemiata :
em.; praemiata quam exhibita
KO, WO

³ *em.*; benefactor KO, WO

⁴ sole WO

⁵ *em.*; reclusus KO; reclusas WO

⁶ *em.*; invidia KO, WO

⁷ horret KO

⁸ mutant KO

⁹ See note i WO, p. 84.

231. Letter to Kaspar Schlick (15 February 1449, Baden).

Context: The chancellor's estrangement from the emperor and absence from the imperial court had apparently not ended as Piccolomini thought in a previous letter (letter 228).

Subject: In this, his last letter to the chancellor, who would die 6 months later, Piccolomini, now back at the imperial court, consoles him for his fall from the emperor's grace and sends him news from Italy.

To his Magnificence, Lord Kaspar Schlick, Imperial Chancellor, Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings

[1] I must follow the king wherever he goes as long as he wants me. If he withdraws his hand, I must flee far away. I thank you for providing me with a suitable horse for the flight!¹ Your favours towards me are innumerable. You should not expect me to repay them, for I can barely count the favours you have heaped upon me, so many are they. Favours are rewarded before they are shown. Every man rewards his benefactor in his soul. All our possessions in life are taken from us by the heir either against our will or when we die: they only escape the hands of the greedy heir if they are given to a friendly soul. Thieves steal the treasures hidden in the chest, and robbers may plunder at ease. Nothing can be protected so strictly that it is not subject to Fortune. As Martial says, "*Whatever is given to friends is beyond the grasp of Fortune. Only the wealth you give away will always be yours.*"² Your munificence, [Kaspar,] merits eternal songs of praise.

[2] Our times ignore you. Such is jealousy: it burns the living, treads on them, and destroys them. Rare is the praise of living men. Our Horace says it well, "*We reject virtue when it is alive. Then, when it is removed from our sight, we long to have it back, jealous creatures that we are.*"³ But you should live long and thus annoy those who envy you. And if others have remained silent, our effusive Muse shall not. The jealous fates will end: *not forever does ice freeze the Getic fields, and not forever do gusty squalls whip up the sea.*⁴ The snow has disappeared; soon, the plants will return to the fields, and leaves will grow on the trees. Everything under the moon changes, and the immortals are neither fortunate nor unfortunate. Spring follows frost, and autumn's fruit harvest follows torrid summer. Though you are happy now, content in yourself and your virtue, we hope to see you ever more happy and more acceptable to the sun and the stars.⁵ Virtue will conquer jealousy, and few, nay none, are your equals. The court will only be honoured if you are. But let us leave this for now.

¹ Wolkan thinks Piccolomini is talking of a real horse, but the expression may be a metaphor for the bishopric of Trieste that Piccolomini had ultimately obtained due to the chancellor's favour and

which provided him with a means of escape from the emperor's disfavour.

² Martialis: *Epigrammata*, 5: 42, 7-8.

³ Horatius: *Carmina*, 3: 24, 31-32.

⁴ *Ibid.* 2: 9, 1-5.

⁵ Possibly a metaphor for the emperor and the important court officials.

[3] Laurentius meus ex Tergesto reversus ait se in Foro Julii rumorem excepisse, jam Mediolani potitum esse Franciscum [S]fortiam¹, Venetiis esse oratores Galliarum et magni presbyteri legatos. In regem Aragonum *cuditur faba*. Post Laurentium alius venit ab Italia, qui Mediolani novitatem confirmat. Nescio credere, priusquam nostros audio nuntios. Timeo tamen et dari nostris verba, comitis² facta suspicor. Sic sunt hominum ingenia, propinquioribus favent, praesentia pericula formidantur, auxilia longinqua parum habent spei. Rex noster hinc abiturus cras existimatur Novamque Civitatem repetiturus et inde post triduum ingressurus Stiriam. Faustum sit illi precor iter. Commendo rem meam vestrae magnificentiae tuisque me praesidiis favoribusque committo. Fuit hic magister hubarum, ne dicam nugarum, verba secum nulla feci nec ipse mihi nutum³ annuit. Novi nihil actum esse, sic silentium indicavit.

Vale optime, certumque me tuarum reddito operarum. Ex Balneis Austriae, 15. Kalendas Martii anno et cetera.⁴

¹ Fortiani KO

² *em.*; comiti KO, WO

³ mutu KO

⁴ anno etc. *omit.* KO

[3] My Lorenzo¹ has returned from Trieste and says that in Friuli, he heard a rumour that Francesco Sforza had now taken Milan and that legates from France and the High Priest² are in Venice. *A scheme is being prepared*³ against the King of Aragon. After Lorenzo, someone else has arrived from Italy who confirms the news from Milan. I hesitate to believe it⁴ before I hear it from our own envoys⁵: I fear that our people are being strung along with words,⁶ and I am suspicious about the count's⁷ deeds. For this is the mentality of men: they favour those who are close, fear the present dangers, and put little hope in help from afar. Our king is expected to leave tomorrow for [Wiener] Neustadt, and three days later, he will continue to Steiermark. I pray his travel will be auspicious. I recommend my affairs to Your Magnificence and trust in your help and favours. The *magister hubarum*,⁸ not to say *nugarum*⁹, is here, but I did not speak with him, and he did not even nod to me. His silence indicates that nothing has happened yet.

Farewell, and let me know about your affairs. From Baden in Austria¹⁰, 15 February in the year etc.

¹ Lorenzo Rotella. Had he become attached to Piccolomini's household?

² Pope Nicolaus V.

³ Terentius: *Eunuchus*, 381

⁴ Piccolomini was right in doubting the rumour: Sforza was only to become master of Milan the following year, and in the meantime, Piccolomini himself had been sent on his second (unsuc-

cessful) imperial mission to Milan to persuade the city to submit to direct imperial rule (see introduction to the oration "*Est mihi non parum*" of 21 October 1447 (COR, 3: 13). See also CRDM, 2.

⁵ Another imperial embassy to Milan.

⁶ By the Milanese.

⁷ Francesco Sforza.

⁸ Magister hubarum : Hubmeister, the title of a high-ranking finance official in Austria.

⁹ Nonsense: apparently, the official in question was not much appreciated by Piccolomini and the chancellor.

¹⁰ It is not known which affair Piccolomini is alluding to here, but it might be connected with the chancellor's situation.

232. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (15 February 1449, Baden).

Manuscripts: XI, ff. 143r-144r **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 28, p. 85.

Reverendissimo in Christo sanctoque patri, domino Nicolao de Cusa, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae presbytero cardinali Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, salutem in domino dicit.

[1] Esse te cardinalem assumptum et in apostolicae sedis specula cum iudicibus orbis annumeratum, quantum tibi honori, tanto est mihi voluptati. Approbat universa Christianitas collegarum tuorum assumptionem tuam, miris extollit praeconiis. Rari ex Almania hoc dignitatis arripiunt, sed quo rariores eo praestantiores. Ceteros cardinales unius pontificis vel iudicium vel libido recepit. Te Nicolaus elegit et Eugenius, antequam vita decederet. Laus deo, quoniam semel in nostro saeculo virtuti vidimus locum datum. De te non timemus, quod in aliis saepius experti sumus, qui cum dignitate mores mutavere. Virtus semper est eadem, facile retinetur, quod non agitur simulapte. Pergito igitur Romam quantocius et iungito te ceteris, sed quam semel induisti morum lenitatem perpetuo fac in te reperiamus, ne alium Romae Nicolaum, alium in Germania sentiamus. Verum, quia tibi me puto familiarem verum, ex te postulo, quod tibi honori commoditatieque futurum reor: cardinali Tarentino, dum viveret, fidelis admodum et peritus secretarius fuit Johannes Campisius, insignis philosophus, amicus meus. Is modo liber est nullique servit. Hunc rogo tibi assumes et inter familiares ascribas tuos. Senties in eo fructum et aliquando mihi dices, quod rogasti, rogandus eras.

Vale mei memor, qui tibi morem in omnibus cupio gestum iri. Ex A. 1449.

232. Letter to Nikolaus von Kues (15 February 1449, Baden).

Context: Nikolaus von Kues was appointed a cardinal on 20 December 1448.

Subject: Piccolomini congratulates his friend, Nikolaus von Kues, on his appointment as a cardinal. He asks him to take Giovanni Campisio into his employment.

To the Most Reverend in Christ and Holy Father, His Lordship Nikolaus von Kues, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings in the Lord.

[1] That you have been appointed a cardinal and raised to a high position at the Apostolic See and are counted among the judges of the world is both a great honour to you and just as great a pleasure to me. All Christianity approves your colleagues' decision and praises it to Heaven. Only a few Germans have attained this dignity, but the rarer they are, the more outstanding. Other cardinals are appointed at one pope's discretion or pleasure, but you were chosen both by Nicolaus and by Eugenius before he died. God be praised that for once virtue has been rewarded in our world. With you, we shall not fear that your conduct will change with the new dignity - as we have seen so often with others. For virtue is always the same, and what is not simulated is easily retained. So, go quickly to Rome and join the other cardinals, but keep your gentle manners and let us see that they stay forever with you lest we find one Nikolaus in Rome and another in Germany.

[2] Since I consider you a true friend, I ask you for [a favour] that I believe will be both to your honour and your advantage. When he was alive, the Cardinal of Taranto¹ had a most loyal and skilful secretary, Giovanni Campisio, an excellent philosopher and a friend of mine. He is now free and serves nobody. I ask you to take him in and make him a member of your household. You will see how useful he is, and later you will tell me "It was you who asked, but it was really I who should have"².

Farewell, and remember me who wish to serve you in all matter. From A[ustria]. 1449.

¹ Cardinal Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo had died on 21 Janu-

ary 1449, leaving Campisio, his secretary, without employment.

² For a similar statement, put in the mouth of the emperor, see letter 150: 2.

233. Letter to Silvester Pflieger (15 February 1449, Baden).

Manuscripts: XI, ff. 136v-137r **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 29, p. 85.

{136v} Sancto patri, domino Silvestro, pontifici Chiemensi, Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, salutem in Christo cupit.

[1] Secutus Caesarem balneo non abluendus accessi, escarum indignus veni. Sic aves capiuntur, sic ferae, sic pisces miseri, qui domi non habent cibum. Dum hic sum, spero vicinum mihi esse illustrem dominum Ludovicum ut bonum et persuavem virum, quocum temporis molestiam lenius ferrem. Sed operior biduum nec quidquam quaero, cur facetus et frugi nobis homo subtractus sit. {137r} Ajunt illum tui curandi causa domi remoratum. Rursus quaero, quid tibi nam obsit. Referunt podagram te laborare, vetusto suetoque morbo. Duplex tunc me angit maeror, nam et amico aegerrime careo et te doleo morbis dolere. Sed quid dicam? Nihil est in hac vita ex omni parte beatum, immo nihil est non miserum, quod hominis est. Quot sunt aegritudines nostrum excedentes corpus, quot animum cruciant curae? Nemini bene est, nisi cujus est cum Deo mens juncta. Hoc igitur sani, hoc aegroti curare debemus, ut cordis nostri possessor sit Deus. Recte verbum est tuum: “Memorare novissima”, nam qui hoc facit, peccatis abstinet.

[2] *Labuntur anni fugaces, nulla est mora venienti senectae et indomitae morti.* Frustra vitae spatium speramus longius. *Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus.* Sive reges erimus sive inopes coloni, moriendum est. Quid juvat fugere mortem cruentam, quid furentis pelagi vitare fluctus? *Frustra per autumnos nocentem corporibus timemus Austrum,* frustra pestiferum relinquimus aerem, si differre, non effugere letum datur. Visendum est mortis hospitium, migrare oportet et alterius saeculi domos invisere. *Linquenda est haec tellus,* aedes perdendae, et amici placentes dimittendi. Nihil ex his, quae paravimus, nos sequitur, sola conscientia comes erit. Haec, uti sit bona, studendum est, numquam nos ista deserit. Si recta est, mirabili nos consolatione afficit; sin mala, infinitos affert cruciatus.

233. Letter to Silvester Pflieger (15 February 1449, Baden).

Context: Piccolomini had heard that Bishop Pflieger of Chiemsee was suffering from an attack of gout.
Subject: He consoles the bishop and takes up, once again, the theme of preparing for old age and death.

Enea Silvio sends greetings in Christ to the holy Father, His Lordship Silvester, Bishop of Chiemsee.

[1] I have followed the emperor [to Baden]¹ not to take the baths, but because I need to eat! That is how you catch poor birds, wild animals and fish who do not have food at home.² While here, I hoped to meet and spend pleasant hours with the excellent Ludwig,³ a good and thoroughly delightful man, making it easier to bear with the present difficulties. But I have been on my own for two days, asking why this witty and decent man was not with us. Now they tell me that he has stayed at home to nurse you. Then I ask what the matter is with you? They tell me that you are suffering from podagra, an old and recurring illness of yours. Thus I am beset by two concerns, for I bitterly miss my friend and am sad that you are ill. But what shall I say? No happiness in this life is complete: everything human has its troubles. How many illnesses do not beset our bodies, and how many cares do not torment our souls? Only a man whose mind is joined with God fares well. Indeed, both healthy and sick people should ensure that it is God who owns their hearts. It is true what you say: “Remember the last things”, for the man who does that abstains from sin.

[2] *The fleeting years slip by, and nothing will check the onset of old age and invincible death.*⁴ Vain is our hope for a longer life. *Each has his day appointed; short and irretrievable is our time.*⁵ *Whether we be princes or poor tenant farmers,*⁶ death awaits us all. What good is it to flee from bloody death or to escape the waves of the stormy sea? *To no avail do we fear the south wind in autumn, so harmful to our bodies,*⁷ and to no avail do we flee the pestiferous air, if we can only postpone, not escape death. We must visit death’s lodgings. We must travel away and guest the homes of another world. *Earth must be left behind,*⁸ homes must be given up and beloved friends abandoned. We can take nothing we have gathered with us. Our only companion will be our conscience. If it is good, we must take care lest it ever leave us. If it is honest, it will comfort us wonderfully. If it is bad, it will bring us infinite torments.

¹ According to Heinig (3: p. 1359), the emperor was in Baden on 10 February and back in Wiener Neustadt on 18.

² The revenues of the See of Trieste must have been rather small if

they did not allow its bishop to provide for his own nourishment!

³ Not identified. Ludwig Scheit-rer?

⁴ Horatius: *Carmina*, 2: 14, 1-5,

⁵ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10: 467.

⁶ Horatius: *Carmina*, 2: 14, 10.

⁷ Horatius: *Carmina*, 2: 14, 15-16.

⁸ Horatius: *Carmina*, 2: 14, 21

[3] Verum, ut ad te redeam tuamque...¹ et nimium tuum podagram, non arbitror te, gravem maturumque virum, solantibus indigere verbis. Tu tibi sufficis et morbi familiaris nosti consuetudinem. Dolores, inquiunt stoicisantes², parvi sunt contemnique debent et magni et diuturni esse non possunt, nec semper pluviae sunt neque nives. Ex nubilo serenum prodit, ex luctibus gaudia surgunt. *Sperat infestis, metuit³ secundis alteram sortem bene paratum pectus.* Sic te facere non ambigo, qui rebus in angustis animosus et fortis apparere soles. Stude valetudini tuae et fac citius prosperis nos nuntiis visites, ne tecum diutius aegrotemus. Nec Deo gratum nec amicum Caesari nec tibi nec mihi est jacere te diu, qui decus es et hujus curiae columen.

Vale quam nunc melius. Ex A. 1449.

¹ *Textus corr.* (WO: Hier scheint in der Handschrift eine Zeile ausgefallen).

² *em.*; stoicisans cod.

³ *em.*; meruit cod.

[3] But to return to you and your [situation] ... and your terrible podagra: I do not think that you, a serious and mature man, lack words of consolation. You rest in yourself and are accustomed to this familiar illness. The Stoics say that pains are minor and should be despised; they cannot be severe and enduring. Rains and snow do not last forever. Clouds turn to clear sky, and joy arises from sorrow. *In adversity, the well-prepared mind¹ hopes for the opposite situation; is on guard against it in prosperity.*² I do not doubt that this is what you do, who usually appear courageous and strong in difficult times. Nurse your health and soon send us cheering messages lest we suffer for a long time with you. It will please neither God, the emperor, me nor yourself if you lie ill for a long time, for you are the ornament and the pillar of this court.

Fare well and better than now. From Austria, 1449.

¹ "pectus"

² Horatius: Carmina, 2: 10, 13.

234. Letter from Friedrich III (26 September 1449, Laurone).

Manuscripts: Trieste / Archivio Capitolare¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 30, p. 87-88 (on the basis of previous editions).

Fridericus, Dei gratia Romanorum rex semper augustus ac Austriae, Styriae, Karinthiae et Carnioliae dux, comes Tyrolis etc. venerabili Aeneae, episcopo Tergestino, consiliario devoto nostro dilecto, gratiam regiam et omne bonum. Venerabilis devote dilecte.

[1] Licet alias ex parte dissensionum et differentiarum inter te et fidelem nostrum dilectum Rainpertum de Walsee occasione quarundam ecclesiarum existentium, dietam unam ad festum sancti Michaelis proximi futuri constituerimus coram nobis comparendi. Quia tamen tam dictus de Walsee ex causis ducatum et provinciam nostram Austriae notabiliter contingentibus, utpote rem communis congregationis campi seu exercitus contra et adversus quosdam praefatam provinciam depraedantes ibidem habet constitui, ita quod hujusmodi dietae ad praesens nequaquam intendere potest et illi, sicut sibi necesse foret, personaliter interesse. Idcirco dietam supradictam auctoritate nostra usque ad festum Epiphaniae de anno proxime subsequenti tenore praesentium duximus prorogandam. Id ipsum devotioni tuae significantes et harum serie expresse committentes, quatenus ad diem seu festum praefatum sic, ut praemittitur, a nobis prorogatum per te vel procuratorem tuum coram nobis legitime compareas eo modo, sicut in termino prorogato comparere debebas, cum ex tunc omnia fient et expedientur, quae in termino nunc instanti fieri debuissent. Harum testimonio litterarum sigilli nostri regii apensione munitarum.

Datum Laurone, die 26. mensis Septembris, anno domini etc. 49, regni vero nostri anno 10. Commissio domini regis per marschallum curiae.

¹ Reproduced after WO.

234. Letter from Friedrich III (26 September 1449, Laurone).

Context: In Piccolomini's diocese of Trieste, a conflict had arisen between its citizens, including tenants of Bishop Piccolomini, and Lord Heinrich IV of Walsee, who even plotted to take the bishop prisoner.

Subject: The emperor postpones the court hearing on the conflict between the Church of Trieste and the Lord of Walsee.

Friedrich, by the grace of God, King of the Romans, always August, Duke of Austria, Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain, Count of Tirol etc. to the Venerable Enea, Bishop of Trieste, our loyal and beloved councillor, royal favour and all good. Venerable, loyal and beloved,

[1] Because of some disputes and differences between you and our loyal and faithful Reinprecht von Walsee¹ concerning certain churches,² We had summoned you both to a meeting before Us on the next Feast of Saint Michael.³ However, for certain reasons concerning our duchy and province of Austria, it has been decided to gather an army against some people who are pillaging the aforesaid province. Therefore, von Walsee cannot attend the meeting in person as he would have to. For this reason, the aforesaid meeting has, on Our authority, been postponed until the Feast of the Epiphany⁴ next year. We hereby inform Your Devotion of this and require you to attend, in person or by a procurator, the aforesaid meeting as postponed by Us, and then all will be done and expedited which would have been done and expedited at the meeting now postponed. This letter is authenticated with our royal seal.

Given in Laurone, 26 September, the year of Our lord etc. 1449, the tenth of Our reign. By order of the king, executed by the steward of the court.

¹ Reinprecht [Ruprecht] IV von Walsee (1405/6-1450): Hauptmann ob der Enns.

² In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote about this conflict: *On his [Piccolomini's] return to Trieste he learned that the citizens were being*

violently assailed by Rupert von Wallsee. His own church was suffering the most, for his tenants had been driven from their lands and robbed of their castle. When Aeneas went to complain to the emperor, it was only by travelling with

the greatest haste that he escaped an ambush by Rupert, who had determined to take him captive (COM, 1: 18, 5 (Meserve, 1: pp. 80-83)).

³ 29 September 1449.

⁴ 6 January 1450.

235. Letter to Juan Carvajal (13 October 1449, Laibach).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 137v-139v; M2, ff. 109r-110v¹; V5, ff. 299r-303r **; V6, ff. 240r-242v²; V7, ff. 288v-292r; X1, 141r-143r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 31, pp. 88-93 (on the basis of the F1, M2, V5-V7).

{299r} Aeneas, episcopus³ Tergestinus, Johanni Carvajali⁴, diacono cardinali, salutem plurimam dicit.⁵

[1] Si meis litteris idem accidit, quod tuis, nihil ad te novi perferent, sed audita potius confirmabunt. Raro ad me scribis, quod non trimestre per viam absumpserit⁶. Multi Guidones, sunt, diplomatarii pauci. Utcumque sit, non abnegabo scribendi officium pareboque tibi, qui ex Assisio {299v} me conjurasti, ut vel mortuo scriberem. Malim tamen vivo, namque⁷ si mihi defueris, nescio, quo me vertam. Omnes jam mihi amicos mors acerba surripuit. Faxit divina pietas, mihi ut supervivas, atque ut ego diu beneque vivam. Mortem sane multi philosophorum nedum non malam, sed etiam optandam putaverunt. Ego, si vitari posset, numquam optarem. Sed facit necessitas, ut non sit timendum, quod⁸ fugere nequimus. Haec continuo nostris cervicibus instat⁹. Non dies, non hora certa est, omni momento finis ultimus adesse potest. Quid est vita nostra, nisi fumus? Nondum annos attigi quinquaginta et tamen plures novi ex mortuis quam ex viventibus¹⁰. Vivere tamen juvat et morari pulchrius inter ignotos censemus quam ad notos transire.

¹ DV, 227-230r

² DV, 242r-244v

³ Senensis *add.* V7

⁴ *omit.* V7

⁵ *Titulus:* Venerandissimo sanctoque patri domino meo, domino

Johanni de Carvajal sacrosactae ecclesiae Romanae diacono cardinali Eneas episcopus Tergestinus salutem plurimam dicit M2, X1
⁶ adsumpserit M2; assumpserit V6, V7, X1

⁷ nam M2

⁸ quid X1

⁹ cervicibus instat : instat cervicibus X1

¹⁰ viuis X1

235. Letter to Juan Carvajal (13 October 1449, Laibach¹).

Context: Piccolomini's mentor, Chancellor Kaspar Schlick, had died on 19 July 1449, three months before, and Piccolomini apparently felt the need to raise a literary monument to his memory.

Subject: Inspired by Virgil's account of Aeneas' visit to the netherworld and using – once again – the literary device of the dream/dialogue,² Piccolomini describes a dream where he visited purgatory in the company of Kaspar Schlick. He uses the account to harshly criticise the political situation in Europe and the morals of its rulers.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings to Juan Carvajal, Cardinal Deacon.

[1] If the same happens to this letter as to yours, it will tell you nothing new but rather confirm what you have already heard, for when you write to me, it usually takes three months for the letter to reach me. There are many Guido's,³ but few *diplomatarii*.⁴ However that may be, I shall not neglect the duty to write, and I shall obey you when, from Asissi, you enjoined me to write to you even if you were dead! I would rather write to you alive, of course, for if you fail me, I do not know whom to turn to. Bitter death has already robbed me of all my friends. May merciful God grant that you survive me and that I myself shall live long and well. Many philosophers thought that death is not bad but desirable. If it could be avoided, I should certainly not wish for it. But it is necessary, and we should not fear what we cannot escape. Death always hangs over us. No day and no hour is certain; each moment may be our last. What is our life but smoke? I am not yet fifty, but yet I know more who are dead than alive. But it is good to live, and we prefer staying happily among unknown men than passing over to the known.

¹ Present-day Ljubljana.

² Piccolomini: *Dialogus* (Henderson, pp. xxiii ff.)

³ Guido: papal messengers. The meaning is that there are many messengers, but few good and professional ones.

⁴ See Du Cange: people who draft diplomata, make duplicates, copyists, scribes? Meaning unclear.

[2] At quoniam de mortuis incidit mentio, referam tibi, quod tribus ante diebus per quietem vidi. Res est non *indigna relatu*. Gasparem, qui fuit trium Caesarum cancellarius, et nosti et amasti inter paucos. Is per hunc modum visus est mihi. Silvam ingressus eram proceris arboribus opacam relictisque comitibus obambulabam solus. Audio inter fagos¹ ingentem strepitum. Accedo, video complures² assidentes, forma venerabiles, modestis inter sese³ sermonibus colloquentes. Exit⁴ ex⁵ turba Gaspar mihi que fit obuius et porrigens dexteram, “Quo pergis,” inquit, “Aenea? *Siste gradum*, inter mortuos viam vivus facis?” Novi {300r} mox hominem et in amplexus me dedi. “Mi pater,” inquam, “mi domine, quae sunt haec loca? Nam quo venerim huc pacto prorsus ignoro.” “Loca haec sunt⁶,” inquit, “ubi exactae vitae spiritus humani poenas luunt fiuntque⁷ caelo digni.” “Et qui sunt illi⁸,” inquam⁹, “proceres, qui simul fantur?” “Nostin homines tamquam te?” inquit. “Ille obrasus¹⁰ barbam Eugenius est. Martinus quintus¹¹ praecedit. Barbatus, qui modo verbum facit, meus dominus fuit¹². Ille est suus gener Albertus, Philippus Maria et Ludovicus Bavarus. Aspice¹³, ut invicem seriosi sunt. Credo juniorem Ludovicum arguunt, qui genitori non timuit bella movere naturaeque legibus adversari. Noster illic¹⁴ Tarentinus languet; cardinalem¹⁵ nosti¹⁶. Capuanus illi assidet. Ambo¹⁷ nimis sibi de pontificio promiserunt.”

[3] Tunc ego: “Quomodo¹⁸ fieri potest, omnes ut¹⁹ uno plectantur²⁰ supplicio, quibus vita diversa fuit? Nam omnibus idem vultus est et pari videntur poena mulctari.” “Erras,” inquit Gaspar, “non est hic suus²¹ cuique locus. Concilium hodie habuimus, vocati assumus ex aliis tormentorum locis. Hic solius avaritiae domicilium est et ad Martinum²² huc venimus, nam haec²³ major est hodie omnium²⁴, quae purgantur²⁵, animarum.” “Et quae,” tunc ajo²⁶, “concilii causa fuit?”

¹ fagus M2; fagas X1

² quamplures M2

³ esse V7

⁴ exiit M2

⁵ e M2

⁶ haec sunt : sunt haec M2

⁷ fueritque V7

⁸ hii M2

⁹ illi inquam : inquam illi X1

¹⁰ abrasus M2, X1

¹¹ Martinus quintus : mortuus

quem F1, V5-V7

¹² omit. F1, V5-V7

¹³ adspice M2

¹⁴ hic M2

¹⁵ cardinali V7

¹⁶ nostri V7

¹⁷ ambo omit. M2

¹⁸ qui F1, M2, V5-V7, X1

¹⁹ omnes ut : ut omnes M2

²⁰ plectamur V7

²¹ omit. M2

²² martirium F1

²³ is M2, X1

²⁴ o [lacuna] V7

²⁵ purgatorum M2

²⁶ eius M1

[2] But since I am talking about the dead, I shall tell you what I saw in a dream three days ago. *It is well worth relating*.¹ Kaspar,² chancellor of three emperors, whom you knew and loved more than most, appeared to me this way: without companions, I had entered a forest darkened by tall trees. Hearing a loud noise coming from the birch trees, I approached and saw a large number of venerable men sitting together, conversing calmly. Kaspar left the crowd, came over to me and, holding out his right hand, asked, “Where are you going, Enea? *Stay your step*.”³ Why are you walking alive among the dead?” I recognised him immediately and embraced him. “My father, I said, “My lord, what is this place, for I really do not know how I came here.” “These are the places,” he said, “where, after death, the human spirits undergo the penitential cleansing and are made worthy of Heaven.” “And who are those distinguished men talking together?” “Don’t you know them?” he answered. “The man without a beard, like yourself, is Eugenius.⁴ Before him comes Martin V.⁵ The bearded man speaking now was my lord.⁶ And that one is his son-in-law, Albrecht,⁷ and then Filippo Maria⁸ and Ludwig of Bavaria⁹. See how serious they are. I think they are rebuking the younger Ludwig¹⁰ for daring to make war on his father¹¹ and going against the laws of nature. Our Taranto¹² is sitting there, exhausted: you knew him as a cardinal. The one who was the cardinal of Capua¹³ sits beside him. They were both overconfident they would become popes.”

[3] Then I asked, “Why are they all given the same punishment when their lives were different? For they all appear the same and seem to be punished similarly.” “You are mistaken,” Kaspar said, “for each of them has a place assigned to him elsewhere. Today, we hold an assembly, having been summoned from the other places of torment. This place is the one for [punishing] greed, and we have all come to Martin,¹⁴ for today his soul is the greatest of all those being cleansed here.” “And what,” I asked, “is the reason for this assembly?”

¹ Ovid: *Ars amatoria*, 1: 681; *Metamorphoses*, 4:793.

² Kaspar Schlick. He had died three months before, on 19 July.

³ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 4: 465.

⁴ Pope Eugenius IV. Died 1447.

⁵ Martinus V. Dead 1431.

⁶ Emperor Sigismund. Dead 1437.

⁷ Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439): Duke of Austria (Albertinian line) as Albrecht V (1404). King of Hungary and Croatia (1437). Elected King of the Romans (Germany) in 1438.

⁸ Filippo Maria Visconti. Dead 1447.

⁹ Ludwig VIII (1403-1445): Duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt from 1443 to his death. Feuded against and imprisoned his father, Ludwig VII.

¹⁰ Ludwig VIII.

¹¹ Ludwig VII (c. 1368-1447): Duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt 1413-1443. In 1443, he was imprisoned by his son and kept in prison by Duke Heinrich XVI from 1445 to his death.

¹² Giovanni Berardi di Taglicozzo. Dead January 1449.

¹³ Niccolò Acciapaccio (-1447): Archbishop of Capua 1436, and cardinal (1439). Exiled by Pope Eugenius IV under pressure from Alfonso of Aragon for siding with René d’Anjou. Returned for the conclave after Eugenius’ death, and many thought he would become the next pope (DVI, sect. 41).

¹⁴ Pope Martin V, apparently accused by Piccolomini of greed.

[4] “Paucis accipies, audi. Johannes Giskra, vir manu et consilio promptus, castella quaedam et oppida ex pacto apud Hungaros obtinuit jamque vitam sperabat otiosam et uxoriam ducere. {300v} Templis arma reddiderat, nihil mali suspicans. Insurgunt Hungari castellumque Johannis obsidione cingunt¹. Ille repetitis armis collectisque cum² civibus tum agrestibus, ‘Aggrediamur,’ inquit, ‘Hungaros opemque nostris feramus. Nihil ego hanc vulgi faecem timeo. Saepe contrivi hos³ homines. Nihil est, quod numerum formidetis. Feminae sunt, videri in facie nolunt, sola vulnerabitis terga. Jus praeterea Deusque nobis favet: ubi fides horum, ubi pacta sunt? Quod legibus assequi nequimus⁴, armis hodie vendicabimus.’ Suscipiunt omnes audaciam. Fetiales⁵ praemittuntur, qui bellum enuntiant. Non detrectant Hungari proelium. Multi adversus paucos facile animantur. Giskra noctu castra movet summoque diluculo vicinus hostibus recreari militem armarique jubet. Hungari, ut advenisse hostem sentiunt, armati obviam prodeunt^{6 7} atque ubi ad jactum pili⁸ ventum est, primus ante alios conspicuusque Giskra procedit⁹ visoque Johannis vaivodae nepote, ‘Sequimini,’ inquit, ‘omnes’ et, concitato calcaribus equo lancea, petit adversarium transfixumque¹⁰ neci dedit, mox alium, deinde tertium truncat. Ceteri ducis¹¹ admirati virtutem¹² videri segnes nolunt. Commititur acre proelium¹³. Illic multae neces et *plurima mortis imago*. Ille occisus est, ille mortuo similis jacet. Cadunt Hungari, Giskra victor¹⁴ abiit¹⁵ spoliis insignis opimis. Credo te audisse¹⁶ ista. {301r} Certa res est. Ex Hungaris plus¹⁷ mille hominum ceciderunt¹⁸; Giskra quam paucissimos desideravit. Ex his profecti ad nos plurimi sunt, quos inter moriendum contritio grandis praevenit¹⁹ et, cum sua confiteri²⁰ non possent sacerdoti²¹ crimina, Christo se culpabiles reddebant et beatae virginis auxilium implorabant. Sic factum est, ut consecuti veniam inter nos purgationis acciperent loca.

¹ obsidione cingunt : ~~emergunt~~
M2

² tum M2, X1

³ omit. M2

⁴ nescimus X1

⁵ omit. F1, M2, V5-V7

⁶ procedunt F1, M2, V6; praecedunt *corr.* ex procedunt V7

⁷ obviam prodeunt : procedunt
obviam M2

⁸ pile V5

⁹ precedit V5

¹⁰ transfixumque F1, V6; *corr.*

ex transfixumque M2

¹¹ duces F1

¹² virtutes M2, X1

¹³ bellum M2, X1

¹⁴ omit. M2

¹⁵ abit X1

¹⁶ audivisse V5

¹⁷ omit. M2

¹⁸ cecidere M2

¹⁹ grandis praevenit *omit.* F1

²⁰ profiteri V7

²¹ sacerdotis V7; *omit.* X1

[4] “Hear it briefly. Jan Jiskra,¹ a man quick to plan and act, had, by treaty, obtained some Hungarian castles and cities and looked forward to leading a tranquil life with his wife. He had placed his weapons in the churches, suspecting no evil. Then, the Hungarians rose against him and laid siege to his castle.² Having retrieved the weapons, he gathered the citizens and the peasants and addressed them in these words,³ ‘We shall attack the Hungarians and bring help to our people. I do not fear this scum. Often have I defeated these men. Do not fear their numbers, for they are women: they do not want you to see their faces; you will only wound their backs. Moreover, justice and God are on our side,⁴ for where is their fidelity, where [their respect of] treaties? Today, we shall take by arms what we cannot get by laws.’ All were enflamed with courage. Heralds were sent to declare war. The Hungarians did not decline the battle since many are easily stirred up against few. During the night, Jiskra moved forward, and at first light, he was close to the enemies and bade his soldiers rest briefly and then prepare for battle. Hearing their enemies approach, the Hungarians advanced against them. When they were as close as the throw of a spear, Jiskra stepped forward in the sight of all, and, having seen the nephew⁵ of Voivode János,⁶ he cried to his men, ‘Follow me, all!’ Spurring his horse with his spear, he sought out his adversary, pierced and killed him, and then killed another one, and then a third. Awed by their commander’s courage and strength, the others did not want to appear sluggish: a fierce battle began. There were many killed *and full many a shape of death*.⁷ Here one was killed, and there another lay like dead. The Hungarians were beaten, and Jiskra departed the victor with splendid spoils. I believe you have already heard this. It is quite certain. More than 1,000 Hungarians fell, while Jiskra only lost very few men. Of the fallen, many have come here: dying, they were seized by great remorse, and since they could not confess their sins to a priest, they confessed their sinfulness to Christ and begged the Blessed Virgin for help. Thus, they obtained forgiveness and were given places among us for cleansing.

¹ Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa] (ca. 1400 - ca. 1470): Moravian noble and military commander. See DVI, ch. 43, and HB, p. 478-482.

² In 1445, Jiskra was elected a High Captain of Upper Hungary in 1445. He kept this title after the office was abolished the next year. Meanwhile, his Czech mercenaries, were not obeying his orders and were marauding in Hungarian territory. A Diet held at Pentecost 1449 in Buda decided that these Czechs should be attacked. After Székely’s defeat, the regent, Jan Hunyadi, himself marched into

battle against Jiskra. The battle at Somos north of his residential city, Kosice (Kaschau), took place on 5 September 1449 (or shortly afterwards), in which Jiskra defeated a commander sent by János Hunyadi, Thomas Székely (Szalay, pp. 127-128). The result of the Hungarian campaign was a truce signed on 4 December 1450. Some territories remained in Jiskra’s possession and several smaller Czech bands left the country.

³ Piccolomini could not resist the temptation to write another fictive

commander’s address in classical style, see also letter 228: 8-9.

⁴ Thomas Székely. Here, “nepos” must mean nephew since Hunyadi’s oldest son, László (born 1439) had no children, and his second son, Matyas, was only 6 years old at the time. However, Székely survived at least to 1450s.

⁵ Justice of war was an important, classical, concept that, in the Christian age, was supposed to ensure God’s help.

⁶ János Hunyadi.

⁷ Virgilius: *Aeneis*, 2: 369.

[5] Hac ergo de causa¹ convenimus, ut examinatis cujusque² culpis poenarum domicilia distribueremus, nam et nos ad consilium³ vocamur, non uti iudices sed ut consultores. Veniunt praeterea complurimi⁴ singulis diebus nunc ex Italia, nunc ex Alamania, nunc ceteris ex partibus, quos necessarium est convenientibus assignare suppliciiis, namque licet bella paucos Italicos extinguant, ex morbo tamen epidemiae numerus infinitus⁵ absumitur. Plures ex Romana curia hoc anno⁶ ad nos profecti sunt, nec profuit Anselmo ex Roma fugisse Florentiam. Audi deliramentum: decrepitae senectutis erat, quocumque ibat, mortem secum ferebat, et, si⁷ mens non laeva fuisset, unius anni spatium sibi sperare⁸ non poterat. Pestem tamen fugitabat annosque periit⁹. Illic est¹⁰, viden¹¹, ut adhuc rigidus¹² quasi de supplicationibus censeat¹³. Alii sunt hic abbreviatores, alii referendarii, alii^{14 15}, qui¹⁶ nunc hic litteras corrigant¹⁷.

[6] Heu quam multi ex Mediolano assunt, quos immeritos fera {301v} populi rabies absumpsit¹⁸. Quasi pecudes sic caeduntur illic homines, modica suspicio enecat hominem. Qui fuit olim Januae Bononiaeque furor, Mediolanum petiit. Illic Perusinae sunt Eumenides¹⁹, illic Megaera crassatur. Paulo post tuam patriam petet Senensibus infesta²⁰.

[7] Quid dicam tibi de Nurimberga ceterisque civitatibus imperialibus ac de nostris Alamaniae principibus? Heu feralis res! Innumerae ad nos animae in dies²¹ volant²², plures ad inferos transeunt. Hinc principes, illinc civitates furiunt, quidam istam, quidam illam²³ partem justiore arbitrantur. Si quis rectis²⁴ intueatur oculis verum, nemo justus est. Hos superbia, illos armat avaritia. Heu, quam male nunc imperio cedit! Quid faciunt²⁵ orbis capita? Nunc ex Alamannia recessit Johannes legatus, quando erat admodum necessarius. Proh caeca hominum cupiditas! De saeculi regno litigant, quasi perpetuo fruituri. Post decem annos pauci de²⁶ iis²⁷ supererunt, qui nunc minantur astris. Sub nobis sunt, qui multo fuerunt quam isti majores. Quem te putas²⁸, o princeps gloriose? Si mortuus est Hannibal, Scipio, Caesar, Marius, Pompejus, Alexander, si nihil hi nunc possident, quid tibi putas accidere? Morieris utique, nec te tui rediment milites. Morieris, et si ad nos veneris, optabis numquam arma vidisse. Nec vobis blandiamini, civitates. Stant²⁹ et sua urbibus fata. Ubi nunc Babylonia, ubi Athenae, ubi Carthago, ubi Sparta, ubi columen {302r} orbis Roma. Nihil sub luna perpetuum est. Noscite vos casuras³⁰ et subjicite colla rationi.

¹ hac ergo ... causa *omit.* M2

² *omit.* M2

³ concilium V7

⁴ quamplurimi M2

⁵ numerus infinitus : infinitus numeris M2

⁶ hoc anno *omit.* M2

⁷ vires *add.* M2

⁸ sibi sperare : sperare sibi M2

⁹ perit F1, V6, V7, X1

¹⁰ illic est *omit.* M2

¹¹ videri X1

¹² est *add.* M2, X1

¹³ censet M2

¹⁴ *omit.* X1

¹⁵ alii sunt ... alii *omit.* M2

¹⁶ que M2

¹⁷ corrigantur M2; corrigunt X1

¹⁸ absumpsit F1, V5-V7

¹⁹ Eumenide WO

²⁰ paulo post ... infesta *omit.* M2, X1

²¹ dietim F1, M2, V6, V7, X1;

corr. ex dietim V5

²² in dies volant: volant dietim M2

²³ aliam M2

²⁴ *omit.* M2

²⁵ faciant V7

²⁶ ex M2, X1

²⁷ hiis M2, X1

²⁸ putat V7

²⁹ enim *add.* M2, X1

³⁰ casuros M2, X1

[5] Therefore, we are gathered here to examine each case and assign the proper place for penitential cleansing, for we are summoned to this meeting not as judges but as counsellors. Daily, many arrive from Italy, Germany and other regions, to whom must be assigned the appropriate punishments, for even if few Italians are killed in war,¹ countless people succumb to the plague.² This year, many have come to us from Rome, and it did not help Anselmo to flee from Rome to Florence. Hear his madness: he was a man of decrepit age, and wherever he went, he carried death with him: only senility made him hope to live another year. But having fled the plague, he succumbed to age. Look, he is over there. See, he holds himself rigidly erect as if he were still hearing petitions.³ Others here are abbreviators, others referendaries, and still others correctors of letters.⁴

[6] Many, alas, are here from Milan, undeservedly destroyed by the savage madness of the people⁵: they slaughter men like cattle there: even the slightest suspicion gets a man killed. The fury of Genoa and Bologna⁶ has now infected Milan. The Perugian Eumenides⁷ are there now, and Megaera⁸ runs wild. This fury is an enemy of the Sieneese and will soon invade your homeland.⁹

[7] What shall I say about Nürnberg and the other imperial cities and about our German princes? The situation is entirely out of control. Countless souls come here every day, and many even go to Hell. Here the princes, and there the cities run amok, and some consider one party to be right and others the other, but if you consider the truth carefully, none of them is. Some are armed by pride, others by greed. Alas, how badly it now goes for the Empire. What are the heads of the world doing? And now the legate Juan¹⁰ has left Germany though his presence there was most necessary. Oh, the blind greed of men! They fight about worldly power as if they would enjoy it forever. But in 10 years, only a few of those who now threaten the stars will be left. Those who were much greater than them are now less than we are. Who do you think you are, glorious prince? If Hannibal, Scipio, Caesar, Pompey and Alexander are dead, and if they now have nothing, what do you think will happen to you? You will die, and your soldiers cannot save you. You will die, and if you come here, you will wish you had never seen weapons. And you, cities, do not delude yourselves, for cities, too, have their destiny!¹¹ Where is now Babylon, where Athens, Carthage, Sparta, and Rome, pillar of the world? Nothing under the moon lasts forever. Know that you, too, will fall: do submit to reason.

¹ Italian wars consisted much in strategic manoeuvring rather than bloody, pitched battles.

² "morbus epidemiac"

³ Supplications to the pope.

⁴ Offices at the papal curia.

⁵ Piccolomini refers to the turmoil in Milan after the death of Filippo Maria Visconti to the accession of Francesco Sforza. See EUR, 49: 186-187. Piccolomini knew the situation in Milan well, having

been on imperial missions to the city in 1447 and 1449 (CRDM, 2; COR, 3: 13).

⁶ Bologna and Genoa were proverbial for their civil discord and frequent changes of government. For Piccolomini's description of recent troubles in Bologna, see DVI, sect. 46; and in Genoa, see CRDM, 1: 32; EUR, 48).

⁷ Greek goddesses of vengeance. A reference to recent political dis-

turbances in Perugia (COM, 1: 18).

⁸ One of the Greek furies.

⁹ Piccolomini predicts that Siena, too, will be hit by civil disturbances.

¹⁰ Cardinal Juan Carvajal, the recipient of the letter.

¹¹ Cities and their destinies had also been mentioned by Piccolomini in his *Somnium de Fortuna* (letter 152: 26, 28).

[8] Quid tibi de Francia dicam? Nuper cum Britannis foedus est ictum, sperabant perpetuam pacem. Nobile matrimonium¹ amicitiae stabile vinculum censebatur². Nunc artibus inter sese reges iniquis litigant. Rapiunt alter alteri civitates, nec se quisquam videri vult³ reum. ‘Non mandavi, non scivi,’ dicunt, captas tamen urbes obtinent. ‘Si te factum invito⁴ culpas, cur non restituis⁵, cur tenes alienum?’ ‘At meum fuit olim,’ replicas, ‘non invasi, sed reversum⁶ teneo⁷.’ Nihil⁸ refert, qua redeat arte, quod perditum est. Haecine fides, hoc jus sanctum⁹, haec regum consuetudo. Sic ad nos catervatim mittitis animas, atque¹⁰ utinam non plures acciperent Tartara! Vafri omnes sunt: jam dudum in caelum fides et justitia redierunt. Solae apud vos fraudes iniquitatesque¹¹ regnant. Ille prudens, ille magnus habetur, qui majoribus utitur dolis. Si quis adhuc recti tenax reperitur, ovis¹² nomen sortitur¹³. Crimina praemiantur, adulatoribus¹⁴ dumtaxat fides habetur. Conscii et participes sceleris diliguntur. Virtutem pauci laudant, nulli vestiunt¹⁵. Scis mentiri, parare venenum, ridere cum ridentibus, flere cum flentibus, adesse sceleri, laudare quidquid agatur, falsum te¹⁶ testem praebere¹⁷, constanter negare depositum, fallere¹⁸ collegam, expilare haereditatem, viduas pupillosque premere; his artibus cresces, contrariis¹⁹ {302v} ridiculus²⁰ fies.

[9] Forsitan²¹ quaeris, an Hispani nostros invisant lares, quasi privati sint communibus hominum miseriis. Illic quoque magna saepius bella, magnae²² clades sunt. Quid Biscaino terribilius? Quid audacius Cathalano²³? Semper in armis sunt. Perpetuis sese caedunt inimicitiis. Ex verbo vulnus prodit. Nihil Hispano facilius homicidio. Nemo fratrem, nemo vicinum pacificus audit. Nulla dies non multas huc animas legat.

¹ incitamentum M2

² censebant X1

³ videri vult : vult videri M2

⁴ multi M2

⁵ instituis X1

⁶ *corr. ex fursum* M2

⁷ *omit.* X1

⁸ nil M2, X1

⁹ jus sanctum *omit.* V7

¹⁰ *omit.* WO

¹¹ iniquitates V7

¹² eius M2

¹³ *omit.* M2

¹⁴ adulatoribus V7

¹⁵ exercent [rasura] V5; nesciunt

X1

¹⁶ *omit.* V7

¹⁷ *omit.* M2

¹⁸ *omit.* V7

¹⁹ contrarius M2

²⁰ ridiculis M2

²¹ forsitan M2

²² *omit.* M2, X1

²³ Cathelano F1, M2, V6, V7, X1

[8] What shall I say about France? Recently, a treaty was made with the Britons,¹ and they hoped for perpetual peace. A noble marriage was decided to form a stable bond of friendship.² Now the [two] kings³ fight against each other with wicked means.⁴ They capture each other's cities,⁵ and none of them accept blame. 'I did not order it; I did not know about it,' they say, but still, they keep the cities. 'If you claim you are innocent because you did not want it, then why do you not give it back, why do you keep another's property?' 'But it was mine once,' you answer, "I did not attack it, but now that it has returned, I shall keep it.' They do not care how that which was lost came back to them. That is the faithfulness, the holy rights, and the way of kings. Thus, they send crowds of souls to us: Hopefully, Tartarus⁶ does not receive even more! All are cunning: faith and justice have now returned to Heaven.⁷ Only fraud and wickedness reign on Earth. He is considered wise and great who uses the best stratagems. If someone still maintains what is right, he is called a sheep. Crimes are rewarded, and only flatterers are believed. Collaborators and partners in crime are loved. Only a few praise virtue, and nobody lives by it. You know how to lie, to prepare poison, to laugh with those who laugh and cry with those who cry, to assist criminals, to praise everything being done, to deliver false testimony, to always refuse to return a deposit, to swindle a colleague, to rob an inheritance, to oppress widows and orphans: by such devices, you grow great; the opposite ones make you a laughing-stock.

[9] You may ask if the Spaniards do not come to our abode, as if they were free of the common miseries of men. But they always have great wars and disasters. What is more formidable than a Basque? What is more reckless than a Catalan? They are always carrying weapons. They destroy each other in perpetual enmities. A word leads to a wound. Nothing is easier for a Spaniard than murder. Nobody hears his brother or neighbour in peace.⁸ Each day brings us many souls from there.

¹ England.

² On 23 April 1445, Margu rite d'Anjou, of the royal family of France, married King Henry VI of England. The marriage settlement also contained the promise of a

twenty-three-month truce between France and England.

³ Henry VI and Charles VII.

⁴ The last phase of the Hundred Years War that ended in 1453.

⁵ E.g. Rouen, retaken by the French in 1449.

⁶ Hell.

⁷ A reference to Astraea, who abandoned the blood-soaked earth (Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 1: 150)

⁸ This is an example of a national stereotype widely held in the Renaissance – and later!

[10] “Si sic agitur,” inquam ego, “nulla umquam hora ex consilio fas est abire, nam quando ad vos¹ non animae² migrant?” “Minime sic agimus,” inquit Gaspar, “ex magnis causis dumtaxat vocitatur³ bellorum morborumque⁴, ut modo vides. Ordinarius⁵ cetera iudex agitat⁶. Raro accidunt, qui nunc emergerunt, casus⁷, ut omnem Europam vel bella vel pestis invaserint⁸. Necessario jubilaei⁹ instat annus, multa purganda sunt scelera. Sed ubi fides, ubi zelus? Visuri potius plurima¹⁰ quam multi Romam¹¹ pergunt, quam vitam emendaturi. Quales eunt, tales redeunt. Ut piscator aquam, sic meretrix lupanar ex Roma reversa repetit. Nec usurae minores nec fraudes rariores sunt. Sic olim fuit. Utinam secus¹² modo¹³ eveniat nec ferventia undique bella¹⁴ Romipetas¹⁵ praepediant¹⁶.” Tum ego: “Mitte ista, Gaspar, et an hic Julianus cardinalis assit, redde me certiores. Affari namque hominem apprime cupio.” “Haud,” inquit ille, “nobiscum est, nam caesus apud Hungaros recta in {303r} caelum via¹⁷ perrexit et illis modo potitur gaudiis, quibus Christi testes ob mercedem fusi sanguinis laeti fruuntur.”

[11] Atque cum hoc¹⁸ dixisset, evanuit et me¹⁹ multa²⁰ adhuc quaerere cupientem solum tristemque reliquit. Exinde mox somno solutus sum²¹. Quaeres²² tu nunc ex me, cur ista tibi somnia narrem. Nempe quia veri aliquid habent ex²³ porta potius cornea²⁴ quam eburnea missa²⁵ videntur. Tum vero, ut aliquid ex me²⁶ audias, quod nemo ante tibi scripserit, et ut memoriam aliquando habeas Gasparis, amici veteris, ne tibi sit mortuus totus, qui apud plurimos virtute vivit.

Vale et evacuata marsupia longis itineribus, longiori quiete ut repleas cura. Nam paupertas, etsi multas habet in vero laudes, in populo tamen ridiculos²⁷ homines facit. Ego me tibi dedo et in te magis quam in ceteris, qui vivant²⁸ hominibus, spero. Si vides non esse supervacuum, commenda me aliquando sanctissimi domini nostri pedibus. Tu Caesari nostro carissimus es. Reliqua scribam post hoc. Nunc his contentus esto atque iterum vale. Ex Laibaco, die 13. Octobris 1449²⁹.

¹ nos X1

² *omit.* M2; non animae : animae non X1

³ *omit.* M2

⁴ bellorum morborumque : bellorumque V7

⁵ ordinarios X1

⁶ agit M2

⁷ *omit.* X1

⁸ invaserint V7

⁹ jobelei V5

¹⁰ plurimi WO

¹¹ petunt alias *add.* M2

¹² cecus F1

¹³ nunc M2

¹⁴ ferventia bella undique : bella ferventia undique X1

¹⁵ Romipetes M2; Romipetae X1

¹⁶ praepediunt X1

¹⁷ in caelum via : via in caelum M2

¹⁸ hec M2

¹⁹ *omit.* V5

²⁰ *omit.* WO

²¹ exinde mox ... sum *omit.* M2

²² queris F

²³ et F1, M2, V5-V7, X1

²⁴ carnea X1

²⁵ in se M2

²⁶ meme M2, X1

²⁷ ridiculosos X1

²⁸ vivunt X1

²⁹ 1459 V7

[10] “If that is what happens here,” I said, “then you can never leave this assembly, for when do souls not arrive here?” “But this is not how we do it,” Kaspar replied, “for we are summoned only in major cases like wars and illnesses, as you see now. The ordinary judge has responsibility for the other cases. Rarely do wars and the plague infect all of Europe at the same time, as they do now. The Jubilee Year is approaching,¹ and many will have to be cleansed of their crime. But where is faith? Where is devotion? Many of those going to Rome come to see much² rather than to mend their ways. They will return the same as they came. When she returns from Rome, the prostitute will seek the brothel just as a fish seeks water. And neither minor usury nor frauds are rare.³ Thus it has always been. I wish it would be different at this jubilee and that the wars raging everywhere will not prevent people from going to Rome.” I said, “Leave that be, Kaspar, and tell me if Cardinal Giuliano is here, for I should very much like to speak with him.” “He is not with us,” he replied, “for having been killed with the Hungarians,⁴ he went straight to Heaven and now shares the joys awarded to those who shed their blood in witness to Christ.”⁵

[11] Having said that, he disappeared and left me, still full of questions, alone and sad. Then I woke up. You will now ask me why I tell you this dream. I do it because truth comes from *the gate of horn* rather than *the gate of ivory*,⁶ but also so that you will hear something from me that no one has ever written to you, and, finally, so that you will remember Kaspar, your old friend, and that he be not dead to you since he is still alive for many because of his exceptional qualities.⁷

Farewell. Use a long rest to refill your purse emptied by long travels. For though poverty has much to commend it, it does make people ridiculous in the public eye. I give myself to you and hope more from you than from any other man alive. If you do not think it superfluous, commend me at the feet of Our Most Holy Lord.⁸ You are most dear to the emperor. I shall write about the other things later, so be content with this for now. Farewell again. From Laibach, 13. October 1449.

¹ Following a medieval tradition, Pope Nicolaus V had proclaimed the year 1450 as a Jubilee Year, when pilgrims who came to Rome obtained large indulgences, lessening their time in purgatory.

² Pilgrimage tourism!

³ Through Schlick, Piccolomini here expresses some doubt concerning the efficacy of a Jubilee Year to bring about a genuine conversion of souls.

⁴ At the Battle of Varna, 1444.

⁵ I.e., as martyrs.

⁶ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6: 893-895. Also mentioned in Piccolomini's *Somnium de Fortuna* (letter 152: 2).

⁷ “virtus”

⁸ The pope.

236. Letter to Bartolomeo Regna (26 November 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 140r-140v; V5, ff. 304r-304v **; V6, ff. 244r-244v¹; V7, ff. 293r-293v; V10, f. 91r²; X1, f. 144v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 34, pp. 95-96 (on the basis on the mss. listed above)

{304r} Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, Bartholomaeo Regna salutem plurimam dicit.³

[1] Aegre, ut visum est, tulisti, quod abs te pecuniae mutuam diligentius repetivimus, nam neque collegam visitasti neque me abeuntem⁴. At si negligentius egissemus, {304v} qui solius amici jacturam fecimus, aeris quoque detrimentum subissemus, cum vel sic nonnihil argenti ex nobis tibi cohaeserit. Ex capellano namque meo adhuc aureum Rhenensem retines, quem tibi domi⁵ rogatus concessit. Taceo me pro florenis aureis Hungarici ponderis et imaginis Mediolanenses Florentinosque recepisse. Sed non succenseo tibi, dum tu quoque stomachari desinas, sed videris adhuc pecuniae rubiginem observare, qui neque Framboldo^{6 7} neque alteri tabellario scriptorum tuorum quidquam commisisti ad nos deferendum. Ob quam rem rogatum te volo, ne commune proverbium⁸ verificari permittas, quo dicunt, inimicum sibi parare, qui pecuniis juvat amicum⁹. Ego quidquid erratum sit et peto et ultro vicissim do¹⁰ veniam.

Tu vale et reipublicae consule, ut salva sit. Ex Novacivitate, 6. Kalendis Decembris 1449¹¹.

¹ DV, 246r-246v

² In V10, the text of the letter (probably the original draft) is: *Bartholomeo Regna, viro docto et nobili, Eneas, episcopus Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit. Succensui tibi parumper cum e Mediolano recessi. Ex Mediolano dum nuper recessi, non potui tibi non succensere tantisper, qui nec me nec collegam abeuntis visitasti. Rubigo forsitan adhuc pecuniae mansit. Aegre tulisti, diligentius repeti mutuam. At si negligentius*

egissemus, qui solius amici jacturam fecimus, eris quoque damno mulctati fuissemus. Tu tamen vel sic argenti non nihil ex me retinuisti, inique tamen agis, si amplius nos criminaris, quod Framboldus indicio est, qui a te veniens nihil litterarum tuarum attulit, quasi odium persequere. Tu tamen sequere, ut vis. Ego et tibi do veniam et ultro vicissim peto, si quid irratum est, quod minime velim. Vale.

³ *Titulus:* Viro docto et nobili B., civi Mediolanensi, Eneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit X1

⁴ abeuntis F1, V6, V7

⁵ comi F1, V5, V6; cor- V7

⁶ N X1

⁷ neque Framboldo *omit.* V7

⁸ in te *add.* X1

⁹ sibi parare ... amicum *omit.* V7

¹⁰ des V7

¹¹ *omit.* V5

236. Letter to Bartolomeo Regna (26 November 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Piccolomini had lent some money to a Milanese ambassador, Bartolomeo Regna, probably when he visited the imperial court in 1449 as an envoy from Milan.¹

Subject: Piccolomini asks Bartolomeo Regno not to be angry that he had asked for repayment of the loan.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings to Bartolomeo Regna.²

[1] Apparently, you are offended that we have asked for repayment of our loan to you, for you have neither visited my colleague³ nor me when we left for home.⁴ But if we have acted rashly in losing a friend, we have also lost money since a not inconsiderable sum still remains with you. You also still have a Rhinish ducat that our chaplain kindly lent you. I pass over that I received Milanese and Florentine ducats in return for my golden florins with Hungarian weight and stamp.⁵ But I am not angry with you if only you stop being resentful, but it appears that you are still upset about the money since you have not given Framboldo⁶ or other messengers letters for us. Therefore, I ask you to not prove the truth of the common saying that lending money to a friend is to make him an enemy. I ask forgiveness for any error made and give the same to you.

Farewell, and take care of the state. From Neustadt. 26 November 1449.

¹ HA, 1st version, p. 61.

² According to WO, had been a Milanese envoy a Milanese ambassador.

See below and also letter 243.

³ Hartung von Kappel (WO).

⁴ When Piccolomini was in Milan on his second imperial mission to that city after the death of the last Visconti duke.

⁵ The Florentine and Milanese ducats were less worth than the Hungarian.

⁶ In letter 241, he is designated as a “nun-tius”

237. Letter to Francesco Filelfo (26 November 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 139v-140r; V5, ff. 303r-303v **; V6, ff. 243v-244r¹; V7, ff. 292r-292v; V10, f. 91r²; X1, ff. 144r-144v.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 32, pp. 93-94 (on the basis on the mss. listed above).

{303r} Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, Francisco Philelpho salutem plurimam dicit³.

[1] Quod te Mediolani nuper insalutatum reliqui, nec fraudi nec arrogantiae imponas⁴, {303v} rogo. Complurima voluissem⁵ adhuc ex te audivisse tibi que retulisse, sed cervicosum retinere vel flectere, quem nosti, hominem non potui. Maturavimus te iudice meque teste recessum nimis. Apud vos⁶ interim magna novitas intercessit. Nescio, quid tibi tuique similibus supersit spei. Miseret me tuarum historiarum, de quibus vereor, ne dicere possis: “Infortunati scribebam gesta senatus, urceus exivit, amphora fuit,” quod non tibi, sed fortunae novercanti dabitur. Nec laudari nec vituperari tuto viventes queunt, cineri melius scribitur. Tu ergo, si me audis, satirae quam historiae feliciter insudabis. Eripe te fluctibus et irato Mediolanensium mari. Nimis apud vos multi corruunt. Sive oppugnes sive tuearis imperium, populi non evades periculum. Quid Georgio profuit, quid Galeotto vocatus comes et regni cupido? Defensorem libertatis et fundatorem quietis Bartholomaeum Moronum ex me licet interrogas, quid sibi jure postliminii vindicata libertas attulerit boni, quod cum feceris et mihi respondebis et tibi consules.

Vale. Ex Novacivitate, 6. Kalendis Decembris⁷ 1449. Ama tuum Aeneam.

¹ DV, 245v-246r

² V10, has the text of the letter (probably the original draft) as corrected by Piccolomini himself, is: Viro doctissimo, domino Francisco Philelpho Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit. Quod te insalutatum Mediolani insalutatum reliqui, et doleo et veniam peto. Plurima tecum adhuc volueram contulisse, sed cervicosum retinere collegam non potui. Maturavimus te iudice meque teste recessum nimis. Apud vos interea magna mutatio intercessit.

Nescio quid tibi tuique similibus supersit spei. Manum tibi et calammum tremere arbitror, historiam dum pergis ceptam finire. Cum te aliquando rogabimus, commentariorum tuorum cur fini principium non respondeat, dices ni fallor: infortunati scribebam gesta senatus, urceus exivit, amphora cepta fuit. Sic accidit, qui viventium facta illustrare nituntur; nec laudari nec vituperari tuto viventes queunt; cineri melius scribitur. Tu ergo satirae prioribus musis feliciter operam dabis et ad me cete-

rosque tui amantes satyras scribes mediisque te fluctibus eripias. Scis, quam multi ruerunt, et quantum defensori libertatis et fundatori quietis Bartholomeo Morono sua libertas profuit et vox ampla recuperati domini.

³ *Titulus:* Viro singulari atque dictissimo Francicesco Philelpho Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit X1

⁴ ponas F1

⁵ omit. WO

⁶ nos V7

⁷ 6. Kalendis Decembris omit. X1

237. Letter to Francesco Filelfo (26 November 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: After the death of the last Visconti duke, Filippo Maria, the emperor sent three imperial missions to Milan to persuade the city to submit to imperial rule. Piccolomini was a member of the first mission (October/November 1447)¹ and - together with Hartung von Kappel - the third (summer 1449).² He probably visited Francesco Filelfo during the third mission but did not have time to say farewell before he left the city in haste.

Subject: Piccolomini excuses that he left Milan without saying goodbye and advises him to escape the perilous situation there.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings to Francesco Filelfo.³

[1] I recently left Milan without saying goodbye to you, but please do not believe it was due to deception or arrogance. I wished to hear much more from you and tell you much, but I was unable to keep back or bend the obstinate man you know.⁴ In your opinion - and I agree - we hastened our departure overmuch. In the meantime, a great upheaval occurred there.⁵ I do not know what hope is left for you and those who think like you. I pity your historical work and fear that you may say, "I was writing the deeds of the unfortunate senate: *it began as a jar and came out as a pitcher*,"⁶ which is not your fault but stepmotherly fortune's. People should not be praised or vilified when alive: it is better to write about such in their ashes.⁷ If you heed me, it would profit you more to labour on satire than history. Save yourself from the waves and the angry Milanese sea. Far too many have perished there. Whether you oppose or support the [cause of the] Empire,⁸ you will not escape the danger from the people. How did the invitation to the count⁹ and ambition to govern benefit Giorgio¹⁰ and Galeotto¹¹? Please ask Bartolomeo Morone¹², defender of liberty and pillar of tranquillity, what good the freedom reclaimed by postliminal right¹³ did to him, and when you have done that, let me know his answer - and look out for yourself.

Farewell. From Neustadt, 26. November 1449. Love your Enea.

¹ See CRDM, 2 and COR, 3: 13 (with references to Piccolomini's other writings on this matter).

² HA, 1st version, p. 61.

³ Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481): Eminent Italian humanist, academic and writer. Stayed in Constantinople from 1420 to 1427, where he learned fluent Greek.

⁴ Piccolomini's colleague on the imperial mission to Milan, Hartung von Kappel (see letter 236: 1).

⁵ Piccolomini may be referring to the revolutionary, guelf government established in Milan by Giovanni Ossóna and Giovanni Apiani towards the end of 1449.

⁶ Horatius: *Ars poetica*, 22-23.

⁷ The ashes of the funeral pyre, i.e., when they are dead.

⁸ The Holy Roman Empire.

⁹ Francesco Sforza.

¹⁰ Giorgio Lampugnano (-1449): Milanese university professor and politician. One of the founders of the Ambrosian republic. Killed after an uprising in 1449.

¹¹ Galeotto Toscano (-1449): Milanese banker and politician. COM 1: 19, 11 (Meserve, 1: p. 93: *The Milanese ... murdered the Tuscan Galeotto, expelled the rest of the senators and struck an alliance with Venice* (COM 1: 19, 11 (Meserve, 1: p. 93)).

¹² Bartolomeo Morone (1392-1452): Milanese jurist, administrator and politician. An official of the Republic of Saint Ambrose

during the Milanese attempt to establish a democratic republic after the death of the last Visconti duke. His house was plundered by the Milanese mob during an uprising in August/September 1449, after which he passed over to the party supporting Francesco Sforza. (See article in DBI)

¹³ *Jus postliminii*: In civil law, the right of postliminy, i.e. the right or claim of a person who had been restored to the possession of a thing, or to a former condition, to be considered as though he had never been deprived of it. By this right, the Milanese claimed to have returned to the state prevailing before its integration into the Empire

238. Letter to Niccolò Arcimboldi (26 November 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, f. 140r; V5, ff. 303v-304r **; V6, f. 246r¹; V7, ff. 292r-292v; V10, f. 91r²; X1, f. 144r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 32, pp. 94-95 (on the basis on the mss. listed above).

{303v} Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, Nicolao Arziboldo, jurisconsulto, salutem plurimam dicit.³

[1] Scio quanti periculi sit vel tibi scribere vel mihi {304r} de rebus publicis respondere. Non ab re jussit Pythagoras a fabis abstinendum. Facessat inter nos inanis⁴ reipublicae cura, privata nobis negotia permissa sunt neque de nostris amicis scribere interdictum est. Tuus Gaspar meusque, immo noster⁵, immo Christi, si nescis, diem obiit. Hoc tecum diu volui complorasse. Imperii namque delicias amisimus. Sed Christiane decedentem vita nostra virum non mortuum, sed dormientem scriptura vocitat. Hic praeterea quamvis nobis parum sibi tamen et gloriae satis vixit, liberis autem suis, quos quattuor dimisit, mares atque femellas aequo numero, quamvis dives⁶ patrimonium testatus est, optimam tamen et omnibus divitiis praestantiorum haereditatem tradidit, virtutis et rerum gestarum praesigne nomen. Tuum nunc est, virum ut doctissimum roges Philelphum, epitaphium sibi ut scribat, quod incisum sepulchri marmoribus tanti viri memoriam posteritati commendet.

Vale mei memor et amans. Ex Novacivitate, 6. Kalendis Decembris 1449⁷.

¹ DV, 245v-246r

²² In V10, the text of the letter (probably the original draft), as corrected by Piccolomini himself, is: Claro et prestanti juris utriusque consulto domino Nicolao de Arziboldis, amico singulari Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit. Scio quanti periculi sit vel tibi scribere vel mihi de rebus publicis respondere. Facessat igitur inanis cura principatum

et abstinendum a fabis auctore Pythagora discamus. Ex privatis rebus hec habe. Tuus Gaspar meusque immo noster diem obiit. Id diu tecum deplorassem, nisi quia Christiane decedentem non mortuum sed dormientem scriptura nominat. Satis sibi satisque glorie vixit. Prolem reliquit, egregias mares duos, femellas totidem, hisque non solum clari nominis sed otian pecuniosam hereditatem reliquit. Tuum est rogare virum doctis-

simum Philelphum nostrum, sibi ut epitaphium edat, quod sepulcro inscribi curemus. Vale et me ut soles ama.

³ *Titulus:* Claro et prestanti juris utriusque consulto domino Nicolao de Arziboldis, amico singulari, Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit X1
⁴ manus V7

⁵ immo noster *omit.* V7

⁶ dive V10

⁷ 6. kalendis ... 1449 *omit.* V10

238. Letter to Niccolò Arcimboldi (26 November 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: A third letter written on the same day to friends of Piccolomini in Milan, in the throes of civic disturbances.

Subject: Piccolomini informs Arcimboldi of Kaspar Schlick's death.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings to Niccolò degli Arcimboldi,¹ jurist.

[1] I know how risky it is for you to write to me on public affairs and for me to answer.² Not without reason did Pythagoras³ order [his disciples] to abstain from beans.⁴ Begone foolish worries about public affairs: we are allowed to concern ourselves with private matters, and we are not forbidden to write about our friends. If you have not heard it yet, your Kaspar and mine, indeed our Kaspar, indeed Christ's, has died.⁵ For some time now, I have wanted to share this sorrow with you⁶: we have lost the delight of the Empire.⁷ But scripture says that a man who dies as a Christian should is not dead but sleeps. Kaspar may not have lived [long] enough for us, but he lived enough for himself and glory. He left 4 children, two boys and two girls. They have a rich inheritance, but more importantly, he left them a reputation distinguished by great human qualities and an exceptional career⁸. Now, you should ask the most learned Filelfo⁹ to write an epitaph for him that may be chiselled in marble on his tomb to remind posterity of this great man.

Farewell. Remember and love me. From Neustadt, 26 November 1449.

¹ Arcimboldi, Niccolò (1404-1459): At the time, counsellor of the Duke of Milan. The letter is not extant.

² For high-ranking officials like Arcimboldi and Piccolomini, commenting on sensitive political issues in letters that might fall into the wrong hands was, indeed, quite risky.

³ Pythagoras (570-495 BCE): Greek philosopher, mathematician, musician, mystician.

⁴ Gellius, 4: 11, 3 (quoting Cicero): *The Pythagoreans were forbidden to eat beans, a food that produces great flatulency, which is disturbing to those who seek mental calm.* Piccolomini's idea is that public affairs, like Pythagoras' beans, disturb the mental calm.

⁵ 19 July 1449.

⁶ Apparently, Piccolomini had not met Arcimboldi during his second imperial mission to Milan in the

summer of 1449, or he had only heard of Schlick's death after his return from Milan.

⁷ "deliciae imperii": an expression inspired by Suetonius calling Emperor Titus *delicias generis humani* (Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum / Titus*, 1: 1).

⁸ "res gestae".

⁹ Note that Piccolomini did not make this request in his letter to Filelfo, written on the same day (letter 237).

239. Letter to a cardinal (29 November 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: V10, f. 90v **.
Editions A: None.
Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 35, pp. 96-97.

{90v} Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine mi colendissime post humilem recommendationem.

[1] Scribit regia serenitas sanctissimo domino nostro in recommendationem capellani sui domini Georgii Kolemberger, ordinis sancti Augustini canonicorum regularium, ut secum dispensetur ad ecclesiam curatam extra suum ordinem recipiendam et retinendam, post cujus litteras inane est omne, quod a me scribitur. Ne tamen videar amico in suis necessitatibus deferre, precor dominationem vestram reverendissimam, ut rem illam sic promovere dignemini, ut saltem majestati regiae mos geratur, quia rem cordi habet et sibi valde complacitum reputabit, si, quid petit, obtinuerit. Ego more primorum parentum in expectatione sum et, quod illis non contigit, tabesco.

Commendo me dominationi vestrae reverendissimae. Ex Novacivitate, die 29. Novembris 1449. Servulus vester Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus.

239. Letter to a cardinal (29 November 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The emperor had recommended his chaplain to the pope in the matter of a benefice.

Subject: Piccolomini adds his recommendation to the emperor's.

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ and my Worshipful Lord, after humble recommendation.

[1] His Royal Serenity¹ writes to Our Most Holy Lord² recommending that his chaplain, Georg Kolemberger, of the Order of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, be granted a dispensation to obtain and keep a church with pastoral care outside his order. So, it is superfluous for me to write on this matter. However, lest I appear to fail a friend in need, I ask Your Most Reverend Lordship to deign to support this matter so that the wish of His Royal Majesty is fulfilled, for he has this matter at heart and will be most content if he obtains what he asks for. Like the first parents,³ I am in expectation and waste away, which did not happen to them.⁴

I recommend myself to Your Most Reverend Lordship. From Neustadt, 29 November 1449. Your humble servant, Enea, Bishop of Trieste.

¹ Emperor Friedrich III.

² Pope Nicolaus V.

³ Adam and Eve.

⁴ The meaning of this sentence is obscure. It may be a frustrated

comment on Piccolomini's situation at the imperial court.

240. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (10 December 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, f. 140v; V5, ff. 304v-305r **; V6, ff. 244v-245r^l; V7, f. 293v; W1, f. 109v; X1, ff. 143v-144r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 36, pp. 97-98 (on the basis on the mss. listed above, except W1)

{304r} Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus², Johanni Campisio³ salutem plurimam dicit⁴.

[1] Johannes Nihili, Bohemus⁵, harum partium non incelebratus astronomus, regi carus est, mihi socius et omnibus bonis amicus. Hunc Hieronymus quidam arreptis⁶ ex Basilea litteris sive ex Lausana (nihil impedior⁷), vexare nititur. Semper namque Basiliensibus adhaesit nec mundo recedente recessit. Sic pertinax est quorundam animus, ut tres quattuorque viri orbi toto praestare se putent. Age tu, Johannes, {305r} Johannem juva et astronomus astronomo praesidium prebe. Dices tu: "Quid possum?" Nihil ultra vires peto, magna est auctoritas heri tui, non minor probitas, aequalis experientia. Hunc justae amici causae⁸ concilies, volo. Nec plura. Scio tibi clausum non minus quam mihi palatium et surdas⁹ veterum amicorum aures. Sed vivere felix potes quamvis pauper, quod illi non possunt divites. Causam tibi malim¹⁰ dicere quam scribere. Faxit Deus, te ut aliquando visam.

Vale et hero tuo atque meo commendatum me facito. Ex Novacivitate, 4. Idus Decembris¹¹ 1449.

¹ DV, 246v-247r

² Senensis W1

³ episcopo Placentino *add.* W1

⁴ *Titulus:* Eneas episcopus Senensis domino Johanni Campisio episcopo Placentino amico precipuo

salutem plurimam dicit W1;
Doctissimo viro domino Johanni
Campisio philosopho Eneas, epi-
scopus Tergestinus, salutem pluri-
mam dicit X1

⁵ *omit.* W1

⁶ advectis X1

⁷ nihil impedior : mihi impedio V7

⁸ ut *add.* X1

⁹ surdos X1

¹⁰ malum V7

¹¹ 4. Idus Decembris *omit.* X1

240. Letter to Giovanni Campisio (10 December 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: An adherent of the schismatic council in Basel was making difficulties for Johann Nihil, possibly in connection with some benefice.

Subject: Piccolomini asks his friend Giovanni Campisio in Rome to persuade his master, Cardinal Berardi, to help Johann Nihil.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings to Giovanni Campisio.

[1] Johann Nihil,¹ a Bohemian astronomer well-known in these regions, is dear to the king, a companion of mine, and a friend to all good men. A certain Jeronimus now tries to make difficulties for him with a letter wrested from the Basileans² or Lausanne³ (I know not which).⁴ Jerome always adhered to the Basileans and did not leave when the others did⁵: some people are so stubborn that they believe three or four men⁶ are more important than the whole world.⁷ So, Giovanni, help another Johannes,⁸ as one astronomer helps another. You will say, “But what can I do?” I ask for nothing beyond your means: your master’s⁹ authority is great, his decency no less, and his experience the same. I wish you to make him favour the just cause of a friend. No more of this. I know that - like for me - the palace is closed to you¹⁰ as are the ears of old friends.¹¹ But you can live a happy life as a poor man, something that rich people cannot. I should, of course, prefer to talk directly to you about this matter rather than write. God give that I may see you again sometime.

Farewell, and recommend me to your master. From Neustadt, 10 December 1449.

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

² The rump council in Basel.

³ The court of antipope Felix V

⁴ Piccolomini does not state the trouble. It may be connected with a benefice since the matter would apparently be referred to Rome.

⁵ At the end of 1437, when Pope Eugenius translated the council in Basel to Ferrara.

⁶ I.e. the few council fathers left in Basel.

⁷ The rump council in Basel had been abandoned by almost all the princes in Europe in favour of Pope Eugenius IV.

⁸ Giovanni = Johannes.

⁹ Cardinal Berardi di Tagliacozzo.

¹⁰ I.e., they do not have direct access to the important palace officials.

¹¹ This must be a reference to Pietro da Noceto, an old friend of Piccolomini and Campisio, now a very important official of Pope Nicolaus V. See, however, Piccolomini’s letter to da Noceto of 7 May 1456 (letter 683: 8).

241. Letter to the City of Milan (12 December 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: V10, f. 91v¹**.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 37, pp. 98-99.

{91} Magnifici etc.²

[1] Duplicatas noviter litteras vestras accepimus, quorum tenore percepto³ non videmus, quid aliud respondere oporteat, nisi quod responsum vestrum ad ea praestolamur, quae nuper per Framboldum, nuntium vestrum, communitati vestrae scripsimus. Cum enim per eum de pace inter dominium Venetorum et vos facta nos certificavissetis vestrosque ad nos mittere velle quantocius oratores scripsissetis, respondimus nos dictos oratores expectaturos et ipsis auditis ad singula responsuros. Sic ergo et nunc respondemus, nam quod oratores nostros⁴ ad vos, ut ex Labaco scripsimus, mittere praetermisimus, ipsa novitas factae pacis in causa fuit, cujus condiciones et merita non erat indignum prius noscere.

Datum.

¹ WO: Originalkonzept.

² In the cod., the text of this letter follows two unused introductions to the letter.

³ precepto WO

⁴ em.; vestros cod., WO

241. Letter to the City of Milan (12 December 1449, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: After his second mission for the emperor to Milan in the summer of 1449, during which he endeavoured to persuade the Milanese to accept direct imperial rule, Piccolomini kept in contact with the Milanese, who had promised to send ambassadors.

Editions: Piccolomini informs the Milanese that the imperial court would await further news about the peace between Milan and Venice before proceeding with the matter.

Magnificent etc.

[1] We have received your letter and its duplicate. Having read it, the only answer we can give is that we are still waiting for your reply to the letter we recently sent your community through your messenger, Framboldo. Through him, you informed us that you had made peace with the Venetian dominion¹ and would send your ambassadors to us as soon as possible. We answered that we were expecting them and would write to you concerning each item after hearing them. We answer the same now. We wrote from Laibach² that we would send our ambassadors to you. The reason we have not done so, is the news about the peace you made [with Venice], whose conditions and merits it is appropriate to know first.

Given.

¹ On 24 September 1449.

² Where Piccolomini was with the emperor at the end of October.

242. Letter to Ulrich von Rosenberg (9 February 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: V10, f. 89v **; BAV / Ott. lat. 351, f. 424r¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 39, pp.102-103 (on the basis on the mss. listed above).

{89v} Magnifico ac generoso domino, domino Ulrico de Rosenberg, inclyti regni Bohemiae baroni nobilissimo, domino suo honorando, Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus ac regius consiliarius, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Accepi litteras vestras, quas venerabilis vir, dominus Andreas, plebanus in Podweis, ad me detulit. Ago ingentes gratias pro vestris oblationibus, quibus certe confidenter uterer, quando jus necessitatis exigeret. In rebus vestris apud regiam majestatem promovendis, quandocumque mihi dederitis onus, semper sollicitus ero partesque meas et amicorum meorum interponam omnes, ut vestrae possim voluntati morem gerere. Scire tamen magnificentiam vestram volo, ex his, qui curiam frequentant, me minimum esse, non dico dignitate, quia non possum negare episcopum me esse, sed auctoritate, quia verbis meis non multa fides adhibetur, sicut nec adhiberi debet, quando alii sunt me doctrina et rerum usu probatiores. Quidquid tamen possum, id est ad vestrum semper usum in promptu. Pro dicto plebano feci, quae mihi fuerunt possibilis, sicut ex ipso audietis, qui etiam in facto dietae et aliis sibi commissis mihi que relatis vestram magnificentiam de voluntate regia² certius informabit. Quod vestram hic magnificentiam non visitavi, fecit infirmitas mea, qui pedibus laborabam. Sed dabit aliquando Deus, ut nos invicem videamus vel hic vel alibi. Interim vestris omnibus in rebus juxta vires meas me utimini

et valete in Christo optime. Ex Novacivitate, die 9. Februarii 1449³.

¹ Collated after WO.

² regis WO

³ 1450 codd.

242. Letter to Ulrich von Rosenberg (9 February 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The powerful catholic Bohemian noble Ulrich von Rosenberg had asked Piccolomini to support a matter of his at the imperial court.

Editions: Piccolomini tells Rosenberg that he will do all he possibly can for him. His frank assessment of his own small influence at court may have been accurate at the time, following shortly after his return to court, but it may also have been a way to put some distance between himself and the count with his demands.

To his Magnificent and Wellborn Lordship, Lord Ulrich von Rosenberg,¹ most noble baron of the realm of Bohemia, Enea, Bishop of Trieste and royal counsellor, sends many greetings.

[1] I have received your letter,² which the Venerable Andreas, parish priest of Budweiss,³ brought me. I send many thanks for your gifts that I shall certainly use when necessary. Concerning such affairs as you wish me to advocate before his majesty, I shall always diligently do so whenever you charge me with them, and I shall use both myself and my friends to fulfil your wishes. But I wish Your Magnificence to know that of those who attend the court, I am the least important, not in dignity - for I cannot deny that I am a bishop - but in authority, for my words do not count for much, which is quite understandable given that there are other men here of greater knowledge and experience.⁴ But I shall always be ready to do what I can for you. Concerning the aforesaid parish priest, I have done what was possible, as you will hear from himself. He will also inform Your Magnificence of the events at the diet and the king's will regarding the other matters entrusted to him and me. I did not visit Your Magnificence [when you were] here due to my infirmity, for I suffered from the feet. But God will grant us to meet face to face sometime, here or elsewhere. In the meantime, use me and my resources in all your affairs

Live well in Christ. From Neustadt, 9 February 1449.

¹ Ulrich II von Rosenberg [Oldřich II. z Rožmberka] (1403-1462): Bohemian magnate, one of the leaders of the Catholic party. Governor of Bohemia from 1438 to 1444. Heymann wrote about him: *Of the leaders of the Catholic magnates, Rosenberg was the greatest, the richest, in some ways the cleverest, and by all odds the most unscrupulous. His change-over from the Hussitism of his adolescent years to sharp anta-*

gonism against all Hussite groups had no strong religious foundation. His main motive was the wish for material gains. No other man profited as abundantly and relentlessly from the chance to appropriate the landed estates which the Church had lost as a result of the revolution. (Heymann: George, p. 17. See also p. 27). Piccolomini was quite aware of this fact, and in the oration "*Res Bohemicas*" of 1456, he told Pope Calixtus III: *Despite*

the fact that Ulrich of Rosenberg is occupying the estates of two monasteries, we still consider him as a catholic simply because he did not defect to the Hussites. (COR, 6: 28, sect. 56).

² Letter not extant.

³ České Budějovice.

⁴ Piccolomini surely had a greater self-esteem than this.

243. Letter to Juan Carvajal (9 February 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: F1, ff. 140v-142r; V5, ff. 305r-308r **; V6, ff. 245r-247r¹; V7, ff. 294r-296r; X1, ff. 138v-140r.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 38, pp. 99-102 (on the basis on the mss. listed above).

Translations: RE, 73, pp. 300-304.

{305r} Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus, Johanni Carvajali, diacono cardinali, salutem plurimam dicit.²

[1] Credo te non admirari, colendissime pater, si pro mea consuetudine tibi scribens singulari libentius utor³ quam plurali numero. Non enim vel tuae dignitati detraho⁴ quidquam, vel mihi arrogo nimis⁵, quando prisci sanctique viri eundem servasse modum reperiuntur. Quibus praemissis ad litteras venio⁶, quas tabellarius apostolicus ad me detulit.

[2] Quod de Grosseto civitateque Senensi refers, audio libenter, videbo libentius, si casus occurrerit. Quam pontificis maximi erga me voluntatem scribis esse, scire veram quam credere mallet. Si non fiet, quod saepe promissum est, nulli quam tibi magis imputaverim, {305v} qui dilectos patribus filios in expeditione vel in studio retineri procul asseverasti. At ego, qui jam veteranus sum, mitti debeo nec me amplius arma nec disputationes studiorum decent. Non ad honores vocari vel ad lucrum postulo, ad sepulturam⁷ vetulus accersiri cupio. Parum mihi superest vitae idque libenter inter notos consumerem. Viginti jam annos alienos invisio lares, funestus⁸ est jam mihi seni frigidus et humidus aer Germanicus. Cur jam non mihi⁹ commiserere scitis, domini patresque mei? Non irascor, dum haec scribo, sed monere te¹⁰ ceterosque velim notos. Si me hic utilem esse putes apostolice sedi, non parum falleris. Alia est hodie quam olim fuit forma curiae. Nihil est, quod¹¹ praelatis amplius credatur. Illi sapientiores habentur, quos abbas voluit¹².

¹ DV, 247r-249r

² *Titulus:* Clarissimo et sancto patri Johanni sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae Sancti Angeli diacono cardinali domino suo Eneas epi-

scopus Siensis salutem plurimam dicit X1

³ utar X1

⁴ subtraho X1

⁵ *omit.* V7 [blank space]

⁶ nemo V7

⁷ sepulchrum F1

⁸ functus V7; funestis X1

⁹ non mihi : mihi non V7

¹⁰ monere te : mouere V7

¹¹ *omit.* V7

¹² noluit V7; volvit WO

243. Letter to Juan Carvajal (9 February 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: After a protracted stay in his new diocese, Trieste, Bishop Enea had returned to the imperial court.
Subject: Piccolomini despondently complains to Carvajal of his little influence at court, where he may still have been under a shadow from his close connection with the disgraced - and now deceased - Chancellor Schlick.

Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings to Juan Carvajal, Cardinal Deacon.

[1] I believe, Worshipful Father, you will not wonder why I, following my custom, use the singular number instead of the plural¹ when I write to you. In doing so, I do not belittle your rank nor raise my own since holy men of old are found to have used the same form [of address]. Having said this, I now come to your letter delivered to me by the apostolic² messenger.

[2] I am happy to hear what you relate about Grosseto and the city of Siena, and I shall be even happier when I see it happen.³ As for the Supreme Pontiff's [good] intentions towards me, I would rather know than believe them to be true. If what has often been promised does not happen,⁴ I shall rebuke you most of all for maintaining that sons dear to their fathers should be kept far away on campaigns or studies. But now that I am a veteran, I should be released from service, and neither weapons nor learned disputations befit me any longer. I do not demand to be called to higher honours or to material gain, but I wish to be recalled as a wizened old man to his burial. I have little left of life,⁵ and that little I would be happy to spend among people known to me. 20 years I have stayed in foreign lands,⁶ and the cold and damp climate in Germany is now fatal to me. Why, oh lords and fathers,⁷ will you not take pity on me? I am not angry as I write this, but I wish to admonish you and inform the others. If you believe I am useful to the Apostolic See here, you are badly mistaken. This court is different from the one you knew. Prelates are trusted no more, and only those are held to be wise whom the abbot⁸ favours.

¹ In address

² I.e., papal.

³ Carvajal may have intimated to Piccolomini that the sees of Siena and Grosseto would become vacant in the foreseeable future and

that he might be transferred to one of these sees.

⁴ Some ecclesiastical advancement that would bring Piccolomini back to Italy.

⁵ Piccolomini was now 45 years old.

⁶ "lares"

⁷ The pope and the College of cardinals.

⁸ Probably a circumlocution for the emperor whom it would not be wise to criticise openly.

[3] Si credis honoratum me fore, quia Caesari servio, non magnifacio nec honorem cupio, qui nocet. Ego, mi pater, mirum in modum frigoribus Teutonicis laedor. Non sum, quem dimisisti. Multi me postmodum invaserunt morbi. Sicut ais me non cogniturum¹ apostolicas aedes, si eas viderem - nam summi pontificis ingenio mirum in modum reformatae sunt - sic nec tu me nosceres² variis aegritudinibus deformatum. Sed utinam tua dignatio non minus videre me³ cuperet, quam ego apostolici palatii⁴ contemplari structuras desidero. At si stat sententia me mori Germanum, non querar⁵ amplius nec {306r} te aut alium quemquam stimulabo. Solum ex te postulo decretum, quod est vestrum⁶, nosse⁷. Aptabo me loco temporisque⁸ et fortunam⁹ feram, quam dabit, neque hic mori genus infelicitatis putabo, quoniam non major¹⁰ est in caelum via ex Germania quam ex Italia.

[4] Sed venio¹¹ ad alia. Retuli, quae jussisti majestati regiae¹² et plurimum placuerunt. Excusavi tarditatem nuntiationis, et admissa est ratio. Vos regiae serenitatis scripta recipietis et, quae sit mens quive animus, intelligetis. Concordiam cum legato Sabaudiae factam semper majestati placuisse comperi, et cur placeat, rationes assunt non paucae, quas tu melius nosti quam meo¹³ possint explicari calamo¹⁴. Nec immemor est sublimitas imperialis eorum, quae praesente cancellario sibi dudum significasti. Ego tamen gessi tibi morem pluribusque rem gestam exposui et falsum fuisse rumorem monstravi, qui res¹⁵ Sabaudiae domino nostro regi non fuisse comunicatas¹⁶ asserebat. Tu tamen valde parce mihi scribis: aliquos, inquis, ex cardinalibus Sabaudie recepimus, ut esset manifestior unitatis¹⁷ ostensio, nec scribis, qui sint. Nam hoc potissimum nosse cupiebamus. Aut papyrus aut atramentum defuit, aut¹⁸ fortasse tantum complacuisse nobis noluit? Dicis unionem hac assumptione cardinalium lucidius demonstrari. At nostri Viennenses multum ex hoc gloriantur, {306r} ex concordiae namque forma dicunt non constare, apud quos fuerit veritas, cum alter alterius facta recipiat. Mihi tamen propter pacem etiam hoc¹⁹ benefactum videtur. Sed in tractatu de concilio Basiliensi, quem non sine tua magna laude jam paene absolveram, ut olim mandaveras, multa me mutare oportet, quia non ille finis secutus est, quem putavi, atque idcirco periculosum est currentium rerum historiam texere: praeterita dudum sine periculo scribuntur! Bullam, quam significas expeditam mihi que missam, nondum recepi: per alium, arbitror, auferetur²⁰.

¹ non cogniturum : cogniturum
non V7

² cognosceres V7

³ videre me : me videre X1

⁴ apostolici palatii : palatii apostolici X1

⁵ queratur F1

⁶ nostrum V7, X1

⁷ posse X1

⁸ et tempore X1

⁹ et fortunam : fortunamque X1

¹⁰ em.; major codd.

¹¹ nemo V7

¹² majestati regiae : majestate regia X1

¹³ mei X1

¹⁴ calami X1

¹⁵ rem F1 WO?

¹⁶ comunicatam WO? [NB: not F1]

¹⁷ mutatis V7

¹⁸ at V7

¹⁹ gloriantur ex ... hoc omit. V7

²⁰ auferetur V7

[3] If you believe I am honoured here because I serve the emperor, I do not make much of it or desire an honour that is harmful. The German cold, my Father, is most unhealthy for me. I am not the man I was when you left and have been ill many times since. You say that I would not recognise the apostolic palace if I saw it again, for it has been rebuilt wondrously after the design of the Supreme Pontiff. In the same way, you would not recognise me now, weakened by various illnesses. Hopefully, Your grace would wish to see me again as much as I should like to see the Apostolic Palace, but if the decision stands that I should die in Germany, I shall complain no more nor importunate you or others. I only demand this of you to let me know what has been decided. I shall adapt to the place and time and bear the fortune you grant, and I shall not consider it infelicitous to die here since the road to Heaven is not longer from Germany than from Italy.

[4] Now, I pass on to other matters. I have related to His Majesty what you asked me to, and it pleased him greatly. I excused the lateness of the message, and the reason was accepted. You will get letters from His Royal Serenity and see what he feels and thinks about the matter. I understand that the agreement with the envoy from Savoy¹ was always pleasing to His Majesty - for several reasons that you know better than my pen can explain. His Imperial Highness has not forgotten what, some time ago, you told him in the chancellor's presence.² At any rate, I have fulfilled your wish and explained the matter to many, showing that the rumour claiming the king had not been informed about the Savoyard matter³ was false. You do write quite sparingly to me, though: you say that we⁴ have accepted some of the Savoyard cardinals as a clear manifestation of the unity,⁵ but you do not write whom. But that we should very much like to know. You may have lacked paper or ink, or maybe you did not wish to be too accommodating? You say that accepting [the other party's] cardinals clearly demonstrates the unity. But people here in Vienna triumphantly claim that the way unity was reached does not show which party was right since they both accept the other's acts.⁶ However, I think this way served peace well. However, I shall have to change many things in my treatise on the Council of Basel,⁷ which you praised highly and I wrote at your instigation and have almost finished, for it did not end as I thought. Indeed, it is risky to write about the history of current affairs, whereas you can write about past events with no risk! You write that the bull has been issued and sent to me, but I have not yet received it. I think it will be brought by someone else.

¹ The agreement on the final settlement of the Church schism, the dissolution of the rump council in Basel, and the abdication of antipope Felix V.

² Kaspar Schlick.

³ Since antipope Felix was the former Duke of Savoy and had mostly openly been obeyed by Savoy, the Church schism had now become "the Savoyard" matter.

⁴ The winning party of the pope in Rome, Pope Nicolaus V, the em-

peror's ally since the Concordat of Vienna, 1447, finally ending the German neutrality in the Church schism, decided by the German princes in 1438.

⁵ The same had happened in 1417, when the new pope, Martin V, elected at the council, accepted the cardinals of the popes deposed by the Council of Konstanz. On 23 April 1449, Nicholas V appointed the former antipope Felix V cardinal-bishop of Sabina. On 19 December 1449, Pope Nicholas re-

appointed some cardinals originally appointed by antipope Felix V: Jean d'Arces, Louis de la Palud, and Guillaume-Hughes d'Estaing.

⁶ Proving the rightness of the German neutrality between the two parties, declared in 1438.

⁷ The *De Rebus Gestis Basileae Commentarius* from the same year.

[5] In somnio illo meo si qua fuerunt, quae tuo iudicio aliter esse debuissent, non¹ miror, nam et ego quoque in plerisque negotiis aliter censuissem, sed non sunt arbitrii² nostri somnia nec possumus, quae volumus, somnare, nec perspicua certa³ sunt omnino³, quae ultra corneam portam cernuntur. Forsitan longe aliter se res habet, quam nobis somnus ostenderit et fortasse multa ex his vera fuerunt.

[6] Sed transeo nunc ad alia, quae non somnus sed narratio⁴ veridica retulit. Factus est per hos dies magnus haereticorum in Praga conventus. Ibi querimoniae non paucae fuerunt, quod neque a Romano pontifice confirmationem sui praesulis obtinere possunt, neque a circumvicinis episcopis consecrationem presbyterorum consequi, ex quo fit, ut sacerdotum nimia inter eos⁵ paucitas sit. Eam ob causam visum {137r} est eis, ut, qui modo sunt inter eos presbyteri, Rochezanam consecrare debeant, isque postea, quot malit, ex suae sectae hominibus ad presbyterium⁶ promoveat, licereque hoc eis ea ratione confirmarunt, quia, si presbyteri corpus dominicum conficere possint, quod est majus, multo magis consecrare pontificem, quod est minus, his licebit. Sic insania gentis arguit, quo argumento nihil erit, quod sit non⁷ eis⁸ in terra⁹ permissum¹⁰, cum nihil sit corpore Christi majus. Heu caeca mens mortalium, quibus se deliramentis¹¹ occupant homines, ut animae jacturam faciant! Quanta est horum superbia, qui soli plus scire se arbitrantur quam tota per orbem ecclesia? Haec mihi dominus de Rosis nudius tertius per nuntium fidelem suis litteris credentialibus intimavit iussitque regiae majestati¹² ut significarem, quod factum est. Sed arbitror haec quoque sanctissimo domino nostro aperiri debere¹³, quod ut facere velis iterum atque iterum te precor. Timendum est enim, ne malum hoc longius serpat ac vires in vicinis sumat. Res tamen ista usque ad sanctum Georgium differetur, quia tamdiu sunt indutiae, et arbitri pacis medio tempore pronuntiare debent, quod non putantur facturi. Expectant¹⁴ hoc haeretici¹⁵ et post praedictum festum jusserunt omnes in armis esse, ut parati sint, quando vocabuntur. Expediret igitur huic morbo interim medicinam parare. At hoc ex me satis scriptum putato.

[7] Verum, mi pater, scio {307v} esse in Romana curia reverendisimos cardinales Sancti Laurentii in Lucina, in Damaso, et Duodecim Apostolorum, de Columna, quibus me servum puto. Fateor, deberem his saepe scribere et benevolentiam litteris retinere. Sed tu his¹⁶ frater es amicusque singularis. Cum tibi scribo, his scribo. Fac me rogo his¹⁷ saepe commissum, nihil ex ipsis volo praeter gratiam. Haec absenti praesentique impendi potest¹⁸.

¹ si qua ... non *omit.* V7

² arbitri WO?

³ *omit.* X1

⁴ michi *add.* X1

⁵ nimia inter eos : inter eos nimia V5

⁶ presbiterum V7

⁷ sit non : non sit X1

⁸ non eis : noti eius V7

⁹ in terra : interea WO

¹⁰ promissum V7

¹¹ deliramentum F1

¹² regiae majestati : regia majestas

X1

¹³ debeo V7

¹⁴ xxxxx *post rasuram seq.* V5; tamen *add.* F1 WO?

¹⁵ Henrici V7

¹⁶ iis V5; is *corr. ex his* V7

¹⁷ eis X1

¹⁸ impendi potest : potest impendi X1

[5] I am not surprised if there was anything in my dream¹ that you think should be different, for there were several matters I myself would have judged differently [in real life]. But we are not the masters of our dreams, and we cannot dream whatever we want to. Moreover, what is seen on the other side of the gate of horn² is neither clear nor certain. Maybe reality is quite different from what was shown to us in the dream - and perhaps many things were true!³

[6] I now pass on to other things that are not a dream but the naked truth. Recently, the heretics⁴ held a large convention in Prague. There were many complaints that they could not obtain confirmation of their bishop⁵ from the Roman Pontiff and that the bishops in the neighbour dioceses would not consecrate priests for them, which has led to a great lack of priests there.⁶ At present, they are considering this solution: the priests they have now should consecrate Rokycana [as bishop] and then he, afterwards, should promote as many men as he wants from their sect to the priesthood. They claim they can do this because if priests are able to transubstantiate bread into the Lord's body,⁷ which is the greater thing, they are even more able to consecrate a bishop, which is the lesser. Thus argue these insane people. This argument makes everything permissible to them since nothing is greater than Christ's body. Alas, the blindness of men! Oh, the delirious arguments they use to destroy their souls! Oh, the arrogance of men who think they know more than the worldwide Church! I was informed of this three days ago in a confidential letter⁸ brought by a trusted messenger⁹ from the Lord of Rosenberg.¹⁰ He asked me to pass on the information to His Royal Majesty, which I have done. But I think that also Our Most Holy Lord should hear of it, which I urgently ask you to ensure. For it is to be feared that this evil is allowed to creep on and grow strong also in the neighbouring regions. The matter has been postponed to the Feast of Saint George,¹¹ for the truce lasts until then, and in the meantime, the peace brokers have to make their pronouncement - but it is thought they will not manage it. The heretics are waiting for this, but they have ordered all to be in arms after the aforesaid feast, so that they will be ready when summoned. In the meantime, it would be expedient to prepare a medicine for this sickness. Consider this to suffice concerning that matter.

[7] But, My Father, I know that in the Roman Curia there are the Most Reverend Cardinals of San Lorenzo in Lucina,¹² of [San Lorenzo] in Damaso,¹³ of the Dodici Apostoli,¹⁴ and Colonna.¹⁵ I consider myself their servant and ought to write to them often to keep their benevolence. But you are their brother and special friend: when I write to you, I write to them. Please recommend me to them often: I only wish their favour, something that may be granted both to one who is absent and one who is present.

¹ Letter of 13 October 1449 to Juan Carvajal (letter 235).

² See letter 235: 11.

³ Piccolomini: *Dialogus* (Henderson), p. xxvii.

⁴ The Hussites.

⁵ Jan Rokycana, who had been accepted as archbishop of Prague by emperors Sigismund and Albrecht as part of the agreements on their rulership of Bohemia.

⁶ On the lack of priests in Bohemia, see oration "*Res Bohemicas*" of 1455, sect. 34-35 (COR, 6, 28).

⁷ "corpus dominicum conficere"

⁸ See letter 242:1.

⁹ Andreas, parish priest of Budweis.

¹⁰ Ulrich II von Rosenberg.

¹¹ 23 April.

¹² Jean Le Jeune [Le Josne] (1410-1451): Bishop of Macon (1433), Couserans (1436), and finally archbishop of Thérouanne (1436). Cardinal 1439. Sponsored Piccolomini's reconciliation with Pope Eugenius in February 1445

¹³ Ludovico Trevisan [Scarampo] (1401-1465): Appointed patriarch

of Aquileia in January 1440, somewhat later camerlengo of the Roman Church, and on 12 July 1440 cardinal.

¹⁴ Basilios Bessarion (1403-1472): Greek humanist and theologian. Played an active role at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Appointed a cardinal in 1439.

¹⁵ Prospero Colonna (ca. 1410-1463): Roman noble. Nephew of Pope Martin V. Cardinal *in petto* 1426, published 1430.

[8] Neglectum est unum, quod a me modo referetur. Communi Austrialium consilio decretum est in medio quadragesimae teneri non¹ parvum campum adversus Pancratium et eos, qui nunc infestant Austriam. Dux exercitus creatus est Ulricus, Ciliae² comes, magna potentia praeditus³, atque is⁴ facit optima, ut sperem, nam et adversarii plurimum timent et, sicut accepi, nolunt Hungari subsidium⁵ Pancratio praebere. Id, si verum erit, puto futurum, ut ad vos cito veniamus. Sicut enim vulgo dicitur, nullum est majus regiae majestati desiderium, quam Romam prius petere quam jubilaeus expiret⁶. Faxit igitur divina pietas, ut astra, fata, homines nobis faveant vosque visere detur. Quod si mihi cum rege dabitur⁷, temptabo etiam ante annum Romana videre moenia et his atque Italiae dicere valete.

Et⁸ etiam vale. Ispalensem decanum, quoniam meum esse amicum dicis, jube salvere meis verbis. Nimis arroganter ago tecum, sed ita me nutritivisti, dum apud nos fuisti. Durum est assueta relinquere. Vale iterum, mei memor. Ex Novacivitate, die 9.⁹ Februarii¹⁰ 1450¹¹.

¹ noti V7

² Syllacei F1, V6; Syllacri V7; Sallacie X1

³ potentia praeditus : preditus virtute X1

⁴ his V7

⁵ quodvis *add.* X1

⁶ expiriet F1, V6

⁷ negabitur X1

⁸ tu *add.* X1

⁹ 11. V7

¹⁰ die 9. Februarii *omit.* X1

¹¹ 1449 F1, V5, V6, V7

[8] One thing I have said nothing about, but I shall do so now. The Austrians have decided to mount a large expedition against Pankraz¹ and those who are now molesting Austria. Count Ulrich² has been appointed commander of the army. He is a man of great power and will do excellently, I should hope, for his adversaries much fear him, and the Hungarians will not aid Pankraz. If things turn out as I believe, we shall come to you soon, for - as is commonly rumoured - His Royal Majesty's greatest desire is to go to Rome before the Jubilee Year³ ends. May merciful God give that the stars, the fates and men favour us and that we may see you again. If it is given to me to accompany the king, I shall endeavour to see the walls of Rome before the end of the year and greet them and Italy.

You, too, farewell. Greet the Spanish dean you say is my friend from me (see how arrogantly I act with you, but this is how you tutored me when you were with us, and it is difficult to give up one's habits!). Farewell again, and remember me. From Neustadt, 9 February 1450.

¹Pongrác za Sv. Mikulás [Pankraz von Holitsch] [Halitsch] (-1461):

Military commander from Moravia. See DVI, sect. 272-274.

² Ulrich II von Cilly.

³ The Jubilee Year of 1450.

244. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicky (23 February 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: HOH / 47, ff. 113r ff.¹

Editions A: See WO.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 41, pp. 158-160.

Reverendissimo patri, domino Sbigneo, Sancte Priscae, sanctae Romane ecclesiae presbytero cardinali Cracoviensique praesuli, domino suo singulari, Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus ac regius consiliarius, salutem plurimam dicit seque commendat et offert.

[1] Johannes Dlugosch, secretarius tuus, vir non eloquentia quam probitate minor, tuas mihi litteras et ornatissimas et humanissimas reddidit, ex quibus, non facile dixerim, quantum consolationis et voluptatis acceperim. Audivi non sine grandi laetitia, quod de tam sublimi cardinalatus dignitate significasti, verebar namque semper, ne magis obtrectatorum perversitas quam tua virtus posset, ut saepe solet accidere, quod probitas laudatur et alget. Sed evenit hoc communi virtuti non singulari, mediocri vino non excellenti; qui dotibus praecipuis eminent, diutius jacere non possunt. Accepit laudes tuas pontifex maximus, nec potuit legitime certanti non largiri rationem. Magnus honor tibi, magna est gloria tua, inauditum antea pretium. Tres tibi Romani pontifices ordinis amplissimi dignitatem ultro contulerunt, nec mirum. Non tam te ornari rubeo galero quam tua sapientia tuoque nomine sanctae sedis apostolicae crediderunt augeri majestatem. Sunt ista enim perjucunda et acceptissima, namque laetus vivam, quod superest aevi, quando rediisse tempora video virtutis amica. Ad hoc accedunt oblationes tuae, quas muneribus non exiguis comprobasti.

¹ Collation from WO

244. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicky (23 February 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: In an elegantly penned letter, Olesnicky had informed Piccolomini about his re-appointment (in 1447) as a cardinal and sent him some gifts with his secretary, apparently entrusted with a mission to the imperial court.

Subject: Piccolomini expresses his delight at the cardinal's re-appointment and profusely praises the elegance of his letter.

To His Lordship Zbigniew,¹ Cardinal Priest of Santa Prisca of the Holy Roman Church, and Bishop of Krakow, his particular lord, Enea, Bishop of Trieste and royal counsellor, sends many greetings, commends and devotes himself.

[1] Johannes Dlugosch, your secretary, a man of equal eloquence and integrity, has delivered your most ornate and kind letter.² I cannot express what comfort and pleasure it gave me. I was delighted to see what you wrote about the exalted dignity of the cardinalate,³ for I always feared that the perversity of your detractors would prevail over your virtue since it often happens that integrity is both praised and neglected. But this is what happens to [men with] ordinary qualities, to a mediocre and not excellent wine, whereas men with outstanding qualities cannot be neglected⁴ for long. The Supreme Pontiff⁵ heard your praises and could not legitimately fail to give you your due. You have been shown great honour, your glory is great, and your recognition⁶ without precedence. Three Roman pontiffs bestowed the dignity of the highest order⁷ on you, and no wonder! They wanted to honour you with the red hat, but, even more, they thought your name would increase the majesty of the Holy Apostolic See.⁸ This is most joyful and agreeable, for I shall live happily ever after, having seen the return of an era friendly to virtue. To this come your offerings, attested by not insignificant gifts.

¹ Olesnicky, Zbigniew (1389-1455): Bishop of Krakow (1423) and cardinal (1439). In his *Europa*, Piccolomini wrote about him: *Zbigniew presided over this city [Krakow], a bishop notable for his literary erudition and charming personality. I received many letters from him [not extant], composed with plentiful wit and Roman refinement. In recognition of his singular merits, the Roman*

Church sent him a cardinal's hat (EUR, 86, p. 139).

² The letter is not extant.

³ On 18 December 1459, Olesnicky was appointed cardinal-priest of S. Prisca by Pope Eugene IV. In 1441, antipope Felix V appointed him cardinal-priest of S. Anastasia in the obedience of the Council of Basel. And, finally, Pope Nicolaus V, on 6 September 1446, re-appointed him cardinal-priest of S. Prisca. Piccolomini

must be referring to Olesnicky's re-appointment as a cardinal by Nicolaus V

⁴ "jacere"

⁵ Nicolaus V.

⁶ "pretium"

⁷ The cardinalate.

⁸ A typical compliment in Renaissance letters of congratulation: the appointment brings even greater honour to the appointer than to the appointee.

[2] Non scio, quibus verbis jam tibi gratias agam: dicis et facis simul, ego tantum dicere possum, quod dixi, neque dicere meum est: vincor abs te, cedo tibi, cedo tuis litteris, quae non ex Polonia, sed ex ipsis Athenis transivisse videntur. Scripsi nonnumquam ego in Poloniam nec, quid scriberem, satis adverti. Non existimabam aquilonares homines litterarum sequi delicias. Deceptus sum et apud multos fortasse derisus, nam si diligenter et accurate scribens jure nunc condemnor, quae mei existimatio potest fieri temere suscipiens calamum? Non minores, ut tuae docent litterae, Polonorum sunt quam Italorum munditiae. Commendanda natio et in caelum laudibus efferenda Polonorum, qui quamvis ad Italiam, ubi nunc est facundiae scaturigo, medios habent vel Teutones vel Hungaros, prius tamen quam illi fontem adierunt limpidissimisque potati lymphis splendorem eloquentiae domum retulerunt.

[3] Fecit hoc, ut epistolarum mearum volumen, quod expostulas, minus libenter tradam, quia non est tersum neque ad tuum morem limatum. Quia tamen dignationi tuae negare non possum, scriptori commissum est, ut redeunti Johanni tradi et ad te deferri possit. Videbis ineptias meas, opinionem de me majorem esse quam rem miraberis. Dicis forsitan: “Cur scribis, quando te scribere minus ornate nescis?” Laboro communi vitio: *scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim*. Malo namque incassum scribere quam nihil agens torpere.

[4] Cetera quae sunt hic gesta cum regia majestate scriptis suis et Johannes et Marcus et alter Johannes, humanissimi viri, tuae dignationi referasse confido nec ulterius quid scribam, nunc habeo.

Cupio te sospitem et ad votum valere. Ego tuus sum. Pauca sunt, quae habeo, tuo tamen arbitrio teneo singula. Si quo jure vel tibi vel tuis amicis frugi esse possim, neque rogandum neque hortandum, sed admonendum me tantum scito. Vale. Datum in Novavivitate, feria post dominicam *Invocavit me* anno etc. 50.

[2] I do not know how to express my thanks in words: you both talk and act, whereas I can only talk, and even that I cannot do: I am defeated by you, I yield to you, I yield to your letters that seem to have come not from Poland but from Athens. I have written against Poland several times but without considering enough what I wrote. I did not believe that men of the North pursued the delights of letters. I was wrong, and maybe many deride me now, for if I am criticised when I write carefully and correctly, how will I be judged when I use the pen carelessly? Your missive shows that Polish letters are not inferior to Italian elegance. The nation of the Poles should be praised to Heaven: though the Germans and Hungarians lie between them and Italy, source of eloquence, they sought out this fountain before the others, and having drunk from the clear waters, they brought home with them the splendour of eloquence.

[3] This is why I shall be less than happy to send you the volume of my letters you request, for it has not been revised and polished to your standards. But since I cannot deny Your grace anything, I have given it to a scribe¹ so that Johannes can bring it to you when he returns. Then, you will see my ineptness and wonder that your opinion of me is higher than warranted. Maybe you say, “But why do you write if you know you write less than elegantly?” [It is because] I suffer from the common fault: *Skilled or unskilled, we scribble poetry, all alike.*² I will rather write in vain than languish, doing nothing.

[4] I trust that Johannes³ and Marcus⁴ and the other Johannes⁵, kindest of men, have informed Your Grace what has been done here with His Royal Majesty, and I have nothing more to write now.

I wish you to be safe and sound and to fare well. I am yours. I only have little, but what I have, I have at your pleasure. Know that if I can rightfully be of use to you and your friends, you need neither ask nor exhort but just require it. Farewell. Given in Neustadt, on the day after *Invocavit* Sunday in the year etc. [14]50.

¹ For copying.

² Horatius: *Epistolae*, 2: 1, 117.

³ Johannes Dlugosch. WO gives the text of letter from Dlugosch to cardinal in which he describes the qualities of Piccolomini: WO: codex epistolaris, S. 109: *Aderat rebus his omnibus magnae prudentiae et excelsi ingenii vir pontifex Tergestinus dominus Eneas, homo inter praestantiores aevi nostri scriptores numerandus, qui aulam caesaream latiali eloquentia reddit celebrem, et iterum omnis summa maior ex eo dependet. Hunc itaque primum cum comitibus meis adii, non quod aliquid esset me cum illo rei, sed quod sibi epistolam mei Cardinalis Cracoviensis et dona quaedam reddere debebam: Conveni itaque. Hunc et ut iussus eram explevi singula. Sed*

si munera a Cardinali Ecclesiae, tam ob nobilitatem eorum missa magnipenderet, maior tamen alacritas, maior voluptas ex epistolae verbis animo viri insedit nec continens se quin eructaret potuit. Circumtulit enim et per caesaream cancellariam et per regios consiliarios, de qua loquor, Cardinalis nostri epistolam, et illam coram legens magna extulit laude simulque admirans quod ex nostra barbarie ita desertum atque lotum sermonem excepisset. Alemanis huiusce verbis carpebat: Ingerit vobis, domini Almani, a quibus nunc Romanum gubernatur imperium, non mediocrem haec, quam gesto, turpitudinem epistola, adeo et ornata et graviter composita, ut satis reformidem, si ei debitum quaeam reddere responsum; de-

clarat insuper, Polonos habere nobilia ingenia et ea in rebus et praeceptis arduis versari, vestra vero ita nunc constat esse aut tarda aut neglecta, ut nemo ex omni dari possit Almania, qui pari lepore verba exornet. Ita alterius nationis gloriam, alterius gravem sugillationem perstrinxit (WO, 2: pp. 159-160).

⁴ WO, 2: 1, p. 160: Marcus Bonifilius, theologiae magister, camerae apostolicae clericus. Also mentioned, negatively, in letter 148 (if Wolkan’s identification is correct).

⁵ WO, 2: 1, p. 160: Wohl Johannes Elgot.

245. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicky (16 July 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: Y1, f. 248r^l; X1, ff. 128r-129r **; (SCH. S IV/7-335, ff. 40v-41r²).

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 42, pp. 160-162 (on the basis of V and X1).

Translations: RE, 74, pp. 304-306.

{128r} Reverendissimo sanctoque patri, domino Sbigneo, pontifici Cracoviensi primoque sedis cardinali dignissimo, domino suo, Aeneas, episcopus Tergestinus³, salutem plurimam dicit commendatumque sese magno opere cupit.

[1] Epistolas meas, quibus amicos alloquor, tibi ut ederem saepius flagitasti. Volui tuo desiderio morem gerere, commisi librario meo, non ut optarem terso, opus ut transcriberet. Ego interim in Histriam sum profectus. Duo sunt epistolarum volumina, alterum saecularium, alterum pontificalium. Saeculares sunt litterae, quas ante pontificatum mihi delatum conscripsi. Quidquid postea scriptum est, ex pontificio nomen habet. Cum redii ex Tergesto, comperi alterum volumen absolutum saecularium litterarum. Hoc correxi dignationique tuae mox transmitterem, si bajulus esset⁴ fidus. Sed non novi homines, qui ad te proficiscuntur maloque serius et utiliter mittere quam celeriter⁵ in vanum. Tu ergo, si quem scis huc⁶ venturum, qui rediturus ad te sit, probatae fidei, scribito mihi, et cuicumque miseris⁷, librum consignabo. Habet autem liber sexternos duos de⁸ viginti. Nugas⁹ quamplures continet, quas, dum lego, mei me pudet, nec ullo pacto tantas ineptias in lucem darem, nisi tua me cogeret auctoritas, cui negare nihil possum. Aliud quod modo scribam nihil habeo.

[2] Pontificalium litterarum liber, cujus¹⁰ faciam copiam, minus enim stultitiae et plus, ut mihi videtur, nervorum habent¹¹ plusque salis, nisi senescentes desipimus et opera nostra plus aequo diligimus, quod non poetarum modo, sed omnium scriptorum commune vitium est.

[3] Unum denique ex tua dignatione impetratum cupio. Praeposito Tridentino litteras dudum obsignavi, quibus rogavi hominem de praepositura sua, que occupata {129r} illi est, quid facturus esset, mihi scriberet¹², an resignare jus suum vellet Johanni Hinderpach, secretario regis¹³, qui pensionem annuam post recuperationem sibi aequam persolveret. Numquam responsum habui. Puto hunc apud te fore aut non esse remotum. Precor, jubeas, virum mihi, quid mentis¹⁴ habeat, rescribere. Parum est, quod peto vixque video negandum.

¹ Collated after WO.

² Not collated.

³ Senensis X1

⁴ est X1

⁵ et add. X1

⁶ hunc X1

⁷ iusseris X1

⁸ duos de : et X1

⁹ enim add. X1

¹⁰ liber cujus : libentius X1

¹¹ haberet V

¹² rescriberet X1

¹³ regio X1

¹⁴ meritis X1

245. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicky (16 July 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: The Cardinal of Krakow had asked Piccolomini to send him a volume with his letters.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the cardinal that he has finished a volume with his secular letters and begun a volume with his episcopal letters. A copy of the first volume had been made and would be sent to the cardinal when a reliable messenger was available.

To the Most Reverend and Holy Father, His Lordship Zbigniew, Bishop of Krakow, Most Worthy Cardinal of the First See¹ and his Lord, Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings and fervent wishes to be remembered.

[1] Several times you have asked me to send you my letters, by which I speak to my friends. Desiring to fulfil your wish, I have given the work to my scribe,² who, unfortunately, is not as diligent as I should wish.³ In the meantime, I myself have been in Istria.⁴ There are two volumes of letters, one containing my secular letters and the other containing my episcopal letters. The secular letters are those written before I became a bishop. What I have written since is named after the episcopacy. When I returned from Trieste, I found that the first volume, containing the secular letters, was finished. I have corrected it and would immediately have sent it to Your Grace if only there had been a reliable letter-bearer. However, I do not know of men going to you, and I prefer a late and successful dispatch to one to a rapid but unsuccessful one. So, write to me if you know that a trustworthy person is coming here and afterwards returning to you, and I shall entrust the book to him. It consists of 18 sexterns.⁵ It contains many trifles, and I am ashamed when I read it and would never have published such ineptitudes unless forced to it by your authority, which I must obey. I say no more about this.

[2] The book of episcopal letters, of which I shall eventually have a copy made, contains less foolishness and has more vigour and salt unless we deceive ourselves as we get older and love our works beyond reason, which is a common error not only of poets but of all writers.

[3] Finally, there is one thing I wish to obtain from Your Grace. I have twice written to the provost of Trento,⁶ asking him to write to me what he would do with the provostship that he has held until now, and if he would be willing to resign from it in favour of Johann Hinderbach,⁷ a royal secretary, who would be willing to pay him a yearly pension in case he acquired it. I have not heard from him yet. I believe that this man is with you or not far away. I ask you to request of him to write to me about his intentions. It is little to ask for and hardly to be denied.

¹ The see of Rome.

² "librarius"

³ Which would result in many errors of transscription.

⁴ For a period in 1449, Piccolomini stayed in his episcopal city Trieste.

⁵ Sextern: six gathered sheets folded in two for binding together

⁶ Stanislas from Poland held the post from 1426 to 1450 (RE, p. 305).

⁷ Johann Hinderbach (1418-1483): At the time a secretary of Friedrich

III. After a distinguished career at Friedrichs court, he became Bishop of Trient in 1465. Friend of Piccolomini.

[4] Sed neque hac petitione quiescam. Peto me serenissimo principi ac potentissimo regi Poloniae, tuo meoque domino, commendatum facias, quem non solum corpore pulchrum atque robustum, sed animi quoque dotibus, liberalitate, clementia, fortitudine ceterisque virtutibus praeditum ajunt, cujus excellentiae impius est et inhumanus, qui favere non potest. Ego illi toto pectore afficior, secundam sibi fortunam opto et annos Nestoris.

Vale mei memor, ut te regemque tuum aliquando visam¹. Ex Nova Civitate, 17. Kalendis Augusti 1450.

¹ visum X1

[4] But I shall not leave it at that one petition. I also ask you to recommend me to the Most Serene Prince and Mighty King of Poland,¹ your lord and mine, who is said to be handsome and robust of body and to be gifted with generosity, clemency, fortitude and other excellent virtues that only an insolent and uncivilised person would disdain. I am completely devoted to him and wish him a happy fortune and Nestor's old age.²

Farewell and remember me. I hope to be able to visit you and your king some time. From Neustadt, 16 July 1450.

¹ Kazimierz IV [Jagiellon] (1427-1492): Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1440 and King of Poland from 1447 to his death.

² Nestor: (Myth.) King of Pylos. Hero figuring in Homer's works. Reputed for wisdom and longevity.

246. Letter to Johann von Eich (23 July 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: G1, f. 105r¹ ; M3, ff. 344r-344v² **; Y1, f. 248r³.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 2: 1, 43, pp. 162-163 (on the basis of G and Y).

{344r} Integerrimo sanctoque patri, domino Johanni, episcopo Eystetensi, domino et consacerdoti suo, Aeneas⁴, episcopum Tergestinus, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Mathias, diaconus tuus, longo mihi tempore notus et antiqua mihi familiaritate conjunctus, litteras tuis exaratas digitis ad me detulit, sed multum temporis in via consumpserat. Accipio laeta fronte, quod a te venerit visitarique tuis epistolis non parvam beatitudinis partem duco⁵. Si possem oris tui verba⁶ percipere, beatior fierem, at quando loqui non datur, scriptura satisfaciendum est desiderio, quam qui invenerit, magni boni causa fuit. Hac enim magnis terrarum pelagique spaciis disjunctae societates conjunguntur, loquuntur et se ipsas intelligunt.

[2] Mihi tamen non fuit jucundum audire tuas adversitates. Nec enim sinistri quidquam pateris, quod non me pariter ac te cruciet, nec male dictum putarim, si tuis calamitatibus me magis angi contenderim, quam te ipsum, nec enim mihi tantum nervorum est tantumque constantie ad tolerandos fortunae impetus quantum tibi. Te vulnus impetit⁷, me dolor affligit. Tu virtutibus armatus es facileque novercantis⁸ nimiumque saevientis⁹ [fortunae]¹⁰ tela contemnis. Ego inermis sum ictuque minimo decido. Assurgamus tamen ambo et forte pectus opponamus insidiis. Non te, qui tute navigas, sed me ipsum, solabor.

[3] Fugienda sunt dominia, spernendi principatus, humana gloria fugienda, si liberi esse volumus, si quietam cupimus vitam, nec divitias simul et pacem possumus possidere. Subjecta sunt motibus¹¹ regna. Non, qui populo dominatur, sed, qui sibi imperat, quietus est. Scripsisti mihi ac depinxisti belli faciem. Visus videre sum hic strages, ibi rapinas, illic incendia. Qui sint discordie fructus nisi provinciarum ruina? Proh stulta hominum cupiditas¹², quae, dum aliena cupit, sua amittit. Quis furor, quae dementia, quae rabies principes adversus civitates et civitates adversus principe¹³s armavit? Nihil tibi ascribo: scio moderationem animi tui nec te coactum ambigo bellum intrasse. Neminem tibi adhuc detrahentem accepi. Sumerem patrocinii vices, nemo me praesente non redargutus nomen tuum carperet. Honoris tui tutor indefessus fiam, si quem tibi detrahere, {344v} subodoraverim.

¹ Collated after WO

² DV, 688-689

³ Collated after WO

⁴ Silvius poeta add. M3

⁵ dico WO

⁶ tui verba : verba tui M3

⁷ impedit WO

⁸ novercantia WO

⁹ saevientia WO

¹⁰ em.

¹¹ montibus M3

¹² cupido WO

¹³ adversus civitates ... principes omit. M3

246. Letter to Johann von Eich (23 July 1450, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: Johann von Eich, Bishop of Eichstätt, a former colleague of Piccolomini at the royal court, had written a letter to Piccolomini¹ describing the fury of a war in which he had become involved.

Subject: Piccolomini consoles his episcopal colleague for the miseries of war.

To the most honourable and holy Father, Johann,² Bishop of Eichstätt, his master and fellow priest, Enea, Bishop of Trieste, sends many greetings.

[1] Your deacon Matthias, an old acquaintance and friend, has brought me a letter from you written in your own hand, but it has taken a long time to arrive. I hear with joy what comes from you and declare that I take particular pleasure in your letters. If I could hear the words from your own mouth, I would be even happier, but when we cannot speak [face to face], we must be satisfied with a written letter. The man who invented writing was the cause of a great blessing, for letters join associates separated by great distances of land and sea, and through them, they talk to and understand each other.

[2] I was sorry to hear about your troubles,³ for when you suffer adversity, I too am pained: I could even rightfully claim that your misfortune makes me suffer more than you yourself, for I do not possess your great self-control and patience in bearing with fortune's attacks: when you are wounded, I am overcome with pain. You are armed with virtues and easily - even contemptuously - deflect the spears thrown by a stepmotherly and savage [fortune]. I am weaponless and fall at the slightest strike. But let us both rise and oppose the plots [of others] with courage. [As you can see], I am comforting myself, not you, who steer safely.

[3] Lordship must be avoided, principedoms must be scorned, and human glory must be fled if we would be free and wish for a tranquil life, for we cannot have wealth and peace at the same time.⁴ Realms are subject to turbulent change. It is not he who commands others but he who commands himself who is at peace. You wrote to me describing the war. It was as if I were seeing slaughter, plunder and burnings everywhere. What is the result of war but the ruin of the lands? Alas, the greed of men: when it covets other's possessions, it loses its own. What frenzy, what insanity, what rage armed the princes against the cities and the cities against the princes. I do not blame you, for I know your moderation and am sure you would never have entered a war unless forced to. I have heard nobody criticise you [and if I did], I would come to your defence: nobody will denounce you unopposed when I am present. I shall be your tireless defender if I get the slightest whiff of anybody maligning you.

¹ Not extant.

² Johann von Eich (1404-1464): Doctor utriusque juris. Official of Albrecht VI. Elected bishop of Eichstätt on 1 October 1445.

³ Rather against his will, Bishop von Eich became involved in the war between the Margravate of Ansbach (Margrave Albrecht Achilles von Brandenburg) and the

City of Nürnberg (1449-1450) (Erster Markgrafenkrieg). See Wikipedia (de): *Dieser Krieg gegen Nürnberg war der Kern einer größeren Auseinandersetzung: 31 Reichsstädte verbündeten sich gegen ein Bündnis von hauptsächlich oberdeutschen Fürsten und kämpften teilweise koordiniert an verschiedenen Schauplätzen gegeneinander in einem*

Krieg, der fast ganz Süddeutschland vom Rhein bis nach Sachsen „in die Wirren der Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Fürsten und Städten“ zog. Dieser Krieg wurde später als Zweiter (süddeutscher) Städtekrieg bekannt.

⁴ An echo of Piccolomini's *De curialium Miseriis* from 1444, dedicated to Johann von Eich.

[4] Accepi, quae magnifico fortissimoque pectore Albertum, marchionem Brandenburgensem, illustri sanguine cretum¹, nuper egisse scripsisti. Congratulor virtuti suae laetorque nostrum saeculum tanto viro ornari, qui vel Achillis vel Hectoris praestantiae par sit. Ego illi inter viros illustres nostri temporis, de quibus modo tractatum cudo, non infimum locum servavi² atque idcirco silendum in praesentiarum decrevi.

[5] Gaudeo quoque ex pacis conclusione, cuius nomen dulcissimum est et res saluberrima jucundissimaque. Mallem salvis potius quam rebus³ consumptis concordiam emersisse. Melius tamen est sera pax quam perpetuum bellum. Tu igitur jam respirabis paceque fruens clero tuo deliranti resistere poteris, nec tibi justitiae tramites sequenti Romana curia adversabitur. Sequere et quod rectum arbitraris totis amplectere viribus. Justis conatibus et homines et superi favent. Non scribam tibi nunc plura, quia non adest otium. Tantum rogo, veteris amicitiae nostrae ut memor sis meque tuo utaris, qui nullibi tuis mandatis adversus ero. Caesari nostro confide te fore carissimum, quamvis nostri qui sint mores, multo quam ego melius⁴ nosti. Si quando ulterius ad te scripsero, verbosior ero.

Vale et me dilige, tui observantissimum. Ex Novacivitate, 10. Kalendas Augusti 1450.

¹ ortum WO

² locum servavi : servavi locum
M3

³ quam rebus : rebus quam M3

⁴ omit. M3

[4] I saw what you wrote about the recent doings of the magnificent and courageous Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg,¹ of illustrious blood. I congratulate him on his strength and courage and rejoice that our age is adorned with such a great man, who equals the excellence of Achilles and Hector.² I have kept a prominent place for him in a work on illustrious men of our time,³ I am working on,⁴ so I shall say no more about him here.

[5] I also rejoice that peace has now been made.⁵ “Peace” is indeed the sweetest of words, most salutary and joyful. I prefer that peace comes about before complete destruction, but a late peace is better than a permanent war. So, now you will be able to breathe again, and with peace at hand, you will be able to better resist your unhinged clergy,⁶ and the Roman curia will not oppose you following the path of justice.⁷ So, do follow it and embrace [the cause of] rightness with all your strength. Both men and the superior beings favour just efforts. I shall not write more since time fails me. I only ask you to remember our old friendship and make use of me, who shall never oppose your wishes. Trust that you are most dear to the emperor, though you know our ways much better than I. Next time I write to you, I shall write at greater length.

Farewell and love me, who is most devoted to you. From Neustadt, 23 July 1450.

¹ Albrecht III Achilles (Hohenzollern) (1414-1486): Margrave of Brandenburg.

² Achilles and Hector: two heroes of the Trojan War. Piccolomini would later publicly apply the name of Achilles to Albrecht, who became known as Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg.

³ Piccolomini’s *De Viris Illustribus* (DVI). The only extant version is unfinished and does not have a chapter on Albrecht of Brandenburg.

⁴ Piccolomini wrote this work over several years, adding to and revising the previous chapters.

⁵ 22 June 1450 Bamberg.

⁶ Bishop Eich was an energetic but apparently not an unopposed reformer of the secular and religious clergy.

⁷ In reforming his diocese.

247. Letter from Nicolaus V (23 September 1450, Rome).

Manuscripts: Reg. Vatic. 412, f. 313r¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 1, pp. 3-4.

Nicolaus etc. venerabili fratri Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, salutem etc.

[1] Romani pontificis, quem pastor ille caelestis et episcopus animarum potestatis sibi plenitudine tradita ecclesiis praetulit universis, plena vigiliis sollicitudo requirit, ut circa statum quarumcumque ecclesiarum sic vigilanter excogitet sicque prospiciat diligenter, quod per ejus providentiam circumspectam, nunc per simplicis provisionis officium, nunc vero per ministerium translationis accomode, prout personarum, locorum et temporum qualitas exigit et ecclesiarum utilitas persuadet, ecclesiis singulis pastor accedat idoneus et rector providus deputetur, qui populum sibi commissum per suam circumspectionem providam et providentiam circumspectam salubriter dirigat et informet, ac bona ecclesiae sibi commissae non solum gubernet utiliter, sed etiam multimodis efferat incrementis.

[2] Dudum siquidem bonae memoriae Nerio, episcopo Senensi, regimini ecclesiae Senensis praesidente, nos cupientes eidem ecclesiae, cum vacaret, per operationis nostrae ministerium utilem et idoneam praesidere personam provisionem ipsius ecclesiae ordinationi et dispositioni nostrae duximus ea vice specialiter reservandam, decernentes extunc irritum et inane, si secus super hiis per quoscunque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigeret attemptari.

[3] Postmodum vero praefata ecclesia per obitum ejusdem Nerii episcopi, qui extra Romanam curiam diem clausit extremum, pastoris solatio destituta, nos vacatione hujusmodi fidedignis relatibus intellecta, ad provisionem dictae ecclesiae celerem et felicem, de qua nullus praeter nos hac vice se intromittere potuit sive potest, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, ne ecclesia ipsa longe vacationis exponatur incommodis, paternis et sollicitis studiis intendentes, post deliberationem, quam de praeficiendo ipsi ecclesiae personam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem, demum ad te Senensem, tunc Trigestinum episcopum, consideratis grandium virtutum donis, quibus personam tuam illarum largitor dominus insignivit, et quod tu, qui ecclesiae Trigestinae hactenus laudabiliter praefuisti, scies et poteris praefatam ecclesiam Senensem auctore domino salubriter regere et feliciter gubernare, direximus oculos nostrae mentis.

¹ Reproduced after WO.

247. Letter from Nicolaus V (23 September 1450, Rome).

Context: As a further reward for his merits in connection with the adherence of the German nation to the Roman papacy and possibly with a view to raise his status at the imperial court, where he would also represent the papal interests, Pope Nicolaus V in September 1450, transferred Bishop Piccolomini from the See of Trieste to the See of Siena.¹ Bishop Piccolomini would solemnly enter the city as its new bishop on his way from an imperial mission to Naples (the emperor's marriage to Princess Leonora of Portugal) and Rome (the emperor's request for the imperial coronation),² where he managed to arrive before the end of the Jubilee Year.

Subject: The letter is a standard letter of episcopal appointment, in the convoluted style of the papal court.

Nicolaus etc. sends greetings etc. to his Venerable Brother, Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] The heavenly shepherd and bishop of souls gave the plenitude of power to the Roman Pontiff and thus placed him above all the churches. Therefore, indefatigable solicitude requires that he vigilantly observes the state of all these churches and diligently considers how, by his careful provision, a suitable shepherd should be appointed to each church either through simple provision or through translation - according to the conditions of persons, places and times and the needs of the churches - and that a prudent rector be appointed to rule and instruct the people entrusted to him with circumspect prudence and prudent circumspection and to not only suitably administer the possessions of the church entrusted to him but also to increase them in every way possible.

[2] Previously, while Neri³, Bishop of Siena, governed the Church of Siena, We desired that this church, when it fell vacant, should be led by a suitable person appointed by Us. We, therefore, decided to reserve - in this case - the provision of that church for Our special ordination and disposition, declaring void and null what other persons of any authority whatsoever might attempt, knowingly or unknowingly.

[3] The aforesaid church has now been deprived of pastoral comfort through the death of said Bishop Neri, who died away from the Roman Curia.⁴ When, through reliable reports, We were informed of the vacancy, We, with paternal solicitude and desiring to spare this church the problems of a prolonged vacancy and proceeded to a swift and felicitous provision in which - in this instance - nobody except We Ourselves could or can intervene since Our aforesaid reservation and decree forbid it. So we directed the eyes of our soul to you, then Bishop of Trieste and now of Siena. We have considered your gifts of great virtues with which the Lord, the liberal giver, has distinguished you as well as the fact that until now you have administered the Church of Trieste commendably. [We, therefore, believe] that you will know and be able to rule the aforesaid Church of Siena prosperously and govern it felicitously.

¹ VO, 3: 1, p. 17; Mitchell, pp. 107-108.

² See the introductions to the orations "*Quamvis grandes materias*" (12 December 1450) and

"*Fateor*" (18 December 1450) (COR, 4: 14-15).

³ Neri da Montecarlo (d. 1450): Bishop of Siena from 1444 to his death.

⁴ The rules for appointing successors to bishops who died while at the Papal Curia differed from those governing the succession of bishops who died away from the Papal Curia.

[4] Intendentes igitur tam dictae ecclesiae Senensi quam ejus gregi dominico utiliter providere, te a vinculo, quo dictae ecclesiae Tergestinae, cui tunc praeras, tenebaris, de dictorum fratrum nostrorum consilio et apostolicae potestatis plenitudine absolventes, te ad ipsam Senensem ecclesiam apostolica auctoritate transferimus teque illi praeficimus in episcopum et pastorem, curam et administrationem dictae ecclesiae Senensis tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo liberamque tibi tribuendo licentiam ad praefatam ecclesiam Senensem transeundi, firma spe fiduciaque conceptis, quod, dirigente domino actus tuos, praefata ecclesia Senensis per tuae circumspectionis industriam et studium fructuosum regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur ac grata in spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa.

[5] Quocirca fraternitati tuae per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus ad praefatam ecclesiam Senensem cum gratia nostrae benedictionis accedens curam et administrationem praedictas sic exercere studeas sollicite, fideliter et prudenter, quod ipsa ecclesia Senensis gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam ac tuae bonae famae odor ex laudabilibus tuis actibus latius diffundatur, tuque praeter aeternae retributionis praemium nostram dictaeque sedis benedictionem et gratiam uberius consequi merearis.

Datum Assisii, anno etc. 1450, nono kalendas Octobri pontificatus nostri anno quarto. Coll. S. Cousin. O. de Luca. Gratis de mandato domini nostri papae.¹

¹ See notes in WO.

[4] Therefore, attending to the appropriate provision of the said Church of Siena and the Lord's flock there, We, on the advice of our Brethren¹ and by the plenitude of Our apostolic power, release you from your bond to the Church of Trieste and by apostolic authority transfer you to the Church of Siena and appoint you its bishop and shepherd, completely entrusting the care and administration of the said Church of Siena both in spiritual and temporal matters to you and giving you permission to proceed to the aforesaid Church of Siena. We firmly hope and trust that with the Lord guiding your acts, the aforesaid Church of Siena will, through your circumspection, industry and fruitful endeavours, be governed beneficially, prosper felicitously and grow propitiously both in the spiritual and the temporal sphere.

[5] Therefore, by this apostolic letter, we command that you proceed to the aforesaid Church of Siena, with Our favour and benediction, and endeavour to solicitously, faithfully and prudently exercise its aforesaid care and administration so that the Church of Siena will rejoice that it has been entrusted to a prudent and productive administrator and that the fragrance of your excellent reputation will spread widely due to your praiseworthy deeds and you yourself will abundantly merit to gain Heaven's reward and ours and the said see's blessing and favour.

Given in Assisi, the year etc. 1450. 23 September, in the fourth year of our pontificate. Coll. S. Cousin. O. de Luca. Free of charge by command of our Lord Pope.

¹ The College of Cardinals.

248. Letter from Francesco Filelfo (26 November 1450, Milan).

Manuscripts: BTR / 873, f. 99r; BNU / E II 21, f. 136v; BRI / 763, f. 136r.¹

Editions A: See Filelfo: *Epistolae* (Keyser), 1, pp. 14 ff.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 2, pp. 5-7; Filelfo: *Epistolae* (Keyser), vol. 1: ep. 07.58, p. 407.

Franciscus Philelphus Aeneae Silvio, episcopo Senensi, salutem.

[1] Accepi te Senae declaratum episcopum, quod et tibi et Senensibus vehementer gratulor. Utrisque enim recte consultum puto. Nam et tu vives in patria, vives cum tuis, vives tranquille, vives cum dignitate; et Senenses eum pontificem sunt adepti, qui sit integerrimus, innocentissimus, doctissimus. Reliquum est, ut quandoquidem liberale tandem otium nactus es, ea bona, quae tibi natura quam affluentissime largita est, et observes et colas. Vales ingenio, eruditione, eloquentia. Haec tibi sunt omnia excitanda curandumque, ut non tibi solum, sed bonis omnibus non modo vivis atque praesentibus, sed universae quoque posteritati natus videare.

[2] Videre nonnullos consuevimus, qui in paupertate frugi et industri extiterunt, at iidem, ubi rebus laetioribus uti coepissent, cum dignitate et opibus desidiam etiam admiserunt et negligentiam. Quod etsi de te minime verendum arbitror, facit tamen incredibilis amor erga te meus ut vel currentem adhortari audeam. Si, cum esses et episcopus Tergestinus et regis Romanorum secretarius ac idem saepissime pro illo principe orator, tum ad pontificem maximum tum ad florentissimas orbis terrarum res publicas ac dominos, semper aliquid egregium lectitabas, dicebas, scribebas, quid te nunc agere oportet, tanta levatum laborum mole? Noli (obsecro) pati ut vel punctum aliquod temporis tibi vacuum labatur. Non parum prodesse poteris et tuis et alienis, si tuos gravissimos cogitatus acutissimaque inventa litterarum monumentis commendabis. Pone tibi ante oculos pontificem nostrum Ambrosium, Aurelium Augustinum, Johannem Chrysostomum, utrumque Gregorium, qui cum ipsi quoque essent episcopi et infinitis fere occupationibus obruti, quot tamen et quanta quamque salutifera volumina lucubrarunt? Quid enim aut magnum Basilium aut Eusebium, Hieronymum abbates meminero, quorum paene infinitis elegantissimisque libris et Italia pollet et Graecia Christianique omnes mirifice juvantur? Sed longior sum, quam debeo, praesertim tecum pontifice prudentissimo.

Vale. Ex Mediolano, 6. Kalendas Decembres 1450.

¹ Reproduced after Keyser.

248. Letter from Francesco Filelfo (26 November 1450, Milan).

Context: Piccolomini's appointment to the prestigious See of Siena naturally elicited letters of congratulation from his friends.

Subject: Filelfo congratulates Piccolomini on his appointment and exhorts him to continue his literary activities.

Francesco Filelfo sends greetings to Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] I hear you have been appointed Bishop of Siena, and I heartily congratulate both you and the Sieneese, for I think it will benefit both parties: you will live in your fatherland, you will live with your own people, you will live tranquilly, you will live in dignity, and the Sieneese have gotten a bishop who is most honourable, innocent and learned. Now that you have gained plenty of leisure time, you should cultivate the gifts nature has so generously bestowed upon you. You possess an excellent intellect, learning and eloquence. You should nurture all these and ensure that you not only live for yourself and all good men today but are also seen to have been born for the sake of all posterity.

[2] We have seen many who were productive and industrious when poor, but when their conditions improved, rank and wealth made them lazy and negligent. I believe we do not have to fear this in your case, but my incredible love for you makes me dare to spur on even a man who is in full sprint. When you were Bishop of Trieste and secretary to the King of the Romans, often acting as his ambassador to the Supreme Pontiff and the flourishing republics and lords of the world, you were always occupied in reading, speaking and writing something outstanding. So, what should you do now that you are freed of the heavy burden of affairs? Do not allow a single moment of your time to be idle. You will benefit both your own people and others if you commit your important thoughts and insightful discoveries to writing. Put before your eyes our¹ Bishop Ambrose,² Aurelius Augustinus,³ Johannes Chrysostomus,⁴ the two Gregory's^{5 6}: they were all bishops and burdened with countless affairs, but still they worked tirelessly with many and salutary works. Do I need to remind you of the abbots, Basil the Great,⁷ Eusebius⁸ and Jerome,⁹ whose almost countless splendid books sustain Italy and Greece and profit all Christians wondrously? But I am saying more than I need to, especially with you, most wise bishop.

Farewell. From Milan, 26. November 1450.

¹ Saint Ambrose was archbishop of Milan, where Filelfo lived.

² Aurelius Ambrosius (ca. 340-397): Archbishop of Milan. Doctor of the Church.

³ Aurelius Augustinus (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Doctor of the Church.

⁴ Johannes Chrysostomos (c. 347-407): Archbishop of Constantinople. Church father.

⁵ Gregorios Nazianzenos (c. 329 – 390): Archbishop of Constantinople. Church father.

⁶ Gregorios Nysses [Gregory of Nyssa] (c. 335 - c. 395)

⁷ Basileios of Caesarea [the Great] (330-379): Bishop of Caesarea. Church father.

⁸ Eusebios of Caesarea (c. 360-339): Bishop of Caesarea. Church historian.

⁹ Jeronimus, Eusebius Sophronius (ca. 342-42): Church father.

249. Letter from the City of Siena (17 January 1451, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro, 1672, c. 8^l.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 3, pp. 6-7.

Die 17. januarii 1450.

Reverendissimo episcopo Senensi Florentiae scriptum est sic. Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine pater nobis praecipue et honorande.

[1] Reverendissimae paternitati vestrae mittimus per tabellarium nostrum cum credentialibus litteris ad Caesaream majestatem instrumentum et notam super materia, de qua nobiscum sermo habitus est, nomine nostro. Per commissarios nostros intelligetis abunde desiderium nostrum, quidquid agendum sit. Rogamus igitur reverendissimam paternitatem vestram, omni conatu curetis, ut vota nostra consequi valeamus et quanto celerius exhibetur facultas super eadem re aliisque occurrentiis certiores nos reddat. Paratos semper ad beneplacita vestra.

¹ Collated after WO.

249. Letter from the City of Siena (17 January 1451, Siena).

Context: When the lord of Piombino, Jacopo II Appiano, died in 1440, the government of the territory, adjacent to Siena, passed to his mother Paola Colonna, and when she died in 1445, to his sister Caterina. The City of Siena wished 1) to inform the emperor that since Jacopo II had no legitimate male heirs, the lordship of Piombino had now reverted to the Holy Roman Empire, and 2) to request an imperial privilege to take over the lordship of the territory.¹

Subject: The city government of Siena asks its new bishop to present and support its bid to take over Piombino to the emperor.

17 January 1450.²

The following has been written Most Reverend Bishop of Siena, [presently] in Florence.³ Most Reverend Father in Christ and our Eminent and Honourable Lord.

[1] By our messenger, we send to Your Most Reverend Paternity a credential letter to His Imperial Majesty with the instrument and a note⁴ in our own name on the matter we discussed [when you were here]. Our commissioners will fully inform you what we desire to be done. Therefore, we ask Your Most Reverend Paternity to make every effort to ensure that we obtain our wish, that the permission be issued as soon as possible, and that you inform us about other matters occurring. We are always ready to accommodate your wishes.

¹ Nothing came of the Siennese initiative: the Appiano family continued to rule Piombino until 1628.

² According to the Florentine “calculus”, the new year began on 25

March (Feast of the Annunciation) so that 17 January would be in 1450, not in 1451.

³ Piccolomini was in Florence on his way back from his imperial mission to Naples and Rome. He

had just left Siena, where he had been solemnly received as its new bishop.

⁴ Given in full by Wolkan (WO, 3: 1, pp. 7-8).

250. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicki (24 May 1451, Vienna).

Manuscripts: XI, f. 140r-141r **.

Editions A: See WO.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 4, pp. 8-10 (on the basis of some earlier editions and XI).

{140r} Reverendissimo in Christo patri, domino Sbigneo, sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae primaeque sedis tituli Sanctae Priscae presbytero cardinali, dignissimo ac venerando praesuli Cracoviensi, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit suaque offert obsequia.

[1] Romam, cito erit annus, cum pergerem, epistolas meas, quas tuo jussu transscribi¹ curaveram, Johanni Hinderbachio, viro praestabili, commiseram, qui eas ad te deferendas traderet, si quis abs² vobis nuntius emissus illas quaereret. Reversus autem ab Italia mirabar vehementer, nec te medio tempore librum petivisse neque litteras ullas scripsisse, verebarque, ne quid sinistri tibi accidisset, cujus sospitatem bonamque fortunam meam duco. Arripui ergo calamum tibi que brevem epistolam dictavi, qua meam tibi admirationem exponerem. Sed mirum dictu et auditu est, dum claudio litteras obsigno que tuae dignationi mittendas, adest mox tabellarius {140v} tuus redditque tuos ornatissimos apices, valere te optime dicit, mei memorem et amantem, petere volumen epistolarum et salutes plurimas dicere. Affecisti me tuis litteris tuoque nuntio non parva laetitia, quibus tibi bene esse sensi tuisque omnibus.

[2] Epistolae, ut ante dixi, me abeunte hic transcriptae manserunt usque in hanc diem neque petitae neque vocatae. Nunc ad te venient requisitae, si fides est nuntio, et nihil adversi tulerint in via. Utinam dignae sint visione tua, tuis alloquiis et tuas incolere bibliothecas. Ego illas ad te mitto non honorandas sed tuo potius acri et gravi iudicio corrigendas expoliendasque. Nihil tibi³ tuis moribus tuaque dignitate dignum reperies: saeculares non pontificales epistolae sunt. Lusimus juvenes nondum sacramentis ecclesiastici initiati. Sapiunt omnia saeculum, quae ante pontificatum scripsimus et fortasse nimis mundiales fuimus. Nunc tum aetas, tum dignitas aliam vitam, alios mores, alia scripta ex me postulant. Ideo, quae post adeptum episcopatum scripsi, in aliud volumen redigi curo, cujus etiam aliquando poteris fieri particeps, si te meas ineptias legere juvat. Atque haec de nostris epistolis.

¹ transcribere XI

² a WO

³ ibi WO

250. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicki (24 May 1451, Vienna).

Manuscripts: In July 1450, Piccolomini had promised Cardinal Olesnicki to send him a volume containing his secular letters when the cardinal would send a reliable messenger to bring it to him.

Editions: Piccolomini informs the cardinal that the messenger has arrived and will receive the volume of secular letters. He makes some modest observations on these letters, thanks the cardinal for his congratulations on his transfer to the See of Siena, and declines to write about the prospects of a marriage between the Polish king and the Habsburg princess, Elisabeth.

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, His Lordship Zbigniew, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See, with the title of Santa Prisca, the Most Worthy and Venerable Bishop of Krakow, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings and offers of service.

[1] When you asked for a copy of my letters, I arranged for such a copy to be made. Leaving for Rome almost a year ago, I gave it to the excellent Johann Hinderbach so that he could forward it to you if a messenger from you should ask for it. When I returned from Italy, I was astonished that, in the meantime, you had not asked for the volume nor written a letter, and I feared that something bad had happened to you, whose good health and fortune I consider my own. So, I took a pen and wrote a short letter to you expressing my surprise. But - strange to say and to hear - just as I was closing and sealing the letter for Your grace, your messenger arrived and delivered your own most ornate letter to me, telling me that you are well, that you remember and love me, that you ask for the volume of letters, and that you send many greetings. Your letter and messenger touched and gladdened me deeply since it told me that you and all yours are well.

[2] As I said above, when I left, the transcribed letters remained here until now, neither requested nor demanded. Now that they have been requested, they will be delivered to you if the messenger is reliable and nothing unfortunate happens on the way. Hopefully, they are worthy of being read and discussed by you and inhabiting your library. I send them to you not to be praised but to be corrected and polished by your keen and severe judgment. You will find nothing in them that is suitable for your ways and dignity: they are secular, not episcopal letters. When we were young and had not entered the clerical order, we were just fooling around. All that we wrote before becoming a bishop tastes of the world, and maybe we were really too worldly. But now, our age and position demand another life, other ways, and other writings from me. Therefore, I have undertaken to edit a volume with the letters I have written after becoming a bishop. If it pleases you to read my foolish trifles, I shall share them with you at some time. No more about my letters.

[3] Ad tuas nunc venio, quas sale conditas ac majestate quadam venerabiles in deliciis habeo. Quod laetaris ad Senensem ecclesiam me promotum esse, habeo tuae humanitati gratias, quae suis servis bona fieri cupit namque, si verum fateri volo, ego quoque hac promotione laetatus sum, etsi scio me tantae dignitati imparem. Sed placet mihi Senensis ecclesia magis quam Tergestina, cui praefueram, et splendidior est in loco nativo, quam in extero, dignitas juvatque inter suos vivere necessarios¹. Et in patria mori non tam grave ducitur quam extra: mollius ossa cubant manibus tumultata parentum. Et quamvis forti viro omne solum patria sit, interrogatusque Socrates, cujus esset, non Atheniensem aut Thebanum sed mundanum se dixerit, mihi tam imperfecto dulcior est Senensis quam Tergestinus aut Viennensis aer. Multum est insuetis agere². Quod majora mihi auguraris tantique me³ facis, ut erubescam tua scripta legens, ascribo⁴ tuae benignitati. Ego altius ascendi, quam mea virtus meruerit. Utinam sit haec promotio mihi et ecclesiae meae salubris, faxitque Deus, ut expectationi plebis meae satisfaciam, quod nisi Deus dederit, populi vana est expectatio. Ab eo est omne datum optimum. Ille, oro me regat et reddat sibi placentem.

[4] De matrimonio regalis filiae nihil audeo tibi scribere, quia pleni {141r} suspicionum sumus et aliquando benefacientes credimur malignari. Tacere satius est quam loqui et scribere quam dicere periculosius. Manent scripta, dicta evolant. Si bene agunt, ipsi viderint, qui sunt rerum duces. Utinam sic oculati essent, ut nihil agerent, quod actum postea nollent. Sed est admodum difficile eam civitatem bene gubernari, cujus rectores nunquam sapientiae studuerunt. Ego, mi pater, quaero, quo tandem pacto curiali miseria solvar ac plebi meae Deoque serviam, nam satis exul vagusque fui. Sive Senis sive alibi fuero, tuus ero. Tu fac, ut me tuis saepe⁵ litteris visites, nam quod meis in epistolis laudas, miror magis in tuis, quarum elegantia satis est ad aquilonares partes illustrandas.

Vale, optime, in Christo Jesu et me, ut soles, ama. Ex Vienna, 24. Maji⁶ 1451.

¹ *omit.* WO

² *ager* X1

³ *omit.* X1

⁴ *attribuo* WO

⁵ *semper* X1

⁶ 24 Maji *omit.* X1

[3] I now turn to your letter¹ full of wit and a certain venerable majesty. I much enjoyed it, and thank you for kindly rejoicing in my promotion to the Church of Siena: indeed, you desire the best for your servants, and - in truth - I, too, was delighted in this promotion, though I know that I am unworthy of such an exalted office. But the Church of Siena pleases me more than the Church of Trieste, over which I presided before. A high office in one's native country is more splendid than in a foreign country; it is more comfortable to live among one's relatives and friends; and, finally, it is harder to die in a foreign land than in one's fatherland: the bones lie more comfortably when they have been buried by the hands of relatives. A man of fortitude feels at home everywhere, and Socrates,² when asked from where he came, said that *he was not of Athens or Thebes but of the world*.³ But to me, who has not attained such perfection, the air of Siena is much sweeter than that of Trieste and Vienna. It is hard to live in unfamiliar conditions.⁴ Reading your letter, I blush at how you praise me and expect greater things for me⁵: I attribute that to your kindness. I have risen higher than my virtue merited. Hopefully, this promotion will benefit me and my church. God give that I satisfy the expectations of my people, for unless God gives it, the people's hope is in vain. *All good comes from Him*. I pray that He will direct me and make me please Him.

[4] Concerning the marriage of the king's⁶ daughter,⁷ I dare not write anything to you, for here we are most suspicious, and sometimes we are believed to malign those who do good. So, it is better to be silent than to speak; indeed, it is even more perilous to write than to speak. *Written words stay with you, whereas spoken words fly away*.⁸ Those in charge of affairs will see whether they are doing well. Hopefully, they are so circumspect that they do nothing they will later regret. But rulers of cities do not find it easy to rule if they have not studied wisdom.⁹ I, My Father, seek to finally find a way to be released from the misery of courts and to serve my people and God, for I have been a roving exile for long enough. However, whether I am in Siena or elsewhere, I shall [always] be yours. Please visit me often in letters, for what you praise in my letters, I admire even more in yours, whose elegance illumines the Northern regions.

Farewell in Christ, best of men, and love me as always. From Vienna, 24 May 1451.

¹ Not extant.

² Sokrates (469-399 BCE): Greek philosopher.

³ "mundanus": Socrates as quoted by Plutarch, *On Exile* in *Moralia*: "... the saying of Socrates is still better, that he was no Athenian or a Greek, but a "cosmian" (as one might say Rhodian or Corinthian), because he did not shun himself up with Sunium or Taenarus and the Ceraunian mountains." Cicero refers to this saying in *Tusculanae*

Disputationes, 5: 37, 108. Cf. also Burlaeus (Socrates). Piccolomini may have taken over the notion of world citizenship from Francesco Filelfo, whose lectures he heard, as a young man, in Florence: ... *in his early career Filelfo imagined him-self a stoic "world citizen", attached to no particular city and detached from political concerns* (Meserve: *Nestor*, p. 62, quoting Blanchard).

³ I.e. Greek.

⁴ ?

⁵ Including the cardinalate?

⁶ Emperor Albrecht II.

⁷ Elisabeth von Österreich (c. 1436 – 1505): Daughter of Albrecht II. Married to Kazimirz IV of Poland on 10 February 1454.

⁸ Proverb - also used in the opposite form: *manent dicta, scripta evolant*.

⁹ I.e., philosophy, including political theory (like in Aristotle's *Politica*).

251. Letter to Johann Hinderbach (1 June 1451, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M5, ff. 75r-79r¹ **; XI, f. 95r-97v.

Editions A: KO, 126².

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 5, pp. 10-16 (on the basis M5³).

¹ DV, 154-161.

² DV, 101v-103v.

³ In spite of having collated the text in the basis of M5, WO has many divergent readings in com-

mon with KO, and it would appear that his method of work, in this case, was to first copy KO and then collate it with M5, overlooking a number of cases where

KO differed from M5. This explains the many instances in which M5 and XI share one reading, whereas KO and WO share another.

251. Letter to Johann Hinderbach (1 June 1451, Vienna).

Context: The context of Piccolomini's small treatise is unknown.

Subject: Based on a false etymological link between the between the Latin word "heraldus", derived from the Anglo-French word "heraut" and the Greek word "hero",¹ Piccolomini gives an entirely fictitious account of the development of heralds.²

Note: Apart from the borrowings from Arrian's *Indica* concerning Dionysius', Heracles' and Alexander's expeditions to India, this letter/treatise on the institution of heralds is a fabrication by Piccolomini, based on faulty identifications of veterans with heroes and of heroes with heralds

As for Piccolomini's account of the expeditions of Dionysius, Heracles and Bacchus to India, his source, as proven by Gilbert Tournoy, is Pierpaolo Vergerio's Latin translation of Arrian's Anabasis Alexandri (with his Indica³), which, however, has nothing about veterans, heroes and heralds in India. Vergerio made this translation in the years 1433-1437.⁴ The original manuscript containing the translation somehow came into the hands of Piccolomini. He would later send it as a gift to King Alfonso 5.⁵ That manuscript has been lost. A copy of it is in the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris (BNF / Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines, 1302) and another in Bruxelles.⁶ Tournoy suggested an examination of the manuscript in the BNF to determine to which extent Piccolomini's story was an invention or derived from Vergerio's manuscript.⁷ The present editor has consulted the NAL 1302 and determined that it only contains Arrian's two works and that it has no supplementary materials on veterans, heroes and heralds.

Piccolomini claims that his source for the history of heralds in Antiquity was a 600 year old manuscript that he saw in the sacristy of Saint Paul's Church in London in 1435. The manuscript contained, he says, a translation of Thucydides' History of the Peloponnese Wars. This is patently false since the first Latin translation of this work was only finished by Lorenzo Valla in 1452. Moreover, Piccolomini would not have been able to assess the quality of the translation, as he says he did, since he did not know Greek.

Then, why would he claim to have seen such a manuscript? There at least two possible reasons: a) He wanted to bolster his humanist credentials by references to activities as a classical book hunter in old monastic libraries after the example of Leonardo Bruni and Poggio Bracciolini (see letter 230: 2); b) He wanted to obscure his possession of Vergerio's original manuscript which he may not have come to quite honourably and which he would use as an unacknowledged source of historical material.⁸

His account of the relationship between veterans, heroes and heralds in the Old Testament and in Roman Antiquity and the European Middle Ages is not based on historical sources but is entirely fictitious.

¹ See the article on Herald in the Online Etymology Dictionary. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/herald>.

² On this letter, see Tournoy; Moll; Rundle.

³ On this legend, see Graef.

⁴ See article on Vergerio in DBI.

⁵ See letter to Beccadelli of 26 January 1454 (letter 473) and to King Alfonso V of 27 January 1454 (letter 477).

⁶ Tournoy: *Storiografia*, p. 5.

⁷ Tournoy: *Storiografia*, p. 5.

⁸ Having served at the court of Emperor Sigismund, Vergerio di-

ed in Budapest in 1444. Piccolomini's main link to Sigismund's court was Friedrich III's Chancellor Schlick, who had also been chancellor of emperors Sigismund and Albrecht II. Conjecture: Could Piccolomini have acquired the manuscript through Chancellor Schlick?

Piccolomini's account of the institution of heralds may have been an innocent literary exercise or a literary joke to be enjoyed by a few friends or a piece of fraudulent historical writing,¹ but in any case he did not want it to circulate - one understands why - and did not include it in his collection of Epistolae Saeculares. How the text came to the compilers of the only two presently known manuscripts containing it (the BSB / CLM 519; the HAB / Guelf 90 Weissenburg) and the manuscript used for the Koberger edition is not known, but Piccolomini might not have been pleased had he known the text would be much later brought to light through this channel.

Concerning Piccolomini's unacknowledged use of Arrians works, see section 8.5, Sharing and Plagiarising, in the introductory volume to Collected Orations of Pope Pius II.²

¹ Of which he would otherwise strongly disapprove.

² (COR, 1).

{75r} Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis, domino Johanni Hinderbach, secretario regio et amantissimo fratri, salutem plurimam dicit.¹

[1] Quaerere multi solent, unde sit heraldorum nomen exortum, quis heraldos² primos instituit, et quid officii genus hoc hominum inter mortales habeat, quae res mihi quoque aliquando fuerunt dubiae³. Sed cupienti plurima nosse, ut est humanum ingenium, quaerentique certior fieri, apud Angliam, quae olim Britannia dicebatur, in sacrario nobilis aedis sancti Pauli Londoniensis vetus historia in manus venit, ante annos sexcentos, ut signatum⁴ erat, conscripta, quae - si vera est - et meae potest et aliorum satisfacere cupiditati⁵. In ea quid invenerim, tibi scribere decrevi, ut acri tuo iudicio cum viro primario et doctissimo domino⁶ Ulrico de Monte Solis^{7 8}, quid tenendum sit⁹, censeas mihi rescribas. Auctor¹⁰ historiae Thucydides¹¹ Graecus annotatus erat, quem fama celebrem clarumque¹² novimus. Translatores nomen nullum inveni. Constat tamen peritum fuisse, qui magnum illum et facundissimum auctorem Latinae linguae non minorem, quam Graecus esset¹³, reddidit. Non teneo verba historiae, ut erant contexta, sententiae meminisse. In ea ad hunc fere tenorem scriptum erat:

[2] Heraldus sunt¹⁴, qui apud majores nostros heroes vocabantur¹⁵, quos majores hominibus, diis minores fuisse tradunt. Nam quem¹⁶ prisci rebus gestis insignem videbant, gratum populis^{17 18}, virtute sublimem, in deorum coetu¹⁹ colligebant, si modo miracula extabant, quibus eum supra naturam aliquid operatum {75v} fuisse constaret. At²⁰ si miraculi nihil²¹ erat, virtus tamen admirabilis videbatur. Hunc neque deum neque hominem appellare²² fas putabant, sed medium inter utrumque sortiti vocabulum heroem vocitabant²³, quasi semideum. Sic heroes introducti, a quibusdam²⁴ corrupto vocabulo heraldus sunt appellati.

¹ *Titulus*: Eneas Silvius Senensis episcopus, demum in summum pontificem assumptus Pius papa secundus appellatus. Liber de ortu et institutione heroum sive heraldorum feliciter incipit M5; Heraldorum nomen et institutio unde exortum sit. Aeneas Dei ... dicit KO

² heraldus X1

³ fuerint dubiae : fuerit dubia M5

⁴ ut signatum : uti signabatur M5

⁵ satisfacere cupiditati : cupiditati facere satis X1

⁶ et doctissimo *omit.* M5

⁷ Salis X1

⁸ de Monte Solis *omit.* M5

⁹ est X1

¹⁰ aut KO

¹¹ Tuthides KO

¹² clarum WO

¹³ est X1, KO, WO

¹⁴ *omit.* M5

¹⁵ vocitabantur KO, WO

¹⁶ que KO

¹⁷ populum

¹⁸ gratum populis : videbant M5

¹⁹ cetum WO

²⁰ ac M5

²¹ nil M5

²² compellere X1, KO, WO

²³ vocabant KO, WO

²⁴ *em.* WO; quibus M5, X1, KO

Enea, by the grace of God, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Johann Hinderbach, royal secretary and beloved brother.

1. Introduction

[1] People often ask where the word “herald” comes from, who created the first heralds, and what office they exercise among men. I, too, was once in doubt about these matters. But desiring to know many things - as the human intellect is wont to - and seeking information on this issue, I once, in England, formerly called Britannia, in the sacristy of the noble Church of Saint Paul in London,¹ came upon an old history book, written - according to the signature - more than 600 years before.² If it is a true account it may satisfy yours and others’ curiosity. In it, I found what I have now decided to write to you so that you, with your keen judgement and together with that eminent and most learned man Ulrich Sonnenberger,³ can determine what to believe and write back to me about it. As noted in the book, the author of the history was the Greek Thucydides,⁴ a famous and illustrious man, as we know. Nowhere could I find the name of the translator. He must, however, have been a learned man to be able to translate this great and most eloquent author into a Latin that did not make him smaller than he was in⁵ the Greek.⁶ I do not have the words of the history as written, but I remember its tenor. It went something like this:

2. Name

[2] Heraldry are those men our forefathers called heroes, supposed to be greater than men and lesser than gods. For when the old ones saw that someone was distinguished by his deeds, dear to the peoples and of sublime virtue, they included him in the assembly of gods if only there were miracles showing he had done something supernatural.⁷ If there was no miracle, they still considered him to be of admirable virtue. They did not think it right to call such a “man” god or “man”, so they chose a name in between the two, calling him a “hero”, like a demigod.⁸ This is how “heroes” emerged. Some called them “heralds”, using a corrupt form of the word.⁹

¹ In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote about his visit to London in 1435: ... *he was glad to have seen the rich and populous city of London, the famous church of St. Paul, the wonderful tombs of the kings*, etc. (COM, 1: 5, 2 (Meserve, 1: p. 19). Had Piccolomini found a Latin translation of Thucydides at Saint Paul’s, it would surely have been worth mentioning such a spectacular find. It should be noted that in a previous letter, Piccolomini had referred to a probably fictive

visit to Sankt Gallen and finding a book there, see letter 230:2.

² In 1448, Pope Nicolaus V commissioned a Latin translation - the first ever - of Thucydides’ History of the Peloponnesian Wars from the celebrated humanist Lorenzo Val-la. It was completed in 1452.

³ Ulrich Sonnenberger (d. 1469): Secretary of Friedrich III: Bishop of Gurk 1453-1469. Colleague and friend of Piccolomini. See Heinig, *ad Indicem*.

⁴ Thucydides (c. 460 - c. 400 BCE): Athenian historian and general.

⁵ Literally, as a Greek.

⁶ Piccolomini would not have been able to judge the quality of the translation since he had no Greek.

⁷ Prefiguring the Catholic canonisation of saints.

⁸ See Bocaccio: *Genealogia deorum gentium*.

⁹ This is a false etymology.

[3] Illos autem instituit primus omnium Dionysius, qui etiam primus armatus et cum exercitu invasit Indiam ac¹ rudes illos et² agrestes homines, corticibus arborum et crudis ferarum carnibus utentes, in **urbes legit, boves aratro jungere, frumenta serere, deos colere, nutrire comam, mitram ferre et unctiones docuit ungentorum, fuitque his³ dator vini sicut et Graecis, armavitque⁴ eos armis martialibus** et ad usum vitae cultioris erexit. Quibus compositis, cum⁵ vellet abire atque alias lustrare regiones, fuerunt complures in ejus comitatu, qui jam senio confecti et assiduis attriti laboribus neque remanere volebant⁶ sine rege neque sequi ducem valebant⁷, recessurumque principem lacrimis et fletibus obsecrabant, ut sui miseretur⁸.

[4] Ad quos Liber pater: “Ponite curas,” inquit, “commilitones fratresque mei. Diu pugnastis, diu me secuti estis. Ego alia ex aliis in fata vocor. Vobis⁹ jam parta¹⁰ quies est et hic¹¹ praemia laboris vos manent. Sistite hic et uberem¹² hanc terram, quam vestri mihi¹³ lacerti quaesierunt¹⁴, in aeternum¹⁵ possidete. Ego vos hodie militiae laboribus absolvo, veteranos milites esse volo heroasque vocari. Munus vestrum erit reipublicae consulere, sontes¹⁶ arguere, laudare probos; ceteris muneribus vacabitis. Quocumque gentium terrarumque {76r} veneritis, victum vobis reges vestitumque dabunt, honoratiores apud omnes eritis. Xenia vobis principes offerent¹⁷ suasque vestes condonabunt. Stabit fides dicto vestro, mendacia horrebitis, proditores judicabitis¹⁸. Qui feminas male habent, hos infames asseverabitis. In omni terra libertas vobis esto securusque¹⁹ transitus et incolatus. Si quis vos vestrumque verbo factove²⁰ angariaverit quempiam²¹, gladio ferietur. Ceterum **ex amicis meis bachosissimum Spartembam** vobis **regem** Indisque constituo, qui vobis alimenta praebeat et annuas stipes, qui custodiat privilegia vestra et honoratos vos habeat ex grege vestro ad regni fastigium evocatus. Vos illi consulite et posteris. Cujus si genus defuerit, ex vobis vestrisque liberis **reges Indorum** sunt.²²

Corresponding text from Arrian’s Indica, 7: 3-8 (Vergerio) (BNB / NAL 1302)

*{142v} Dionysio autem adveniente, postquam obtinuit Indos, condidit **urbes** et urbibus legibus posuit **fuitque Indis dator vini quemadmodum et Graecis, ac docuit seminari terram dans eis semina ... primusque Dionysius jugavit boves sub aratro et majorem {143r} Indorum fecit aratores loco pastorum armavitque eos armis martialibus ac deos colere docuit ... sed et nutrire comam in honorem ipsius ac ferre mitram ostendit, unctiones docuit unguentorum. ... Recedens autem Dionysius de terra Indorum, postquam ista ordinaverat, constituit regem illius patriae Spartembam, unus ex amicis bachosissimum.***

¹ et X1

² ac M5

³ is M5

⁴ armavit KO, WO

⁵ dum M5

⁶ omit. WO

⁷ volebant KO, WO

⁸ miseret X1; misereret KO, WO

⁹ vocis WO

¹⁰ parata KO, WO

¹¹ hinc KO

¹² urbem KO, WO

¹³ mihique M5

¹⁴ quesiverunt X1, KO, WO

¹⁵ in aeternum omit. KO, WO

¹⁶ fontes WO

¹⁷ offerunt M5

¹⁸ indicabitis KO, WO

¹⁹ vobis add. KO, WO

²⁰ factione KO

²¹ angariaverit quepiam : quempiam

angariaverit M5

²² sumite KO; sinito KO

3. Origin

3.1. Dionysius

[3] It was Dionysius¹ who first established them. He was also the first to invade India with an army. He gathered the primitive and rustic men, living off the bark of trees and the raw meat of wild animals, in cities, taught them to join oxen to ploughs, sow corn, worship the gods, produce wool, wear turbans, and use ointments, and it was he who gave wine to them as he had done to the Greeks. He taught them how to fight with weapons, and raised them to a cultured way of life. When he had achieved that and wanted to leave and visit other regions, many of his followers, now old and worn down with incessant labours, did not want to remain without a king nor to follow him as their commander, so with tears and laments, they begged the prince to have mercy upon them.

[4] Father Liber² spoke to them and said,³ “Do not worry, my fellow soldiers⁴ and brothers. You have fought and followed me for a long time. I am now called to other fates, but you have gained your rest, and the rewards of your labour await you. Stay here and possess forever this fertile land, which your strong arms obtained for me. Today I release you from the labours of military service, and I name you veteran soldiers and heroes. Your task will be to benefit the commonwealth, to arraign the evil men and praise the good. You shall have no other tasks. Wherever you go among men on Earth, the kings will provide victuals and clothes, and you will be highly honoured by all. The princes will offer you guest gifts and give you their own clothes. Your words will be trusted, and you will shun lies and judge traitors. You will declare infamous those who abuse women. You will stay and travel freely in every land. If anybody molests you in words or deeds, he shall be struck down with the sword. Moreover, I hereby appoint my most Bacchus-like friend, Spartembas⁵, king over you and the Indians. He has been called from your company to the summit of kingship and shall provide you with victuals and a yearly stipend, protect your privileges and keep you in honour. You will support him and his descendants. If his line should fail, let kings of the Indians be taken from among you and yours.”⁶

¹ The god Bacchus, also called Liber.

² Dionysius.

³ Here follows a fictive oration in the classical style (generals speak

king to their soldiers). Note the use of “commilitones”.

⁴ Commilitones: a term used by Caesar in his *De Bellis Gallicis* and *De Bello Civile*.

⁵ Arrian: Spartembas.

⁶ This speech is not in Arrian’s *Indica*.

[5] Atque sic adhortatus¹ heroas² **Dionysius** ex **India** duxit exercitum. **Spartembas** autem regnavit **super Indos** quinquaginta et duos annos **Budamque filium** successorem³ reliquit, qui cum regnasset annos **viginti**, instituto **filio Cradena**⁴ vitam finivit, ac post eum per duodecim **generationes** heroum soboles usque ad Herculem regnavit in India.

[6] **Hercules autem**, cum domitis terrarum monstris ac saevitia tyrannorum deleta penetrasset Indiam, regnum heroum in se recepit. Privilegia tamen his non ademit, sed auxit eorum numerum conscriptis inter eos, qui secum ab Hispania et Mauritania militaverant et contra Geryonem⁵ triplicis animae et Antaeum, terrae filium, arma tulerant, longis itineribus et senecta aetate defunctis. Sed cum {76v} venisset ad mortem **multosque filios haberet (multis enim mulieribus matromonio junctus fuit)**, **unicam** autem **filiam** sustulisset, **Pandeam nomine**, huic regnum commisit. Et, ut ostenderet, heroas quanti faceret⁶ prae ceteris⁷ liberis, unum ex numero heroum, nomine Jobarem⁸, virum filiae dedit, qui regem gereret **quingentosque huic elephantas, quattuor⁹ milia equitum et centum triginta millia peditum** constituit, quibus regnum tueretur. Ex hoc natus est Polimbrotas¹⁰, a quo dicta est urbs maxima Polimbrotas, cujus posteritas usque ad Alexandrum magnum per centum et triginta octo reges Indiam gubernavit, ex quibus ortus est Porus¹¹ ...

Corresponding text from Arrian's Indica, 8: 1-3; 9:9 (Vergerio) (BNB / NAL 1302)

{142v} Mortuo autem **Spartemba** recepit regnum **Budian filius** ejus, et pater quidem regnavit **super Indos quinquaginta et duos annos**, filius vero **viginti**, cujus filius **Cradeva** regnum post eum. Exinde per longum tempus suum genus permutaverunt filius a patre suscipienseique succedens. Si vero deficiat genus, tunc sum excellentiam probitatis **Indis reges** constitui. ... {144r} Fuisse autem prius **Dionysium** quam **Herculem** dicunt Indi per quindecim **generationes**.

Corresponding text from Arrian's Indica, 8: 6-7 (Vergerio) (BNB / NAL 1302):

{142v} **Hercules autem**, quem ad Indos venisse fama obtinet ... et quia huic valde multi filii masculi in terra Indorum (**multis enim mulieribus matromonio junctus fuit**) sed **filiam unicam** habuit, fuit autem **nomen** huic puellae **Pandea**. Terra autem in qua nata est et quam commisit ei **Hercules**, ut in ipsa dominaretur, ex nomine puellae **Pandea** appellatur, fueruntque illi a patre **elephantas** quidem circa **quingentos**, **equitatus** autem ad **quattuor milia**, **peditum** vero ad **centum et triginta milia**.

¹ exhortatus M5

² heroes X1

³ suum *add.* M5

⁴ Tradena M5

⁵ Gereonem M5; Herionem X1

⁶ heroas quanti faceret : quanti faceret heroas M5

⁷ prae ceteris : preteriti X1

⁸ Joharem X1

⁹ quadraginta M5

¹⁰ Polumbatras M5; Polimbatras X1; Polimbotras KO

¹¹ Portus WO

[5] Having thus addressed the heroes, Dionysius took his army from India. Spartembas ruled the Indians for 52 years and was succeeded by his son Buda¹. He died when he had reigned for 20 years, having appointed his son Cradena² king. After him, the offspring of the heroes reigned in India for 12 generations³ until Hercules.

3.2. Hercules

[6] When Hercules had tamed the monsters of the Earth and overcome the savage tyrants,⁴ he went to India and became the ruler of the heroes. However, he did not deprive them of their privileges but increased their number, adding to them the men who had fought with him in Spain and Mauretania and against the triple-souled Geryon⁵ and Antaeus, son of the Earth,⁶ and were now worn down by long travels and old age. When he was approaching death, he had many sons (having married many women) but only one daughter, named Pandea, he gave the kingdom to her. And then, to show that he treasured the heroes even more than his sons, he married her to one of the heroes, named Jobares, to be king and gave him 500 elephants, 4,000 horsemen and 130,000 foot soldiers for the protection of his realm. From him was born Polimbrotas, after whom the large city Polimbrotas was named. Before the arrival of Alexander, his descendants ruled India for 138 generations, [the last] of them being Porus.⁷

¹ Arrian: Budyas.

² Arrian: Cradevas.

³ 15 generations = Spartembas + Buda + Cradena + 12.

⁴ The 12 Labours of Hercules.

⁵ Geryon: (Myth.) A monster who lived on the island of Erytheia. He was often described as having either three bodies and three heads, three heads and one body, or three bodies and one head. The tenth labour of Heracles was to

obtain his cattle (with no help from soldiers, evidently). Here, Piccolomini quotes Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 7: 660: *Geryone extincto Tirynthius attigit arva*, and 8: 222: *tergemini nece Geryonus ... superbus*.

⁶ Antaios: (Myth.) A half-giant, son of Poseidon and Gaia, who fought and killed all comers. He was killed by Heracles (again unaided by soldiers) on his way to

the Garden of the Hesperides (the 11th labour).

⁷ Porus [Poros] (fl. 326/321 BCE): Indian king in the Punjab region. Fought Alexander so admirably that Alexander reinstated him as king. Only known from Greek sources.

3.3. Alexander

[7] ... cujus virtutem miratus est Alexander atque adeo dilexit, ut victor victo regnum dignitatemque restituerit. Tum quoque Alexander ex suis militibus heroas legit senes quingentos, longa et laboriosa nimis militia contritos, quos Poro commendavit, quibus singulis annis in singula capita viginti¹ argenti talenta daret, adiecitque² privilegiis heroum, ut auro et purpureis³ coccineisque vestibus et paludamento uti possent, quin et arma regia et insigne deferre quovis gentium terrarumque loco fuerint. Si quis hos manu pulsasset aut verbo laeisset, eum capitis reum esse bonaque sua fisco deberi. Sic Thucidides, ut ille refert, qui transtulit qui similia⁴ Herodotum et Didymum et Magasthenem et Xenophontem sentire contendit additque demum ex persona sua auctor ignotus.^{5 6}

3.4. Conclusion

[8] Habemus igitur heraldorum nomen idem significare, quod apud veteres heroum significabat⁷, {77r} Dionysiumque primum⁸ hoc genus hominum apud Indos instituisse. Officium eorum esse, ut regibus assistant, ut consulant rei publicae, ut virtutes extollant, vitia fulminent. Nec aliud sunt quam milites veterani, qui post multa egregia facinora multaque bella mirifice confecta et amplissimos triumphos, exhausti⁹ viribus fessique senio a labore militari remittuntur et in curiam consulturi accersuntur.

4. History

4.1. Hebrew kings

[9] Traditum quoque apud majores est, hujusmodi¹⁰ homines semper honoratos fuisse ac¹¹ tum Saulis, tum Davidis, tum¹² Salomonis, tum ceterorum regum Hebraeorum latera constipasse, quin et inter Machabaeos haec dignitas locum obtinuit.

¹ vigintique M5

² adiecit M5

³ et purpureis : purpureisque M5

⁴ Similam M5

⁵ auctorem ignotum?

⁶ *Textus corruptus.*

⁷ significavit M5, X1

⁸ *omit.* M5

⁹ exhausti KO

¹⁰ hujuscemodi X1

¹¹ at M5

¹² *omit.* WO

4.2. Alexander

[7] Alexander admired Porus' courage and strength to the extent that he, the victor, restored the kingdom and dignity to him, the defeated.¹ Then Alexander selected 500 old heroes from his soldiers, worn down with long and laborious military service, and commended them to Porus, requiring him to give each of them 20 silver talents a year. He also added to the heroes' privileges to wear golden ornaments and purple and scarlet clothes and cloaks, and use the royal arms and emblems wherever they went. If anybody hit or insulted them, he would be guilty of a capital crime, and his property would be confiscated. This is what Thucydides said, according to the translator,² who claims that Herodotus,³ Didymus,⁴ Megasthenes⁵ said similar things, adding another, unknown, author.

4.3. Conclusion

[8] So, now we know what the name "herald" means, that in Antiquity, it signified heroes, and that Dionysius was the first to establish this class of men, in India. Their office is to assist kings, care for the state, extol virtue and denounce vice. They are simply veteran soldiers who, after many outstanding deeds and many excellently conducted wars and splendid triumphs, exhausted and worn down by old age, are released from military service and summoned to courts [of princes] to serve there.

5. History

5.1. Hebrew kings

[9] According to our forefathers, this class of men was always held in honour and kept at the side of both Saul,⁶ David,⁷ Solomon⁸ and the other Hebrew kings. This office was also known to the Machabees.

¹ On Alexander and Poros, see Arrian: *Anabasis*, 5: 10-19.

² I.e., the translator of the Thucydides manuscript that Piccolomini claimed to have seen in London, see sect. 1).

³ Herodotos (c. 484 - c. 425 BCE): Greek historian.

⁴ Didymos Chalkenteros (c. 63 – c. 10 BCE): Greek scholar and grammarian.

⁵ Megasthenes (ca. 330 - c. 290 BCE): Greek historian.

⁶ Saul (10th c. BCE): First king of Israel. Reigned c. 1037 to c. 1010 BCE.

⁷ David: (10th cent. BCE) (Bibl.) King of Israel.

⁸ Solomon (10 cent. BCE): (Bibl.) King of Israel.

[10] Legimus et Julium Caesarem, cum victo Pompejo in Aegyptum perrexisset, hoc nomine et hoc honore plerosque¹ suos commilitones donavisse, qui secum et in Gallia et in Britannia et² in Germania et in Graecia forti pectore militaverant jamque torpente senecta languebant.

[11] Nec Octavianus Augustus hoc praeclarissimum genus hominum neglexit, qui, superato apud Actium Marco Antonio, extincta Cleopatra, cum³ Parthorum superbia, tumore⁴ posito, veniam postulasset ablataque⁵ Marco Crasso cum pretiosis muneribus signa remisisset, cum⁶ reges Indorum ad famam⁷ tanti nominis moti usque in⁸ Hispaniam legatos misissent ac ultro parere se⁹ Romano¹⁰ imperatori obtulissent, [11] cum subverso¹¹ Cantabro terra marique pacem Romanus populus haberet clausissetque denuo jam portas, hujuscemodi¹² fertur legem tulisse: “Omnes idcirco mortales exercere se solent et objectare {77v} periculis, ut¹³ aliquando pace frui quieteque¹⁴ possint. Nec labor est ullus, qui praemia non expectet. Eapropter majores nostri militibus, qui bene pugnassent¹⁵, non solum stipendia, quibus se suamque possent nutrire familiam, sed honores amplissimos constituerunt, ut coronas, armillas, hastas et alia virtutis insignia quasi solamen et praemium laboris exacti. Similiter et nos facere decet, qui diis faventibus et magna virtute militum rem Romanam restituimus et altam pacem toto reformavimus orbe, ne milites, qui longa et durissima nobiscum bella peregerunt ac plurimum sanguinis tum sui tum hostium effuderunt, sine mercede tanti laboris evadant. Quisque ergo per decennium nobiscum militaveris¹⁶, si modo quadragenarius¹⁷ fueris¹⁸, sive pedes sive eques stipendia merueris¹⁹, militia posthac et omni labore vacato²⁰, heros²¹ esto veteranusque miles. Nemo te civitate, foro, templo, hospitio, domo prohibeat. Nemo tibi crimen ascribat, onus imponat, pecuniam ex te quaerat. Si quid peccaveris, solam Caesaris vindictam expectato²². Quidquid turpitudinis admiserint²³ homines, te judicem pro palatoremque timeant, seu privati seu principes fuerint. Quod dixeris affirmaverisque, nemo falsum arguat. Libera et aperta²⁴ tibi omnia itinera locaque sunt. In aedibus principantium²⁵ mensa tibi potus cibusque²⁶ esto. Stipendia, quibus te tuamque domum serves, ex publico quotannis habeto. Quam legitima face duxeris uxorem²⁷, ceteris feminis praeferatur. Quem reprobaveris²⁸ infamemque dixeris, hic reprobatus homo et infamis esto. Arma, insignia, nomina et ornamenta heros ferto, quae reges decent. Quae dicere aut facere velis, ubivis gentium locorum nationumque facito. [cont.]

¹ pluresque X1

² omit. M5

³ cumque M5

⁴ timore KO, WO

⁵ ablatoque KO, WO

⁶ KO, WO

⁷ omit. M5

⁸ ad KO, WO

⁹ parere se : se parere M5

¹⁰ imperio et add. M5

¹¹ submerso KO, WO

¹² omit. M5; hujusmodi KO, WO

¹³ et KO

¹⁴ quiete KO, WO

¹⁵ pugnavissent KO, WO

¹⁶ militavit X1

¹⁷ quadragenarios X1

¹⁸ fuerit X1

¹⁹ meruit X1

²⁰ vocato X1, KO

²¹ heroes KO; heroas WO

²² spectato M5; expecta X1

²³ admiserit KO

²⁴ experta X1

²⁵ principantium X1, KO; principatum WO

²⁶ potus cibusque : potusque KO, WO

²⁷ em.; uxor M5, X1, KO, WO

²⁸ exprobaveris KO; exprobraveris WO

5.2. Julius Caesar

[10] We have also read that when Julius Caesar had defeated Pompey and reached Egypt, he granted this title and honour to many of his fellow soldiers, who had fought valiantly with him in Gaul, Britannia, Germania and Greece and were now weakened by decrepit old age.

5.3. Augustus

[11] Nor did Octavian Augustus neglect this noble class of men. When he had defeated Marcus Antonius¹ at Actium and Cleopatra² had died, the arrogant Parthians became afraid, forgot about pride, and, with precious gifts, returned the standards taken from Marcus Crassus.^{3 4} Then the kings of India, moved by his great reputation, sent legates to him in Spain and offered their obedience to the Roman emperor.⁵ And when Cantabria had been subjugated,^{6 7} the Roman people had peace on land and at sea, and Augustus had finally closed the gates,⁸ he reportedly made a law like this: “All mortals campaign and confront dangers to be able to enjoy peace and quiet. And all labours expect a reward. Therefore, our ancestors gave to those soldiers who had fought well not only stipends to provide for themselves and their families but also exquisite honours like crowns, bracelets, lances and other emblems of courage and strength as rewards for labour performed. We, who, with the blessing of the gods and the great courage and strength of soldiers, have restored the Roman state and established profound peace in the whole world, should do likewise lest the soldiers, who have made long and hard wars with us and shed much blood, both their own and that of their enemies, go unrewarded for this great labour. Therefore, each of you soldiers who has fought with us for 10 years and is more than 40 years old, and has been paid as a footsoldier or a horseman, is hereby released from military service and all other labours and shall be designated as a hero and a veteran soldier. Nobody shall forbid you access to the city, forum, temple, hospices and home. Nobody shall accuse you of crimes, impose burdens upon you or demand money from you. If you sin, expect vengeance from Caesar alone. Whatever shameful act men may commit, they shall fear you as the one to judge and publicly disclose the crime, be they private men or princes. Nobody shall dare to declare as false what you say and state. You may go and stay anywhere you wish. You will share the table and have food and drink in the palaces of princes. You shall have a yearly salary from the public purse to provide for yourself and your household. Your legitimate wife will rank above other women. Any man you condemn and declare infamous shall be considered condemned and infamous. As a hero, you will wear and carry arms, emblems, titles and decorations befitting kings. Whatever you wish to do or say anywhere, do it. [cont.]

¹ Marcus Antonius (83-30 BCE). Roman statesman and general.

² Kleopatra VII Philopator (69-30 BCE): Queen of Ptolemaic Egypt.

³ Marcus Licinius Crassus (115-53 BCE): Roman statesman and general.

⁴ Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum*, 2: *Divus Augustus*, 21, 3.

⁵ Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum*, 2: *Divus Augustus*, 21, 3.

⁶ Cantabria, a coastal area in Northern Spain.

⁷ The Cantabrian wars, conducted under Augustus (29-19 BCE), were the last phase of the Roman conquest of Spain. Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum*, 2: *Divus Augustus*, 21, 1.

⁸ Suetonius: *Vitae Caesarum*, 2: *Divus Augustus*, 22, 1. The gates of the Temple of the two-faced god Janus Quirinus, on the Forum of Rome, were closed during times of peace and open during times of war. Augustus closed them in 29 and later in 25 BCE (Dio Cassius, 51: 20 and 53: 27).

[*cont.*] Si quis tibi injurius fuerit, cervice careto. Utque senectuti tuae quietius consulas,¹ Cremonensium, qui contra nos² Antonii partes foverunt, agros tibi tuique³ similibus viritim⁴ dividendos assignamus⁵, qui si pauci fuerint, addimus et Mantuanos, ut bona fide et alta virtute profuisse te reipublicae gaudeas.” Sic Octavianum veteranos suos honorasse⁶ confirmant.

[12] Decreverat idem Poenus⁷ Hannibal facere, nisi, fortuna fractus adversa, Antiochi regis et Prussiae coactus fuisset supplex tribunalia petere.

[13] Comperimus Attilam, Hunnorum regem, quamvis efferatum et immanem⁸, similia suis veteranis privilegia contulisse.

[14] Neque Theodericus, Gothorum maximus et audentissimus rex, heroas⁹ inhonoratos reliquit, quibus et civitates et provincias tributarias fecit.

¹ *omit.* KO, WO

² *vos* KO, WO

³ *tuisque* X1

⁴ *viritimque* M5

⁵ *assignauimus* M5

⁶ *hortasse* M5

⁷ *pene* M5; *prius* X1

⁸ *inanem gloriam* KO, WO

⁹ *heroes* X1

[cont.] If anyone molests you, let him lose his head. And to be able to spend your old age in tranquillity, we assign the lands of the Cremonese, who sided with Antonius against us, to be distributed to you and each of your companions.¹ If these lands do not suffice, we add those of the Mantuans,² so that you may be happy you supported the state with your good faith and great courage and strength.” This is how Octavian reportedly honoured his veterans.

5.4. Hannibal

[12] Hannibal the Punic would have done the same if he had not been broken by an adverse fortune and forced to come as a supplicant to the thrones of King Antiochus³ and Prusias.^{4 5}

5.5. Attila

[13] We have learnt that Attila,⁶ King of the Huns, though brutal and cruel, conferred similar privileges upon his veterans.

5.6. Theodericus

[14] Nor did Theoderic,⁷ great and bold king of the Goths, leave his heroes unhonoured but made cities and provinces pay tax to them.⁸

¹ Cremona had supported the enemies of Augustus, who, having won in 40 BCE, confiscated Cremona’s lands and distributed them to his soldiers

² The Mantuan territory was repopulated with veterans of Augustus.

³ Antiochus III (c. 241-187 BCE): Ruler of the Seleucid Empire.

⁴ Prusias (d. 182 BCE): King of Bithynia.

⁵ Some years after his defeat at the hands of the Romans, Hannibal went into exile from Carthage, first at the court of Antiochus III and later at the court of Prusias I. Expelled first from one and later from the other under pressure from the Romans, he ended with committing suicide.

⁶ Attila (ca. 408-453): King of the Huns from 434 to his death.

⁷ Theoderic I (454-526): King of the Ostrogoths from 471 to his death and of the Ostrogoth kingdom of Italy from 493 to his death.

⁸ Piccolomini has nothing about Attila’s and Theoderic’s veterans in his *Historia Gothorum* from 1452-1453.

[15] Carolus autem magnus, qui primus post Graecos apud Romanos suscepit¹ imperium², Germanus homo ex antiqua Francorum prosapia natus, postquam Saxones saepius rebellantes multa vi domuit ac faeces³ Hunnorum Longobardos, ab infestatione Romani praesulis exterruit, suscepto Caesaris nomine et Augustus appellatus, milites omnes, qui tanti laboris comites fuerant⁴, in hunc modum honore fertur et libertate donasse. “Ite⁵,” inquit, “milites mei, vos heroes vocabimini, socii regum et iudices criminum. Vivite posthac laboris expertes, consulite regibus et publico nomini turpia corripite, favete feminis, iuvate pupillos, consilio {78v} circumdate principes, ab his victum, vestitum stipendiumque petite. Si quis negaverit, inglorius infamisque esto. Si quis injuriam vobis intulerit, reum se majestatis agnoscat. Vos autem caveritis, ne tantum decus tantumque privilegium justo bellorum labore partum, aut ebrietatis aut scurrilitatis aut alio quovis vitio maculetis⁶, ne, quod vobis largimur ad gloriam, redundet ad poenam, quam de vobis sumendam, si forsitan excesseritis, nobis et successoribus nostris, Romanorum regibus, perpetuo reservamus.” Haec sunt, quae de nomine et institutione heraldorum, quos heroas⁷ fuisse constat, apud antiquos scripta comperimus.

¹ Romanum *add.* M5

² *add. in marg.* M5

³ feros X1

⁴ fuerunt X1

⁵ item X1

⁶ maculatis X1

⁷ heroes X1

5.7. Charlemagne

[15] Charlemagne,¹ the first after the Greeks to become emperor of the Romans, a German descended from an old Frankish line, with great force subjugated the Saxons and frightened the Lombards, dregs of the Huns, from attacking the bishop of Rome. When he had taken² the title of emperor and been called Augustus, he summoned all the soldiers who had been his companions in this great and laborious venture and reportedly honoured them and released them with these words, “Go forth,” he said, “my soldiers. You will be called heroes, companions of kings and judges of crimes. Hereafter, live free of labour, support kings, censure shameful acts in the name of the public, protect women, assist orphans, counsel princes and seek clothes, victuals and stipends from them. If anyone refuses, he will be inglorious and infamous. If anybody molests you, he should know he is guilty of a crime against majesty. But you, on your side, should beware of polluting this great honour and privilege - acquired through just labour in wars - by drunkenness or scurrility or any other vice lest the glory we have granted you turn into the punishment that, forever, we reserve for Ourselves and Our successors, the Roman kings, to inflict upon you if you trespass.

This is what we have found written by authors of Antiquity concerning the name and institution of heralds, known to be the same as heroes.

¹ Charlemagne (747-814): King of the Franks (768), King of the

Lombards (774), First Emperor of the Romans (HRE) (800).

² Or “been given” (by the pope).

6. Modern times

[16] Cur autem nostris diebus qui numquam militarunt et abjecti quidam homines¹ hoc nomen assequuntur², nescio causam, nisi quia omnia degenerant, nec est hominum genus, quod stet suis legibus. Nam et indocti ut³ doctores⁴ insignia recipiunt, et qui nudum⁵ numquam⁶ ensem viderunt, militiam profitentur nitentque calcaribus aureis. Atque - ut de nostra⁷ dignitate dicamus - absque litteris⁸, absque moribus, sermone leves⁹ atque vita, cathedram pontificalem audemus ascendere. Quaere religiones, percurrere mechanicas artes¹⁰, omnes oberrant. Nihil est, quod suis legibus¹¹ puris¹² inviolatisque¹³ perseveret.

Vale et si quid habes, quod his¹⁴ consonet auctoritate dignum et fide, scribito nobis, nostri memor et¹⁵ amans. Cujus rei Michaellem Pfullendorffium, consecrarium tuum et nostri diligentem, doctrina plenum, aut iudicem aut arbitrum experiemur¹⁶. Ex Vienna, Kalendas Junii anno domini 1451¹⁷ 18.

¹ sunt *add.* M5

² qui numquam ... assequuntur : haec dignitas comminuta sit X1

³ *omit.* X1

⁴ doctores : doctoris X1; doctioris KO, WO

⁵ nedum X1

⁶ umquam X1

⁷ majori X1

⁸ absque litteris *omit.* WO

⁹ lenes KO

¹⁰ mechanicas artes : artes mechanicas X1

¹¹ suis legibus : sua semita M5

¹² purum M5

¹³ inviolatumque M5

¹⁴ *omit.* WO

¹⁵ ut X1

¹⁶ finit historia de nomine institutioneque heraldorum *add.* M5

¹⁷ Ex Vienna ... 1451 : Anno 1448 M5

¹⁸ Cujus rei ... 1451 *omit.* M5, X1

7. Modern times

[16] I do not know why, in our own time, men who have never fought and men of base origin have acquired this title unless it is because all things decay and the human race does not stand by its laws. For both unlearned and learned men receive the emblems of the doctorate, and those who have never seen an empty scabbard¹ are made knights and get shiny golden spurs. And - to speak of our own office² - we dare to ascend the episcopal throne though we speak and live frivolously and have no letters nor morals. Look at the religious orders and the artisans³: all misbehave and do not keep their own laws pure and inviolate.

Farewell, and if you know anything worthy of authority and belief agreeing with this, then please write to us, and remember and love us. We shall use Michael Pfullendorf, your fellow-secretary and close friend, full of learning, as our judge and arbiter. From Vienna, 1 June in the year of Our Lord 1451.⁴

¹ I.e., raised swords.

² The episcopal dignity. Piccolomini had acquired it when he became bishop of Trieste in 1450.

³ "mechanicae artes"

⁴ The year 1448 given in the manuscript is patently erroneous

since Piccolomini refers to his own episcopacy, acquired in 1450.

252. Letter from the City of Siena (10 June 1451, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / *Concist.*, 1672, 113¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 6, pp. 16-17 (on the basis of the Siena ms.).

Die 10. junii 1451. Episcopo Senensi penes serenissimum Romanorum regem existentem scriptum et responsum est hoc pacto: Reverende in Christo pater nostri honorande.

[1] Attentis litteris vestris nobis nuperrime redditis immensas ex omnibus gratias agimus paternitati vestrae. Intelligimus enim non modo tamquam spiritualis pater, sed tamquam diligentissimus civis intentus accomodetis aures his, quae rei publicae nostrae honorem concernant, ex quibus ultra exhibitas gratias permultum laudamus diligentiam vestram. Verum, ut singularius respondeamus:

[2] Negotium Plumbini plenius intelligere optamus, quam citius facultas nobis efferetur, et a quibus quaerantur et qualiterque litterae vestrae sonare videntur. Nec tamen ambigimus reverendam paternitatem vestram super his et aliis statum nostrum concernentibus omnem diligentiam praestare prout optimus et accuratus vir pro patria sua gerere debet. Sed nolumus vos latere, quod in re Plumbini actum sit post recessum vestrum. Cum magnifica illa domina Caterina ibidem dominatrix Februarii Idibus diem suum clauderet extremum, procuravimus dominium illud magnifico Emmanueli de Appiano, eidem dominae patruo, tamquam justo ac legitimo successori, sicque domino disponente, opere et favore nostro de unanimitate populorum suorum effectus est dominus, licet aliqui quaerentes ditionem illam pecuniis, fallaciis ac armorum copiis plurimum in oppositum laborarent, et licet aliqua castra gubernium nostrum affectantia obtinere potuissemus, arces etiam nonnullae per alios occupatae non sine impendio et labore ad manus nostras devenissent, omnia tamen eidem Emmanueli sponte consignavimus, ut, quae legitimo jure habitaverat, pacifice possideret et illum diu a sua juridica domo abdicatum in pacificam sedem locavimus, quem profecto speramus futurum sacri² imperii devotissimum, nobis merito affectum et obsequentem ac in gubernio suo quietum.

¹ *Reproduced after WO.*

² *em.*; sacro WO

252. Letter from the City of Siena (10 June 1451, Siena).

Context: The city government of Siena was eager to exploit its new bishop's connections at the imperial court, and Piccolomini was only too happy to comply.

Subject: The city government informs Piccolomini of developments in the matter of Piombino (see letter 249), the preparations for the arrival of the future empress, and its recent alliance with Venice

10 June 1451. [Copy of] a letter and reply sent to the Bishop of Siena, residing at the [court of] the King of Romans: Honourable and Reverend Father in Christ.

[1] We thank Your Paternity profusely for your letter,¹ which we have just received. We see that you act not only as our spiritual father but also as a most diligent citizen, attentive to all that concerns the honour of our state, wherefore we thank you and highly praise your diligence. We shall answer it point by point.

[2] In the matter of Piombino,^{2 3} we much desire to hear how soon the permission⁴ will be brought to us, from whom it is sought, and how your letter is formulated. We are sure that Your Reverend Paternity will act with all diligence in these and other matters concerning our state, like any good and careful man should do for his country. We wish you to know what has happened in the matter of Piombino after you left: the ruler of the city, Her Magnificence Lady Caterina,⁵ died on 13 February. We then entrusted the lordship to her ladyship's uncle, His Magnificence Emanuele Appiano,⁶ as the legitimate successor, and thus, at the Lord's doing, by our endeavours and favour, he was made lord with the unanimous approval of his people, against the intense opposition of others, seeking the lordship with money, fraud and arms. Though we had been able to occupy some castles belonging to our domain and several fortresses that had been occupied by others had come into our hands, at great expenditure and labour, we freely surrendered them all to Emanuele, allowing him to peacefully possess what was rightfully his, and restoring him to the home from which he had been kept away for a long time although it was legitimately his.⁷ We hope that he will be a most devoted [subject of] the Holy Empire as well as a friendly and accommodating [neighbour] to us, and that he will rule undisturbedly at home.

¹ Not extant.

² See letter 249.

³ At the death of Jacopi II Appiani, ruler of Piombino, in 1441, the rule should normally have passed to the only remaining male member of the Appiani family, his brother Emanuele. However, he was passed over, and the rule passed to

Jacopo's mother, Paola Colonna, and after her death in 1445, to Jacopo's sister Caterina. Only after she died, in 1451, the rule finally passed to her uncle, Emanuele, married to an illegitimate daughter of King Alfonso V, who long coveted a foothold in the region (see Ryder, ch. 7).

⁴ "facultas"

⁵ Caterina Appiano (1398-1451): Lady of Piombino from 1445 to her death.

⁶ Emanuele Appiano (c. 1380-1457): Lord of Piombino from 1452 to his death.

⁷ As the only surviving male member of the Appiani family.

[3] Transitum autem in Italiam gloriosissimi Romanorum regis et domini nostri clementissimi ad imperialia¹ ornamenta sumenda cum gaudio praestolamur, sperantes utique imperialem majestatem suam ejusque felicissimam coronationem non modo nobis, imperio devotissimis, verum et universae Christianae religioni quietem atque concordiam sibi perperuam gloriam allaturam. Bona enim ab arbore, evangelica sanctione testante, bonos colligimus fructus. Quid autem de hoc transitu ulterius colligatis, quo praefixo in tempore aliisque circumstantiis libentius a paternitate reverenda vestra dietim intelligere optamus.

[4] Adventum serenissimae augustae conjugis ejus aequè diligimus ad portum nostrum Telamonis, ubi juxta loci illius angustiam debitum nostrum perficere satagemus, in quo quidem loco alioque quocumque gubernii nostri fiduciam eandem ac tutelam quam in suis sperare potest.

[5] Noscat insuper reverenda paternitas vestra, quatenus domino disponente, bonorum omnium largitore, optantes hanc civitatem nostram imperiali libertate et pacifice conservare confoederationem, ligam et unionem contraximus cum illustrissimo Venetorum domino, annis 15 duraturam. Nam utique ad alicujus injuriam offensamve, vero ad status utriusque partis conservationem ac tranquillitatem, quod profecto censemus nedum rei publicae nostrae verum totius circumstantis provinciae pacem atque commoditatem concernet.

[6] Ceterum reditum vestrum cupimus praesto ac prosperum fore, ut grata praesentia et assistentia vestra civitas nostra laetetur et fruatur pastore suo. Et ita possetenus postulamus ac magnum in modum exposcimus paternitatem vestram, quam hic Deus ad votum dirigat et felicitet in aeternum. Rogamus, ut interim scribat reverenda paternitas vestro huic vicario, si requisitus esset a nobis in re honesta, praesertim rei publicae nostrae spectante, velit aliquando votis nostris annuere.

Datum etc.

¹ *em.*; imperialis WO

[3] We are looking forward with joy to the arrival in Italy of the Most Glorious King of the Romans,¹ our most gracious lord, to receive the imperial insignia. We hope His Imperial Majesty and his auspicious coronation will bring peace and concord not only to us, most devoted subjects of the empire, but to the whole Christian religion, as well as eternal glory to himself. For, as the gospel testifies, we gather *good fruits from the good tree*.² We urgently wish to soon have from Your Reverend Paternity any information you may have obtained concerning the time and other circumstances [of the coronation].

[4] We look forward to the arrival of his Most Serene and August spouse³ in our harbour city of Talamone, where we are making preparations to fulfil our obligations as far as the town's restricted conditions allow. At any rate, she can expect to find there and in any other place in our domains the same fidelity and security as in her own.

[5] Otherwise, Your Reverend Paternity should know that wishing - with the help of Our Lord, the giver of all good things - to peacefully keep the imperial freedom for our city, we have made an alliance, league and union with the Most Illustrious Lord of Venice,⁴ to last for 15 years. It is aimed at any injury or offence from any other party⁵ but is basically intended to maintain the two states in peace, which we think is important not only for our own republic but also for the whole surrounding province.

[6] We eagerly await your speedy and felicitous return so that our city may rejoice at your presence and assistance, and benefit from having its shepherd back. We urgently⁶ request the return of Your Paternity: may God guide your travel back here and grant you eternal felicity. In the meantime, we ask that Your Reverend Paternity write to your vicar⁷ here that if we need anything from him in any honest matter, especially such as concerns our republic, he will grant our wishes.

Given etc.

¹ Friedrich III.

² Matthew, 7: 17.

³ Leonor de Portugal (1434-1467): Princess. Betrothed of Friedrich III. Married the emperor in Rome, 1452. See Piccolomini's description of her in the oration "*Quam-*

vis grandes materias" of 10 December 1450 (COR, 4: 14, 15-19).

⁴ Francesco Foscari (1373-1457): Doge of Venice 1423-1457.

⁵ Especially Florence, Siena's mighty neighbour of, with whom

it was often at war. Another intermittent enemy was King Alphonso V of Naples.

⁶ "possetenus": Du Cange: omnino, prorsus.

⁷ Rafele Primadizi.

253. Letter to a friend (16 June 1451, Vienna).

Manuscripts: M3, f. 344r **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 7, pp. 17-18 (on the basis of M3).

Venerabilis amice carissime.

[1] Nec tibi diu quidquam scripsi, nec tu ad me quidquam litterarum misisti. Sumus ambo in culpa, qui veterem amicitiam sinimus tacendo tepescere. Ego tamen, etsi taceo, non minus amore¹ tuae virtutis² afficior et laetor mihi occasionem modo praestitam esse, qua³ tibi aliquid scribam, nam sine causa implere papirum hominis abutentis est otio et litteris. Sed accipe, quid ex te nostro⁴ velim. Possides, ut ajunt, canonicatum et praebendam in ecclesia Olomucensi neque ullum fructum ex ea capis. Praebenda procul a domino non destruitur, sed annullatur. Locus vacuus est, qui tamen unum praesentem nutriret. Scio te probum esse sacerdotem nec tibi animum esse Moraviam incolere nec te multum ille titulus canonicatus ornat, qui alio ecclesiae titulo fulges. Non es ambitiosus neque alteri invides⁵, quod tibi tenere non potes. Suadeo ergo tibi pro bono illius prebendae, pro utilitate unius boni viri et pro mercede, quam inde a domino consequeris, ut animum inducas ad resignandum hujusmodi beneficium illi personae, de qua tibi verba faciet vir doctus et tui amantissimus, dominus Johannes Frunt, secretarius civitatis Coloniensis.

Vale mei memor. Ex Vienna, 16. Junii 1451.

¹ WO; amor cod.

² WO; virtuti cod.

³ WO; quia cod.

⁴ sic! cod.

⁵ invidens WO

253. Letter to a friend (16 June 1451, Vienna).

Context: Officials of princes and prelates were busy procuring ecclesiastical benefices for themselves and - as in the present case - their friends.

Subject: Piccolomini asks a friend to resign from a profitless prebend in favour of another friend.

Venerable and dear friend,¹

[1] I have not written to you for a long time, and you have sent no letters to me, so we are both at fault, having allowed silently allowed our old friendship to grow tepid. But though I am silent, I do not love your virtue less, and I am glad that I now have an occasion to write to you, for to fill a paper without cause is to abuse leisure and letters. But hear what I would ask of you. I am told you have a canonicate and a prebend in the Church of Olomouc but do not enjoy its fruits. Indeed, a prebend far away from its incumbent is not extinguished but loses its substance². So [due to your absence], the place is, in fact, vacant when it could sustain a person who was present. I know you are an honest priest with no intention to live in Moravia. Moreover, your canon's title there is of no great honour to you since you have a more honourable ecclesiastic title elsewhere. You are neither ambitious nor envy anybody else for holding something you cannot. Therefore, for the sake of that prebend, for the sake of a good man,³ and for the reward you will gain from Our Lord, I entreat you to resign from this benefice in favour of the person you will hear about from your learned and close friend, Herr Johann Vrung,⁴ secretary of the City of Cologne.

Farewell, and remember me. From Vienna, 16 June 1451.

¹ Apparently, a ranking ecclesiastic with several benefices, one of them in Olomouc from which he could not profit since he lived elsewhere.

² I.e., the incumbent performs no service and does not receive any income from the benefice.

³ Johann Nihil, who on 22 April was awarded a canonry and pre-

bend in Olomouc by Pope Nicolaus V, see WO, 3: 1, p. 18, n. a.

⁴ Johann Vrung (Frundt): Prototary of the city of Köln (1442). A close friend of Piccolomini. See Heinig, *ad indicem*.

254. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter in Siena (1 July 1451, Vienna).

Manuscript: Siena / Archivio Capitolare / Tom. II, nr. 30¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 8, pp. 18-19,

Aeneas, Dei et apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Senensis, venerabilibus dilectis nostris canonicis et capitulo ecclesiae nostrae Senensis salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem. Venerabiles dilecti nostri.

[1] Accepimus, quae scripsistis de clerico illo, quem suis exigentibus culpis vicarius noster ad caveam et panem doloris damnavit, et licet facilitas veniae incentivum soleat praebere delinquendi, quia tamen punitum hominem arbitratis², vestris precibus duximus annuendum, scribentes vicario, ut asperitatem iudicii oleo misericordiae beniat, nisi scandalum inde oriretur. Putamus autem, quod in carceribus publicis suam satis possit dolere nequitiam et ad cor rediens animam lucrifacere, quam posset sic exasperatus amittere desperando. Si qua possumus alia, voluntarii sumus vestris desideriis complacere, et vicarium nostrum vestri commodi et honoris promotorem esse putamus et volumus. Vos ita vivite, ut odor bonorum operum vestrorum et in nostris et in omnium naribus bene sapiat.

Valete optime in Christo. Ex Vienna, die 1. Julii 1451.

¹ *Reproduced after WO*

² *em.*; arbitravit cod., WO

254. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter in Siena (1 July 1451, Vienna).

Context: A Sieneſe cleric had been condemned for ſome transgreſſion and puniſhed by Piccolomini's episcopal vicar. The cathedral chapter conſidered the puniſhment too ſevere and aſked their biſhop to intervene.
Subject: Piccolomini accedes to the wiſhes of the chapter.

Enea, by the grace of God, Biſhop of Siena, ſends greetings and ſincere love to our beloved venerable canons and Chapter of our Church of Siena. Beloved and venerable [brethren]:

[1] We have ſeen what you write about the cleric whom, becauſe of his crime, our vicar¹ condemned to the cell and the *bread of ſorrow*.² Easy forgiveness is uſually an incentive to further ſinning, but ſince you conſider that the man has been puniſhed enough, we ſhall heed your prayers and tell our vicar to mix the ſeverity of juſtice with the oil of mercy leſt ſcandal ariſe. We think it would be enough for him to ſuffer imprisonment in a public priſon where he would come to his ſenſes and regain his ſoul that he, otherwiſe, riſks loſing in deſperate grievance. We are willing to accommodate your other wiſhes as far as poſſible, and we truſt and want our vicar to further your intereſts and honour. Live in ſuch a way that the fragrance of your good works reaches us and all others.

Live well in Chriſt. From Vienna, 1 July 1451.

¹ Rafaele Primadizi.

² Pſalms, 126: 2.

255. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (5 July 1451, Vienna).

Manuscript: X1, f. 105v-106r **; ÖNB, 3338, f. 25v¹; ÖNB / 3419, f. 285r²; ÖNB / 4498, f. 147v³.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 9, pp. 19-20.

{105v} Reverendo in Christo patri, fratri Johanni de Capistrano, ordinis minorum professori ac vicario generali, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit.

1] Adventum vestrum ad Novam Civitatem multis referentibus intelleximus. Gaudeo laetos esse omnes praesentia vestra vosque tamquam pacis angelum et caritatis nuntium ubique receptum esse. Sed est mihi molestum, quia non video et amplector personam vestram. Nescio, quo vultu, quibus verbis quibusque⁴ honoribus regia majestas vos accepit. Puto, omnia esse bona, quia virtuti omnia favent, virtutem omnia venerantur, virtuti nihil sinistri accidere potest. Boni virtutem colunt, mali admirantur. Tuta ubique virtus est. Non fuit opus praesentia mea, quando ad regem venistis. Numquam enim advocatum virtus desiderat.

[2] Quae fuerit causa vocationis vestrae, id jam litteris meis in Italia cognovistis, et puto id vobis rursus esse dictum. Si factum est, gaudeo; si minus, spero fiet. Ac de hujusmodi rebus, si simul erimus, colloquemur amplius. Nunc aliud est quod me scribere compellit; id breviter aperiam. Accesserunt me hodie *Burgmayster*, id est praetor sive praeses hujus inclytæ urbis Wiennensis, et consules una secum dixeruntque: “Magnum⁵ et sanctum virum accepimus venisse ad Novam Civitatem, cujus sermonem et vitam admirantur omnes. Italicum esse ajunt ordinis minorum, sancti Bernardini, concivis tui, discipulum. Timemus, ne regionem⁶ hanc relinquat, priusquam nos visitet. Scribe, rogamus, tanto patri, ne nos sua praesentia indignos judicet. Optamus videre, audire venerarique tantum patrem. Age, fac, ne nos privati simus tanto bono.” Promisi scribere et servandum est, quod dicitur. Digna mihi postulatio videtur. Rogo, precor et obsecro, ne tantam urbem contemnatis, quamquam puto, etiam me tacente nullatenus devotum hunc populum neglexissetis. Cum enim ex Italia longo et laborioso itinere Austriam petieritis, quis putet, Wiennam, regionis⁷ caput, urbem {106r} amplissimam et quodammodo metropolim provinciarum, ducum regumque domum a vobis negligi. Magna hic messis est et multi manipuli Deo offerendi. Devotus populus et boni cupidus adventum vestrum quasi magni prophetae cupit. Nolite tantam expectationem frustrari. Hic Deo servietis et fortasse fortasse plures hic uno⁸ die Christi⁹ lucrificietis animas, quam certis in locis anno praedicantes. Visitate vestri cupidos et amantes. Magna est hic expectatio vestri et quamvis hic multis respectibus Babylonia reputari possit, aliis tamen de causis hic Sion est et civitas magno regi accepta. [cont.]

¹ Collated after WO

² Collated after WO

³ Collated after WO

⁴ quibusve WO

⁵ magicum X1

⁶ religionem X1

⁷ religionis X1

⁸ una WO

⁹ omit. X1

255. Letter to Giovanni da Capistrano (5 July 1451, Vienna).

Context: At Piccolomini's invitation, the celebrated Franciscan preacher, Giovanni da Capistrano, had undertaken a preaching mission to Austria.

Subjects: Piccolomini informs Capistrano about the Viennese mayor's invitation to come and preach in Vienna.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Brother Giovanni da Capistrano,¹ professed monk and Vicar General of the Order of Friars Minor, Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings

[1] We have heard from many about your arrival in Neustadt. I am glad that all are happy you have come and that you have been received everywhere as an angel of peace and a messenger of love. But I regret that I cannot myself see and embrace you. I do not know how graciously² and with what words and honours His Royal Majesty received you, but I believe everything must have gone well since all things favour and honour virtue and no evil can befall virtue. Good men cherish virtue, and even evil men respect it. Virtue is safe everywhere. Indeed, there was no need for me [to be there] when you came to the king, for virtue never needs an advocate.

[2] Already in Italy, my letters told you about the reason for your invitation, and I trust it has been repeated to you. If so, I am glad; if not, I expect it will be done. At any rate, we shall speak more fully about this when we meet. However, the reason I write now is another which I shall explain briefly. Today, the mayor,³ viz. the *praetor* or *praeses* of this illustrious City of Vienna, came to me with the consuls and said, "We have heard that a great and holy man has arrived in Neustadt whose preaching and life are admired by all. They say that he is an Italian [monk] of the Friars Minor and a disciple of Saint Bernardino,⁴ your fellow citizen. We fear he will leave this region without visiting us. So, we ask you to write to this great father lest he judge us unworthy of his presence. We wish to see, hear and honour this great father. Please ensure that we are not deprived of this great boon." I promised to write, and promises should be kept. I think their request has merit, so I ask, beg and entreat you not to spurn this great city, though I believe that even if I did not write, you would not neglect this devoted people. Having undertaken your long and laborious travel from Italy to Austria, you are not likely to overlook Vienna, the head of the region, a large city and like a capital of the provinces, home of dukes and kings. The *harvest* here *is great*,⁵ and there are many sheaves to be offered to God. The people are devoted and right-thinking and look forward to your arrival as that of a great prophet. Do not disappoint this great hope. Here, you will serve God and by preaching maybe gain more souls for Christ in one day than you would for a whole year in certain other places. Do visit those who love you and intensely desire to see you. There are great expectations of you here. In many ways, this city may be considered a Babylon, but in other ways, it may also be considered a Sion, and it is a city cherished by a great king.⁶ [cont.]

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

² "quo vultu"

³ Konrad Holzler der Jüngere (bef. 1434-1478): Mayor of Vienna, 1450-1451, 1455.

⁴ Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444): Franciscan friar and preacher. Saint. As a youth, Piccolomini had heard and met him per-

sonally, and he wrote about him in his *De Viris Illustribus* (DVI, ch. 17).

⁵ Matthew, 9: 37.

⁶ The emperor.

[cont.] Sed si Babylonia est, indiget vestra praesentia; si Sion, digna est adventu vestro. Ego, nisi putarem adventum vestrum esse festinum, venirem ad vos nec paterer sine visione mea vestrum abitum, ne, qui scripsi, ut veniretis, advenientem fugere viderer.

Valete in Christo et orate Deum pro me. Ex Vienna, die 5. Julii 1451.

[cont.] If it is a Babylon,¹ it needs your presence. If it is a Sion, it is worthy of your visit. If I did not already know that you will arrive soon, I would come to you and not allow you to leave without seeing you lest I, who invited you, appear to have avoided you when you came.

Farewell in Christ, and pray to God for me. From Vienna, 5 July 1451.²

¹ The large sinful city of the Bible.

² See note in Wolkan.

256. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter in Siena (9 July 1451, Vienna).

Manuscript: Siena / Archivio Capitolare / Tom. II, nr. 31¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 10, pp. 20-21.

Aeneas, Dei et apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Senensis ac regius consiliarius, venerabilibus canonicis et capitulo ecclesiae nostrae Senensis, dilectis nostris, salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem.

[1] Commisimus aliqua venerabili viro magistro Henrico Senffleben, litterarum apostolicarum scriptori ac consiliario regio, amico nostro singulari, collegio vestro nostri ex parte referenda, cui velitis in dicendis plenam credentiae fidem praebere atque ea perficere, quae nostro nomine petet, quia et justa et honesta sunt. De presbytero captivo alias nostram mentem vobis significavimus et nunc etiam aliquid eidem magistro Henrico diximus. Alia non occurrunt. Hortamur, ut quae sunt officii vestri circa ecclesiam divinumque cultum solerter et devote perficiatis, ut et vobis inde fructus et nobis consolatio accrescat. Speramus proximo autumno ad vos proficisci.

Valete. Ex Vienna, die 9. Julii 1451.

¹ Reproduced after WO.

256. Letter to the Cathedral Chapter in Siena (9 July 1451, Vienna).

Context: As letter 254.

Subject: Piccolomini has charged Heinrich Senfleben with a message to the cathedral chapter in Siena.

Enea, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Siena and royal councillor, sends greetings and sincere love in the Lord to our beloved venerable canons and Chapter of our Church of Siena.

[1] We have charged the venerable magister Heinrich Senfleben,¹ apostolic scribe and royal councillor, our particular friend, with a message to you concerning certain matters. Please accept unreservedly what he says and do what he asks you, in my name, for it is just and equitable. Concerning the imprisoned priest, we have let you know our mind in another letter,² and we have also said something about it to Heinrich. There is nothing else. We exhort you to diligently and piously fulfil your duties concerning the church³ and the divine worship,⁴ which will benefit you and comfort us. We hope to come to you in the autumn.

Farewell. From Vienna, 9 July 1451.

¹ Heinrich Senfleben: Official of Friedrich III and, for years, his procurator in Rome. See Heinig,

1: pp. 526-527, 809 and *ad indicem*.

² Letter 254.

³ The Church of Siena.

⁴ Including the divine office to be recited in the cathedral.

257. Letter from the City of Siena (5 August 1451, Siena).

Manuscript: ASS / Concistorio, 1672, c 142¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 11, pp. 21-22 (on the basis of the Siena ms.).

Die 5. Augusti 1451. Episcopo Senensi penes imperialem majestatem existenti scriptum et responsum est sic videlicet. Reverende in Christo pater etc.

[1] Tabellarius regius litteras vestrae paternitatis responsivas nobis attulit, quibus omissis aliis necessariis tantum respondere curabimus. Quae de glorioso regio transitu et felici concurrant ad suscipiendam imperialem coronam, laeto animo intelligimus, optantes tamquam celsitudini suae majestatis imperioque devotissimi vota sua perficere valeat ad suae sublimitatis gloriam universaeque Christianae religionis commodum et quietem.

[2] De serenissima augusta conjuge sua ad portum nostrum Telamonis ventura, prout et alias diximus, idem replicamus hoc videlicet illam inibi optamus et in ea imperiali culmini servire et complacere gessimus et pro angustia loci illius, tante dominae satis inepti, devotioni ac debito nostro satisfacere. Optimae enim voluntatis sumus.

[3] Reditum vestrae paternitatis expectamus et quomodocumque res transeant forte non erit inutile praevenire curetis, quanto citius potestis, et si quod interim regium adventum jувativa vel impeditiva aliisque nota digna concurrerent, libentissime audiemus ex litteris paternitatis vestrae, quam felicitet Deus ad vota.

Datum etc.

¹ Reproduced after WO

257. Letter from the City of Siena (5 August 1451, Siena).

Context: As letter 252.

Subject: The City Government of Siena assures Piccolomini of its wish to arrange a suitable reception for Princess Leonora in Talamone and asks to be speedily informed about any new developments concerning the emperor's travel to Rome for his coronation.

5 August 1451. [Copy of] a letter and reply sent to the Bishop of Siena, residing at the [court of] His Imperial Majesty King of Romans. Reverend Father in Christ, etc.

[1] The royal messenger has brought us a letter with Your Paternity's answer. Passing over some other important matters, we shall only answer this: We were glad to hear that preparations for the king's glorious and auspicious travel to receive the imperial crown are proceeding smoothly. Being most devoted to His August Majesty and the Empire, we wish that he will be able to achieve his wishes for the glory of His Highness and the good and tranquillity of the whole Christian religion.

[2] Concerning the arrival of his Most Serene and August spouse in our harbour city of Talamone, we have already said and now reiterate that we hope she [will arrive safely] there. We have made arrangements to serve and please Her Imperial Highness there as far as possible under the restricted conditions of the place, unsuitable for such a great lady, and to fulfil our obligations with devoted diligence. Indeed, we have the best intentions to do so.

[3] We await your Paternity's return. Whatever happens, it will be helpful if you inform us ahead of time and as soon as possible. We shall also hope Your Paternity will let us know if, in the meantime, anything should occur to further or impede the king's arrival or other matters worth knowing. May God bless you and make you happy.

Given etc.

258. Letter from Friedrich III (20 September 1451, Vienna).¹

Manuscript: Fürstl. Schaumburg-Lippeschen Archiv, Nachod.²

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 13, pp. 57-59 (on the basis of the ms. mentioned above).

Fridericus, Dei gratia Romanorum rex semper augustus, Austriae, Stiriae, Karinthiae et Carniolae dux, dominus Marchiae Slavoniae ac Portusnaonis, comes in Habsburg, Tirol, Pherretis et in Kyburg, marchio Burgovie et lantgravius Alsacie. Notum facimus tenore praesentium universis:

[1] Etsi . . . clementia universorum fidelium, quos imperii sacri latitudo complectitur, felicibus profectibus gratis commodis et speratis augmentis favorabiliter dignatur intendere ..., illorum tamen profectus et commoda diligentiori studio clementius se inclinare consuevit, quorum fidei merita promptaeque devotionis integritas con ... ceteros antecedant. Qui cum venerabilis Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, noster et imperii sacri princeps, consiliarius devotus dilectus, coram nobis personaliter constitutus, excelsitudini nostrae ... instantia supplicaverit, quatenus sibi omnia sua et ecclesiae suae Senensis regalia seu feuda conferre ipsumque de eisdem investire gratiosius dignaremur, nos, qui ... petentium vota libenter complectimur animo deliberato sanoque principum, comitum, baronum, nobilium ac procerum fidelium nostrorum accedente consilio de ... auctoritateque Romana regia, recepto prius singulariter ab eo fidelitatis, subjectionis et obedientiae juramento debito et consueto per omnia in haec verba:

[2] “Ego Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, juro ad sancta Dei evangelia, quod ab hac die inantea fidelis ero et oboediens vobis, gloriosissimo et invictissimo principi et domino, domino Friderico Romanorum regi semper augusto, domino meo gratioso, necnon omnibus Romanorum imperatoribus sive regibus, successoribus vestris, et ipsi sacro Romano imperio contra omnem hominem et quod auxilium vel consilium numquam dabo nec consentiam contra statum, vitam, personam aut salutem vestram et quod honorem vestrum successorumque vestrorum ac ipsius sacri imperii pro posse meo fideliter procurabo damnumque et periculum status ac personae et honoris vestri et successorum vestrorum ac sacri imperii avertam, defendam et vobis et vestris successoribus pro viribus assistam et omnia alia et singula erga sacram coronam vestram generaliter attendam et efficaciter observabo, quae fideles sacri imperii principes suo vero domino Romanorum regi seu imperatori secundum sacras leges et laudabiles consuetudines jurare et praestare tenentur, et quae per antecessores meos, episcopos, divis imperatoribus et regibus Romanorum vestris praedecessoribus jurata sunt, solita et praestanter, quae juramenta³ fidelitatis in corpore sacrarum legum inveniuntur expressa. Sic me Deus adjuvet et haec sancta Dei evangelia,”

¹ WO: the manuscript only partly legible.

² Reproduced after WO

³ em.; juramento WO

258. Letter from Friedrich III (20 September 1451, Vienna).

Context: As bishop of Siena, Piccolomini had requested the emperor to be invested with the regalia (temporal possessions) of the Diocese of Siena.

Subject: Having received Piccolomini's oath of fidelity, the emperor invests Bishop Piccolomini with the regalia of his diocese.

[Abbreviated translation]

Friedrich, by the grace of God, King of the Romans, always August, duke of Austria, Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain, Lord of the Slavonic March and of Pordenone, count in Habsurg, Tyrol, Pherres and Kyburg, Margrave of Burgovia and Landgraf of Elsass. By the present letter we inform all that

[1] Though Our clemency should be extended to all the loyal subjects of the Holy Empire, it especially favours those who surpass others in merits of loyalty and prompt dedication. The Venerable Enea, Bishop of Siena, has, in person, beseeched Us to gracefully confer upon him and invest him with the regalia or feudal possessions of his Church of Siena. He has now sworn the usual and obligatory oath of loyalty, submission and obedience to Us in these words:

[2] "I, Enea, Bishop of Siena, swear on the holy gospels of God, that from this day I shall be loyal and obedient to you, Most Glorious and Unvanquished Prince and Lord, Lord Friedrich, King of the Romans, Always August, my graceful lord, and all the Roman emperors or kings, your successors, and to the Holy Roman Empire against all men, that I will neither help nor counsel nor join anyone against your estate, life, person or health, that I shall loyally and as far as possible uphold your and your successors' and the Holy Empire's honour and prevent any harm and danger to you, your successors' and the Holy Empire's estate and person, and that I shall, as far as possible, support you and your successors and generally attend to and do all that a loyal prince of the Empire is obliged to swear to and do for his true lord, the King of the Romans or Emperor, according to the sacred laws and praiseworthy customs, and which my predecessors as bishop have sworn to the Holy Emperors and the Kings of the Romans by oaths of loyalty contained in the collection of sacred laws. So help me God and these holy gospels of God."

[3] praefato Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, regalia necnon temporalia sive feudum dictae sue ecclesiae, quae singulare quoddam et insigne membrum sacri Romani imperii existit, cum universis et singulis suis attinentiis ac mero et mixto imperio etiam exercuis jurisdictionis temporalis nec non universis suis juribus, honoribus, consuetudinibus, observantiis et pertinentiis sicut eadem bonae memoriae sui praedecessores episcopi Senenses hactenus possiderunt, contulimus, conferimus, ipsum de eisdem tenore praesentium investimus, mandantes universis et singulis dicti episcopatus et ecclesiae Senensis subditis nostris et imperii sacri dilectis, cujuscumque status, gradus aut conditionis existant, quantum eidem Aeneae episcopo, tamquam vero et legitimo eorum domino, in omnibus et singulis tam in judiciis quam in aliis exercitium jurisdictionis temporalis concernentibus... firmiter et debite parere et oboedire debeant et intendant, superplentes nihilominus omnem defectum, si quis ex defectu verborum sententiarumque obscuritate et sollemnitate ... feudorum et lapsu temporis compertus fuerit, quomodolibet in praemissis de plenitudine Romanae regiae potestatis praesentium sub nostrae majestatis sigilli appensione ...

Datum Wienae, vicesima die mensis septembris anno domini 1451, regni nostri anno 12.

[3] Wherefore We, on the considered and reasonable advice of our loyal princes, counts, barons and nobles, with the assent of Our council, and on the authority of the King of the Romans, have conferred and confer on the aforesaid Enea, Bishop of Siena, the regalia or the temporal and feudal possessions of his church, an outstanding and eminent member of the Holy Roman Empire, with all its appurtenances as well as high and low jurisdiction¹ in the exercise of temporal justice. By the present letter, We invest him with all the rights, honours, customs, observances and appurtenances possessed by his predecessors of good memory as bishops of Siena and command all the subjects of the said Diocese and Church of Siena, beloved by Us and the Holy Empire, of whatever estate, rank or condition, to firmly and unfailingly obey the same Bishop Enea as their true and legitimate lord in all matters, both judgments and other matters related to the exercise of temporal justice.

[4] If any defect [in this decree] whether of single words or whole passages resulting in obscurity ... should be discovered, we remedy this defect by the plenitude of Roman royal power as signified by the affixed seal of our majesty to the present letter.

Given in Vienna, 20 September in the year of Our Lord 1451, and the 12th of Our reign.

¹ "merum et mixtum imperium"
(Du Cange: *Sæpissime in*

veteribus Instrumentis occurrit ad significandam omnimodam

justitiam, altam uti vocant, et bassam)

259. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (2 October 1451, Wien).

Manuscript: Firenze / Archivio di Stato / Dieci di Balìa / Carteggio Responsive 21, f. 76r; Milano / Archivio di Stato / Arcivescovi di Siena¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 14, pp. 59-60 (on the basis of the mss. mentioned above).

Eximie doctor, frater amantissime.

[1] Quia serenissimus dominus noster, Romanorum rex, intendit in brevi Italiam venire ac Romam ire pro corona, volui id tibi significare, ut hoc semotis arbitris illustrissimo domino marchioni Ferrariae significes, nam majestas regia decrevit favente domino in festo beatae Catherinae virginis apud Ferrariam esse et ibi aliquibus diebus expectabit principes et praelatos ex Alamannia superiori ad se adventuros, sicut ego et collegae mei infra paucos dies, ad vos venturi, suae dominationi plenius explicabimus.

Vale et consortem tuam ac filium meo nomine jube salvere. Ex Vienna, die 2. Octobris 1451. Tuus Aeneas, episcopus Senensis.

¹ Reproduced after WO

259. Letter to Jacopo Tolomei (2 October 1451, Vienna).

Context: The emperor was shortly to leave Austria for his coronation travel to Rome. Piccolomini himself would be going ahead with a number of colleagues to welcome the future empress at her arrival in Talamone in Sienese territory.

Subject: Piccolomini advised his relative, Jacopo, a trusted official of the Marquess of Ferrara, of the Emperor's plan to come to Ferrara to await the arrival of princes and prelates from Upper Germany.¹

Eminent doctor, beloved brother.^{2 3}

[1] I wish to inform you that Our Most Serene Lord, the King of the Romans, intends to arrive in Italy soon on his way to Rome for his coronation. Please convey this confidentially to the Most Illustrious Lord Marquess of Ferrara,⁴ for His Royal Majesty has decided - God willing - to be in Ferrara on the Feast of Saint Catherine the Virgin⁵ and stay for some days to await the princes and prelates coming from Upper Germany. When I myself and my colleagues come to Ferrara in a few days, we shall explain it all fully to His Lordship.

Farewell, and greet your wife and son from me. From Vienna, 2 October 1451. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ For a contemporary report on the emperor's visit to Ferrara, see Paolo di Lignago's *Chronicon Estense*. WO gives the relevant passage.

² Cousin.

³ Jacopo Tolomei: Sienese jurist. Taught law at the University in

Siena in the 1430s and 1440s. (See DVI, sect. 102). Later, court official in Ferrara (COM, 1: 20).

⁴ Leonello d'Este (1407 - 1450): One of the three illegitimate sons of Niccolò III d'Este and Stella de' Tolomei, relatives of the Piccolomini family. He was legitimated

by Pope Martin V. Marquess of Ferrara and Modena from 1441 to his death. See DVI, ch. 12. See article in DBI.

⁵ 25 November. The emperor eventually arrived in Ferrara on 12 January 1452.

260. Letter from the City of Siena (20 October 1451, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro, 1672, c. 184.¹

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 15, pp. 60-61.

Die 20. Octobris 1451.

Episcopo Senensi, domino Aeneae, imperiali consiliario apud majestatem ejusdem, scriptum est. Reverende in Christo pater et domine, pater noster praecipue.

[1] Ex litteris reverendae paternitatis vestrae imperialem adventum ad Italicas partes, felicissimae imperialis coronae sumendae causa, nuntiatis transitumque illius plus solito speratis, cum ad illum omnia concurrere videantur et potissimum pax, quam undique possidetis, optimum utique argumentum ad hujusmodi vota majestatis regiae exequenda et Deo dante speratis in festo Beatae Caterinae ad urbem Ferrariae declinare. Quare gratias primo agimus paternitati vestrae, quae nos tantarum rerum participes effecit. Dehinc immortalis Deo preces habemus, tamquam imperio devotissimi, ut majestatem gloriosissimi Augusti felicitare dignetur ad illius celeberrimam gloriam universaeque Christianitatis profectum ac quietem provinciaeque nostrae consolationem et pacem.

[2] Sed cum pluries novis tangentibus causis transitus iste regius jam in foribus promptus impedimenta receperit ac quodammodum dubitare videmini, ne huic etiam nova impedimenta consurgant, iterato litteris vestris certiores effici optamus, an transitus ipse prosequatur an non, quibus copiis et comitiva quae transeat, unde dirigat gressus imperialis majestas, quo praefixo in tempore moveatur aliasque tantae rei circumstantias, quantum litteris mandare liceat, libentius intelligemus, et potissimum de itinere usque Romanas plagas. Item et de augustae serenissimae conjugis adventu, si quid habetis ulterius, laeto animo capiemus.

[3] Haec omnia certo ac proprio tabellario nobis nota fieri rogamus volatim venturo, cui nobiscum conventum stipendium persolvemus. Sicque post eum alium sive alios, si opus fuerit, expectamus, si qua dietim ac nuper occurrerent notu digna et maxime de die regi recessus, si etiam propositum mutaretur deque aliis occurrentiis arbitrio vestro nobis novisse gratis. Nec parcatis tabellarii impensis, nam libenti animo pro litteris vestrae paternitatis exponimus. Nec plura opus videtur prudentiae et sapientiae vestrae extendere. Propositum enim optionemque nostram plane intelligetis. Hoc unum tamen e calamo non excidat, quod a paternitate vestra potissimum exposcimus, hoc videlicet, ut imperiali culmini atque clementiae devotissimos imperii sacri filios Senenses ex cordis intimis commendetis. Personam vestram quanto citius possetis expectamus, quam Deus ad vota secundet.

¹ Reproduced after WO

260. Letter from the City of Siena (20 October 1451, Siena).

Context: As letter 257.

Subject: The City Government of Siena asks for news about the emperor's coronation travel to Rome.

20 October 1451.

Copy of a letter sent to Enea, Lord Bishop of Siena, imperial councillor, at the imperial court. Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, our particular father.

[1] In the letter¹ of Your Reverend Paternity, you inform us about the emperor's travel to Italy to receive the most auspicious imperial crown, and you have greater hopes than usual for his passage since all the arrangements for it have fallen into place. Most of all, the peace you now have on all sides is the best reason that His Royal Majesty's desires will be fulfilled. You also informed us that - God willing - he shall be in the City of Ferrara on the Feast of Saint Catherine. We thank Your Paternity for informing us about these important matters. As devoted [subjects] of the Empire, we also pray to Immortal God that He will deign to favour His Most Glorious and August Majesty and grant honour and glory to him, prosperity to all Christianity, and tranquil comfort and peace to our province.

[2] But newly arisen circumstances appear to have obstructed the king's travel when he was about to leave, and you seem to fear that even more impediments may occur.² Therefore, we repeat our wish to be informed by you whether the king's progress will continue or not, what troops and company His Imperial Majesty will bring, where he will go and when. And - as far as can be entrusted to letters - we should like to be informed about any other relevant circumstances, especially the king's itinerary to Rome. Similarly, we should like to receive any further news you may have concerning the arrival of his Most Serene and August spouse.³

[3] We ask you to speedily inform us through a reliable messenger of your own and are willing to pay his expenses. And after him, we expect to receive other messengers if anything worth knowing should occur, especially concerning the king's departure, if he should change his plans, and any other occurrences you deem of interest to us. Do not spare money for messengers, for we shall gladly pay the cost of Your Paternity's letters. You will clearly understand our intentions. But one thing shall not escape the pen: most of all, we wish Your Paternity to sincerely recommend the Sienese to His Imperial Highness and Clemency as the most loyal sons of the Holy Empire. We hope to see you in person as soon as possible. May God grant your wishes.

¹ Not extant.

² The incipient Austrian uprising against the emperor to obtain the

release of the 11-year-old Ladislaus the Posthumous, Duke of Au-

stria, from the emperor's wardship.

³ Princess Leonora of Portugal.

261. Letter to Nicolaus V (December 1451, Siena).

Manuscripts: See HA.

Editions A: See HA.

Editions B: See HA.

Note: This letter is inserted in Piccolomini's *Historia Australia* (HA). It is not otherwise known. Moreover, it is not known if Piccolomini did send a letter from Siena to Pope Nicolaus V, but if he did, the version in the HA is most likely revised to fit the context. That such a letter was actually sent is supported by Piccolomini's mention and summary of it in his *Commentarii*.

In the HA, it is given in two versions, one in Version 1 of the HA (Knödler, I, p. 126-129) which is presumably the original version of the letter or close to it, and another in Version 2/3 (Wagendorfer, II, pp.456-459). An account of the episode and an abbreviated version of the letter is given in Pius II's *Commentarii* (COM 1: 22, 8).

According to the HA, the letter was written in Siena, where the imperial ambassadors had arrived on 20.11.1454 (HA, 2: p. 455, n. 165).

For a version of the texts with the critical apparatus, the reader is referred to the abovementioned editions. The translation is of Version 2.

Version 1

Anno exacto Neapoli reversus Rome te adivi, Leonoram regis Portugallie sororem Caesari desponsatam dixi venturamque ad Kalendas Novembris in Italiam, cupere Caesarem eo tempore Romam petere simulque cum conjuge coronari. Rogavi, Caesareum votum uti juvares coronationique appareres necessaria, tum vero filio tuo consuleres, quo potissimum tempore intraret Italiam, quod iter teneret. Commendasti et matrimonium et propositum Caesaris maximeque te cupidum ejus adventus ostendisti. Introitum hieme faciendum suasisti, quia Germanico corpori insalubris sit extus Italiae, viam per agrum Venetum commendasti. Audivit haec Caesar ex me ac ex tuo consilio et tempus et iter elegit.

Version 2

Beatissimo patri Nicolao summo pontifici et universali papae domino suo primo Aeneas sanctae Senensis ecclesiae humilis episcopus reverentiam et subjectionem dicit.

[1] Adivi te Romae anno exacto, ut nosti, ex Neapoli rediens: Leonoram, regis Portugalliae sororem, Caesari desponsatam ad Kalendas Novembris in portum Italicum venturam; Federicum eo tempore Romam petere simulque coronam cum conjuge velle suscipere dixi. Caesareum uti votum juvares coronationique te accingeres, rogavi, tum vero filio tuo, qua potissimum tempestate intraret Italiam, quod iter teneret, consilium dares. Quibus auditis matrimonium et propositum Caesaris commendasti cupidumque se sui adventus ostendisti. Introitum hieme faciendum suasisti; insalubrem Germanico corpori aestum Italiae affirmasti; viam per agrum Venetum commendasti. Ea Caesar ex me audivit cupidusque aliquando coronam suam tollere ex tuo consilio et tempus et iter elegit.

261. Letter to Nicolaus V (December 1451, Siena).

- Context:* Pope Nicolaus V had become nervous about the emperor's impending voyage to Rome for his coronation.¹ He might well be, remembering the problems created by earlier emperors visiting Italy and interfering with its political arrangements and institutions and sometimes trying to bring Italy back under effective imperial rule. He may also have been influenced by certain dire prophecies concerning an emperor named Friedrich III. He had, therefore, proposed to the emperor to postpone his journey to the coming summer.
- Subject:* Piccolomini argues against postponing the emperor's visit: the emperor will not interfere in Italian affairs; there is sufficient grain; and the pope should not worry about silly prophecies; and, finally, if it is postponed, it may not happen during Pope Nicolaus' lifetime, thus depriving the pope of the honour of crowning an emperor.

To the Most Holy Father Nicolaus, Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope, his first lord, Enea, humble Bishop of the holy Church of Siena, declares his reverence and obedience.

[1] As you know, I came to you more than a year ago² on my way back from Naples.³ I told you that Leonora, sister of the king of Portugal, now betrothed to the emperor, would arrive in an Italian harbour city on 1 November, and that Friedrich would at that time come to Rome to be crowned and married. I requested that you fulfil his wish and prepare for the coronation. Then I asked you to advise your son⁴ on the best season to come to Italy and what route to take. Having heard this, you praised the emperor's marriage and plans and said you looked forward to his visit. You advised him to come in winter, stating that the Italian summer heat is unhealthy for a German body. Moreover, you recommended a route through Venetian territory. I told the emperor this, and eager to receive his crown, he took your advice concerning the time and the route.

¹ In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote about the episode: *The pope realized that among the Romans, whose habits he knew well, many were eager for revolution. Fearing a popular disturbance ... he sent word to the emperor advising him to put off his coming till summer, giving as a further excuse the scarcity of supplies. He told Aeneas, on the other hand, to come to him as soon as possible. Now*

Aeneas knew full well what the emperor had been told. He sent the pope his excuses in a letter, and expressed his astonishment at his change of heart. [Here follows a resumé of the letter]. Nicholas was impressed by these words and wrote the emperor a letter telling him to come when he saw fit. He sent the letter to Aeneas first; if it met with his approval, he was to forward it to the emperor. Aeneas

approved the pope's words and at once despatched a courier to Frederick. (COM, 1: 22, 8-10 (Meserve, 1: p. 109)).

² Late December 1452.

³ Where Piccolomini had been part of an embassy from the emperor to negotiate the emperor's marriage to Princess Leonora of Portugal.

⁴ The emperor.

Version 1

[2] Nunc factus sum certior te misisse ad Caesarem, qui tempus extivum expectari suadeat causeturque rerum penuriam. Haec mihi aliena videntur a tua dignitate. Quid enim Romanum pontificem magis quam constantia decet? Si tua nutant verba, cujus erunt certa promissa? Suasisti hiemale tempus accipiendum, nunc extivum magis approbas. Notari potes et fortasse non deerunt, qui te dicant Caesari optare mortem, qui tempus insalubre commendas. "At desunt urbi necessaria." Certe sciunt Teutonici, quae fiunt in Italia: jubilaem anno proximo gessisti, infinita hominum multitudo Romae fuit, neque defuit tua providentia quidquam. Cur modo paucioribus non suppetet res frumentaria? Non est hic annus sterilior altero, novae fruges collectae ubertim sunt. Cognoscet Caesar hac tua legatione te secum haud bene agere fictumque tuum erga se animum fuisse.

Version 2

[2] Nunc certior factus sum te ad Federicum misisse, qui tempus aestivum expectari suadeat causeturque rerum penuriam. Haec etsi me Friderico mendacem ostendunt, cui aliter de tua mente sum locutus, non tamen me magnopere moverent, si ea tuae dignitati, cui omnia debeo, consona iudicarem, sed sunt, nisi me fallit opinio, tuo culmini aliena. Quid enim Romanum pontificem quam *dictorum factorumque constantia* magis decet? Si tua nutant verba, cujus erunt certa promissa? Suasisti hiemale tempus accipiendum, nunc probas aestivum. Si uni mihi dictum id a te fuisset, possem videri mentitus meumque dedecus tuam culpam teget, sed aderant collegae duo, qui ea mecum ex te audiverunt. Non potes quovis pacto non videri varius, nec fortasse deerunt, qui te Federici optare mortem, cum tempus insalubre commendes. Neque illud fidem faciet, quod urbi frumenta ceteraque ad victum necessaria desint; non latent res Italiae, Teutones sciunt, quae apud nos sunt, moresque nostros callent. Norunt anno proximo jubilaem habitum, infinitam populi multitudinem Romae fuisse neque tua providentia quidquam defuisse. Cur modo paucioribus res frumentaria non suppetet? Non est hic annus sterilior altero, novae fruges horrea opplevere. Vereor, ne Caesar hac tua legatione animum erga se tuum mutatum intelligat.

[2] I have now been informed¹ that you have sent a message to Friedrich counselling him to arrive in summer, giving the [present] lack of provisions as the cause. This makes me appear a liar to Friedrich, to whom I reported your position differently. But this would not disturb me if I thought it wasitable for Your Dignity to which I owe all I have. However, unless I am mistaken, it is unsuitable for your exalted state. For what befits the Roman Pontiff more than *fidelity in words and acts*²? If your words are uncertain, whose promises will be certain? Your counsel was to come in winter; now you advise summer. If you had said it to me alone, I could appear to have lied, and my shame would cover your fault, but two colleagues³ were present who heard you, too. So, you will appear to be changing, and some may claim that you now recommend an unhealthy period because you wish Friedrich dead. Moreover, it is not believable that the City⁴ lacks grain and other necessary victuals, for the state of Italy is not unknown, and the Germans know about the situation there and about our ways. They are aware that last year, a jubilee⁵ was held when an immense crowd of people visited Rome and lacked for nothing due to your provident foresight. So why should fewer people [coming to Rome] now lack grain? This year⁶ was not less fertile than the year before, and new crops have filled the barns. I fear the emperor will take your message to mean that your sentiments towards him have changed.

¹ Through the emperor's representative in Rome, Heinrich Senftleben.

² Cicero: *De officiis*, 1: 7, 22. John of Salisbury: *Policraticus* (Keats-

Rohan), p. 183: *Adsit et fides, dictorum scilicet factorum constantia*.

³ Georg von Volkersdorf and Michael von Pfullendorf.

⁴ Rome.

⁵ The papal jubilee year of 1450.

⁶ I.e., the summer of 1451.

Version 1

[3] At scio tibi multa de Caesare adversa dicta: illum venire armatum, cupere Italiae imperium, infensum clero - multa de tertio Federico in fatis horrenda dictu esse. Quae res, si movent alios, at tuam certe beatitudinem movere non debent, qui hominem vidisti et religionem ejus nosti. Quod si is esset cleri hostis, ut adversarii garriunt, quando melius opprimere clerum potuit quam vigente schismate, stante Germanorum neutralitate? Siluisset tantum, pessundata erat ecclesia. Nec tu hodie in hoc statu esses, in quo te videntes laetamur. At is summa ope neutralitatem abolevit, schismatis radices excussit. Tibi ut pareant Germani omnes curavit - nec praeterea usquam clero melius quam suis in terris. Scis, quot monasteria erexit, quot fundavit novas ecclesias. In te vero quanta sit ejus devotio, nulli quam mihi magis liquet, qui eum de te summa veneratione saepe loquentem audivi.

Version 2

[3] At plurima tibi de Caesare adversa dicuntur: venire illum armatum, Italiae imperium quaerere, clero dominatum invidere, multa de Friderico tertio in fatis haberi dictu horrenda. Haec, si alios terrent, tuam certe beatitudinem movere non debent, qui hominem *intus et in cute nosti*, cujus aequitatem, fidem, religionem non satis olim praedicare atque magnificare poteras. Quod si esset is cleri hostis, ut plerique garriunt, quando facilius - oro - clerum opprimere potuit quam vigente in ecclesia schismate stanteque Germanorum neutralitate? Siluisset tantum, pessum ibat ecclesia, cleri majestas omnis extinguebatur, nec tu hodie in hoc statu esses, in quo te videntes laetamur. Sed misertus est ecclesiae matris suae Federicus; summa enixus ope neutralitatem abolevit; schismatis radices evulsit; tibi ut parerent Germani omnes, curavit, nec praeterea usquam clero melius est quam suo in patrimonio. Scis, quae monasteria, quas erexit ecclesias, quanta sit ejus in te Romanamque sedem devotio.

[3] People tell you much against the emperor: he comes with an army to seek power over Italy; he is jealous of the clergy's lordship;¹ many terrible things are said about a Friedrich III by soothsayers. Such rumours may scare others, but they should certainly not affect you who *know* the man *inside out*,² and whose equity, fidelity and piety you once could not proclaim and praise enough. If he were an enemy of the clergy, as many blather, when could he more easily oppress the clergy, I ask, than when there was a schism in the Church³ and the German Neutrality⁴ prevailed? If he had remained silent, it would have gone badly for the Church, the clergy's majesty would have been completely destroyed, and you would not now enjoy the position we are all glad to see you in. But Friedrich took pity on his mother, the Church, and, striving with all his might, he abolished the Neutrality, uprooted the schism, and ensured that all Germans obey you. Moreover, nowhere does the clergy thrive better than in his domains. You know what monasteries and churches he established,⁵ and how great his devotion towards you and the Roman See is.

¹ In the Papal States.

² Persius, 3: 30.

³ The schism between popes in Rome and the rump council in Basel, 1438-1449.

⁴ The German Neutrality in the church schism, declared in 1438 and ended in 1447 through the Empire's recognition of the pope in Rome.

⁵ On this issue, see HA, 1. Version, pp, 127, n. 6652.

Version 1

[4] "At bonum principem mali comites seducent; Romani et nostri Itali pervertent!" Non est ea mens homini, ad prava ut duci possit. Comites erunt clari principes et alto sanguine nati proceres, quibus miscere tumultus periculosum sit, quibus nomen bonum quam divitiae carius est. Jurabit insuper tibi Caesar fidemque tenebit. Quodsi motus in urbe fuerit, omnis gladius Teutonicus ad custodiam erit tui palatii. Tutior tua sanctitas inter Alamannos quam inter Italos erit. Nam qui arma gerunt Itali, ex plebe sunt, leves homines, quibus nihil pecunia dulcius est. Germani ad militiam nobiles admittunt fidei tenaces, quibus honore nihil antiquius est.

Version 2

[4] Putas forsitan bonum principem malos habere comites, times Romanos, times ceteros Italos, ne pius principis animum inficiant noscentemque meliora suadeant sequi pejora. Sed non est ea mens homini, ad prava ut queat induci. Comites ei venient clari principes et alto sanguine nati proceres, quibus turbare urbes ac miscere tumultus neque tutum neque decorum fuerit, qui nomen bonum lucris omnibus anteponant. Quodsi tumulti quidquam in urbe surrexerit, non minus tuam quam Federici personam Germanicus tuebitur ensis, tutior tua pietas inter gladios Teutonicos quam inter Italos erit. Nam qui arma gerunt Itali, ex plebe sunt, leves homines, mercenarii, quibus nihil est pecunia dulcius; Germani ex nobilitate milites legunt, graves viros ac fidei tenaces, quibus honore nihil est antiquius. Nil est, quod vel in Caesare vel in comitibus suspicari fraudulentum queat.

[4] Perhaps you think that a good prince may have bad companions. You fear that the Romans and the other Italians will poison the pious prince's mind and persuade him who knows better ways to follow bad ones.¹ But this man's mind cannot be induced to do evil. His companions will be illustrious princes, high-born nobles, for whom it would be unsafe and shameful to disturb [the peace of] cities and get involved in uprisings. Indeed, they treasure a good reputation more than all gains. But if an uprising should occur in the City,² the German sword will protect your person as much as Friedrich's. Your Piety will be safer among German swords than among Italian, for the Italians who wield arms are from the people, unreliable men, mercenaries for whom nothing is sweeter than money. In contrast, the Germans choose their knights from the nobility, serious men of strong loyalty, for whom nothing is more important than honour. Neither the emperor nor his companions can be suspected of deceit.

¹ E.g., by replacing priestly rule in Rome with secular.

² Rome.

Version 1

[5] De fatis vero non habet me dubium, quin tua summa prudentia rideat. Quis enim, qui futuri se scium audeat dicere? Nemo novit, *quid vesper vehat*. Libri insuper, quos prophetarum dicunt, numquam intelliguntur, nisi rebus completis. Verba dubia sunt et quae in multas partes queunt trahi. Ut quisque timet aut sperat, sic libros interpretatur. Vir sapiens ista fugit ridetque, quippe aut falsa sunt et omnino abjicienda spernendaque, aut, si vera sunt, vitari non possunt. Nam quod futurum divina providentia manifestat, id fieri necesse est. Itaque non est, quod in fatis momentum sapientes ponant - ratione metitur futura sapiens - et, ut sunt homines, ita acturos putant.

[6] Quibus ex rebus non video, cur tua sanctitas timeat, cur impediatur hunc Caesaris adventum. Tuus honor ejus coronatio! Unio tuo tempore facta est in ecclesia, jubilaeus annus exactus. Instat et tibi tertius honor coronationis Caesareae. Hanc si modo differs, ita Italiam involutam video, ut tuo tempore non sit, quod intraturum Italiam Caesarem sperare possum.

Version 2

[5] Fata vero, quae nonnulli in medium afferunt, non habet me dubium, quin tua summa sapientia rideat. Quis enim est, qui se futuri praescium dicat? Cui notum est, *quod vesper vehat? Venturi temporis exitum caeca nube prudens occulit Deus*. Nec te libris auscultare hodiernorum arbitror prophetarum, quorum dubia verba in omnes partes recipi queunt neque intelligentur nisi rebus peractis. Ut quisque timet aut sperat, sic sententias interpretatur. Quas vir sapiens nullo in pondere ducit, quippe aut falsae sunt prophetae et abjicere ac spernere illas oportet, aut verae sunt et vitari non possunt. Nam quod futurum divina providentia manifestat, id fieri necesse est. Itaque non timet sapientia fatum, ratione metitur futura sapiens et, ut sunt homines, ita eos acturos putat.

[6] Quibus ex rebus non video, cur tua sanctitas Federicum timeat, cur ejus adventum impediatur. Honoris tui cumulus in ejus coronatione consistit. Unio tuo tempore facta est ecclesiae, jubilaeus annus exactus. Instat tibi tertia coronationis Caesareae laus. Quam si modo differs, adeo Italiam involutam video, ut te pontifice ingressurum Italiam Caesarem sperare, qui sapiat, sive Italus sive Teutonicus, valeat nemo.

[5] Concerning the soothsayings¹ mentioned by some, I am sure that, in your great wisdom, you will laugh at them, for who can claim to know the future. Who knows *what evening will bring?*² *God in his providence hides future events in murky darkness.*³ And you should not worry about the books of modern prophets, for their doubtful words can be interpreted in many ways and are only understood after the events. Everyone interprets them according to his own fears or hopes. A wise man attaches no importance to them, for either the prophecies are false and should be rejected and spurned, or they are true and cannot be avoided. For what divine providence shows will happen must, of necessity, happen. Therefore, wisdom does not fear prophecy. The wise man ponders the future rationally and believes that men will act according to their nature.⁴

[6] For these reasons, I do not see why Your Holiness should fear Friedrich or impede his arrival. His coronation will make your honour complete. In your time,⁵ church union has been restored, and the jubilee year was held. The third honour will be the imperial coronation. If you postpone it now, I see Italy so mired in troubles that no wise man, Italian or German, can hope the emperor will enter Italy during your pontificate.

¹ "fata"

² Varro in Gellius, 13: 11, 1. Used proverbially.

³ Horatius: *Carmina*, 3: 29-30: *prudens futuri temporis exitum caliginosa nocte premit deus.*

⁴ "ut sunt"

⁵ 1449.

262. Letter to the City of Siena (23 December 1451, Talamone).

Manuscripts: T1, 2¹² **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 16, pp. 61-62 (on the basis of T1).

Magnifici et potentes domini, domini mei honorandi. Post recommandationem.

[1] Vellent collegae mei posse aliquid certe scribere senatui vestro de reginae vel regis adventu, et id esset mihi carissimum. Sed nihil est, quod noviter scribendum emerit. Nos omnibus consideratis decrevimus hic³ in portu potius quam alibi reginam praestolari. Quam primum aliquid certi senserimus, id curabimus certum fieri magnificentiis vestris, quibus collegae praefati sese plurimum recommendant et offerunt se ad beneplacita vestra. Ego de me nihil dixerim, quia jam pluries animum meum notum feci. Si videtis per me aliquid gerendum esse, mandabitis, et ego libenter oboediam. Recommendo magnificentiis vestris clericum ecclesiae meae, qui vestra caro est et die noctuque pro felici statu vestro preces altissimo porrigit. Si veterum exempla meminertis, invenietis semper his bene successisse, qui sacerdotes Dei honoribus cumularunt, in qua re vester senatus hactenus mirifice commendatus est. Nec alia nunc. Magnificentias vestras feliciter conservare dignetur celsissimus.

Ex Telamone, die 23. Decembris 1451. Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, servitor vester.

¹ DV, 7.

² *Autograph*

³ hoc WO

262. Letter to the City of Siena (23 December 1451, Talamone).

Context: Piccolomini and his colleagues in the party to welcome the future empress at her arrival in Italy had decided to await her - much delayed - arrival in the harbour city of Talamone.

Subject: Piccolomini informs the city government of Siena that he has no news about the arrival of the emperor and Princess Leonora in Italy.

Magnificent and Mighty Lords, my Honourable Lords. After recommendation.

[1] My colleagues should much like to be able to send sure information to your senate about the arrival of the queen and the king, and so - very much - should I. But nothing new has occurred to write about. All things considered, we have decided to await the queen in this harbour city rather than elsewhere.¹ As soon as we know something for sure, we shall inform Your Magnificences, to whom the aforesaid colleagues much recommend themselves and offer their services. I say nothing about myself since I have repeatedly made my mind known to you. If you see there is something I can do, just ask it, and I shall gladly comply. I recommend a cleric of my church to Your Magnificences: he is of your own flesh,² and night and day, he prays to God on High for your prosperity. If you remember the examples of old, you will see that those who honoured the priests of God were always successful. But in this respect, your senate - until now - is most commendable. No more for now. May God on High deign to keep Your Magnificences happy and prosperous.

From Talamone, 23 December 1451. Your servant, Enea, Bishop of Siena.

Chancery notation: Praesentata die 26.

¹ Concerning this matter, see COR, 1: Appendix 2.

² I.e., a Siennese.

263. Letter from the City of Siena (6 January 1452, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / *Concist.*, 1673, c.4¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 17, pp. 62-63 (on the basis of the ASS manuscript).

Die 6. Januarii 1451. Episcopo Senensi scriptum est hoc exemplo. Reverende in Christo pater etc.

[1] Gratissimae nobis fuere litterae vestrae, nuntiantes adventum imperatoriae majestatis, quoniam de eo certiores redditi honori nostro magis abunde consulere poterimus, et ut reverenda vestra paternitas ea de re accipiat, quantum intelleximus, exemplum exempli litterarum receptorum a nostro oratore apud illustrissimum ducale dominium ad eandem vestram paternitatem his inclusum mittimus. Accepimus insuper ab egregio cive nostro domino Gregorio Nicolai Loli vestram reverendam paternitatem credere, cum ab oppido Telamonis discesserit, Romam profecturam esse, et si quid in rem nostram per vestram paternitatem agendum foret paratissimam eandem obtulit, quod summopere nobis placuit et gratias ingentes vobis et dicimus et habemus. Cognoscimus enim, quanto amore quantaque affectione rem publicam nostram prospicitis. Si igitur vestra paternitas proficisci destinaverit, eandem rogatam observatamque esse volumus, ut civitatem nostram universumque nostrum populum summo pontifici enixissime commendetis suamque beatitudinem devotissima supplicatione impellite, ut nostros oratores pro oppido Fighini restituendo exaudire dignetur. Nihil enim gratius aut acceptius huic populo nostro contingere potest, quam hoc munus a sua beatitudine consequi. Id autem agat vestra paternitas, si ab oratoribus acceperit, opus fore, qua in re pro virili patefacere conemini, quanta sit justitia nostra quantaque semper fuerit et sit expectatio hujus civitatis suae beatitudini devotissime non solum hanc sed etiam majorem gratiam a sua sanctissima clementia consequendi.

¹ *Reproduced after WO*

263. Letter from the City of Siena (6 January 1452, Siena).

Context: Piccolomini, still awaiting Princess Leonora's arrival in Talamone, had informed the Sienese city government of the emperor's arrival in Italy.

Subject: The city government thanks Piccolomini and asks him, if needful, to intervene at the papal court in the matter of the restitution of Fighine to Siena.

6 January 1451. Copy of a letter to the Bishop of Siena. Reverend Father in Christ etc.

[1] Your letter with news of the arrival of His Imperial Majesty was most welcome to us, for with this information, we are in a better position to act as honour demands.¹ And to let Your Paternity know what we have heard about this matter, we include a copy of a letter to your Paternity from our ambassador² to the most illustrious ducal dominion.³ Moreover, we have heard from our fellow citizen, ser Gregorio di Niccolò Lolli, that Your Reverend Paternity intends to go to Rome when you leave the town of Talamone and have declared yourself most willing to act [there] on our behalf. We are delighted at this and immensely grateful. Indeed, we know your great love and affection for our state. So if Your Paternity has decided to leave, we ask and request that you much commend our city and the whole people to the Supreme Pontiff and, with ardent supplication, urge His Beatitude to deign to heed our ambassadors concerning the restitution of the Town of Fighine. Nothing more welcome and agreeable could happen to our people than to obtain this favour from His Beatitude. If Your Paternity hears from the ambassadors that it is needful, then please take up this matter and show His Beatitude - with all your powers of persuasion - how just our cause is and how great hopes this city, entirely devoted to His Beatitude, has of obtaining not only this but an even greater favour from His Most Holy Clemency.

¹ Giving the emperor a splendid reception would heighten Siena's prestige.

² Leonardo Benvoglianti (c. 1400 to c. 1483): Sienese politician, offi-

cial and diplomat. He was a friend of Piccolomini. When Piccolomini became pope, Benvoglianti supported his papal crusade project but energetically oppose his inter-

ventions in Sienese politics (see article in DBI).

³ Venice.

264. Letter to Sceva de Curte (27 January 1452, Talamone).

Manuscripts: Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Z 219 sup¹ ².

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 18, pp. 63-64.

Magnifice miles, amice honorande.

[1] Est mihi molestissimum, quia me absente Senas venistis. Optassem vos videre atque amplecti pro vestra veteri et suavi benivolentia. Litterarum ducalium credentiam vestra mihi epistola exposuit. Placet mihi ordinatio sua in facto illo beneficiorum sive abbatiarum. Sed erimus, ut puto, Romae simul et loquemur latius et, quod melius fuerit, aggrediemur. Videbo etiam, sicut spero, illic dominum meum Novariensem, quem veluti patrem veneror. De mente regia nihil possum absens dicere. Quando erimus simul, apertius loquar, nec mea opera ad bonum deerit. Litteras vestras, quas Romam dirigebatis, remitto ad vos, quia non habemus hic nuntios illuc euntes. Magister tamen Ulricus Solemberger non est illic, sed in curia, ut arbitrator, regis. Riderer autem Romam ivit et Hasselbach et Senfleben. De regina nostra non aliud habemus, nisi quia usque ad Villam Francam pervenit ultima Decembris. Postea nihil secutum est, quod sciamus. Ego hic expectando tabesco.

Valete, optime, mei memor et amans. Ex Telamone, die 27. Januarii 1452. Vester Eneas episcopus Senensis.

¹ Reproduced after WO

² Autograph

264. Letter to Sceva de Curte¹ (27 January 1452, Talamone).

Context: A Milanese ambassador to Siena, Sceva de Curte, a friend of Piccolomini, had sent a copy of his credential letter to Piccolomini.

Subject: Piccolomini looks forward to meeting Sceva de Curte in Rome, where they can talk more freely, probably about the Duke of Milan's wish to be formally invested by the emperor as Duke of Milan.

Magnificent Knight, honourable friend.

[1] I am sorry you came to Siena when I was not there. I should have liked to see and embrace you, given our old and pleasant friendship. Your letter informed me of your credential letter from the duke.² His dispositions concerning the benefices and abbeys please me. But I believe we shall be together in Rome³ and can speak more fully there, and what is even better: we can enjoy some time together!⁴ There, I also hope to see My Lord of Novara,⁵ whom I honour as a father. Since I am not with the king,⁶ I cannot say anything about his intentions. When we meet [in Rome], I can speak more openly, and I shall support what is for the best.⁷ I return the letters you wanted me to forward to Rome since here,⁸ we have no messengers going there. Magister Ulrich Sonnenberger is not here but, I believe, with the king's court. Riederer⁹ has gone to Rome with Hasselbach¹⁰ and Senftleben. Concerning our queen,¹¹ we only know that she reached Villefranche at the end of December. We know nothing about what has happened later. I am languishing here, waiting for her.

Live well, remember and love me. From Talamone, 27 January 1452. Your Enea, Bishop of Siena.

¹ Sceva de Curte (-1459): Milanese diplomat. In the beginning of 1450, he was at the imperial court, endeavouring (in vain) to obtain the imperial investiture as duke of Milan for Francesco Sforza. The negotiations were conducted with Piccolomini for the emperor. He had now been sent with other Milanese diplomats to meet the emperor in Siena and accompany him to Rome (see article in DBI).

² Francesco I Sforza.

³ For the imperial coronation.

⁴ Probably, a veiled reference to the desired investiture as Duke of Milan.

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

⁶ Friedrich III.

⁷ The matter of the emperor naming Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan?

⁸ In Talamone.

⁹ Ulrich Riederer.

¹⁰ Thomas Ebendorfer von Hasselbach (1388-1464): Austrian historian, professor (Vienna), and statesman. Used by Friedrich III as an ambassador.

¹¹ Princess Leonora of Spain, the emperor's betrothed.

265. Letter from the City of Siena (4 February 1452, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concist. 1673, c. 24¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 19, pp. 64-65.

Die 4. Februarii 1451.

Episcopo Senensi, existenti in oppido Telamonis scriptum est hoc pacto: Reverendissime etc.

[1] Tabellarius, praesentium lator, dat venire ad vestram reverendam paternitatem cum litteris serenissimae reginae. Ille enim, ut asserit, vobis ceterisque oratoribus imperialibus injungunt, ut una cum mulieribus et comitiva istic existente ad portum Pisanum concedere debeatis, quo affirmat ipsam serenissimam reginam pervenisse et inde directa via nostram ad urbem venturam. Quod si sic est, summopere gaudemus, quod serenitas sua ad portum salutis fuerit deducta. Verum pro consolatione nostra nostraeque rei publicae honore non parum moleste ferimus, quod ad portum nostrum, ut destinaverat, non venerit. Vis ventorum ita voluit impedivitque, ut eam voluptatem ac laetitiam, quam cupiebamus, assequi non potuimus. Omne sane studium atque operam nostram dedimus, ut serenissimus imperator ac serenissima regina nostra in urbe honorifice reciperentur. Accessit autem imperialis scalcus, qui pro arbitrio suo mansiones commodae assignatae sunt.

[2] Rogamus igitur reverendam paternitatem vestram, ut de his ceterisque ad honorem nostrae rei publicae attinentibus nos certiores reddere velit. Pergratum quidem erit sentire, si quidquam a nobis est providendum per nostrae civitatis honorem postremo dictae serenissimae reginae nos, quoad stis, commendatos facite et nostram bonam intentionem suae celsitudini patefacere velit.

Datum etc.

¹ Reproduced after WO

265. Letter from the City of Siena (4 February 1452, Siena).

Context: The same as the preceding letters.

Subject: The city government informs Piccolomini that the future empress has arrived at the port of Pisa and that she asks him and his companions to come there.

4 February 1451.¹

Copy of a letter to the Bishop of Siena, presently staying in the town of Talamone. Most Reverend etc.

[1] The messenger carrying the present letter comes with a letter to Your Reverend Paternity from the Most Serene Queen. As it says, it enjoins you and the other ambassadors to proceed, with her ladies and suite, to the harbour city of Pisa, where the Most Serene Queen² says she has arrived, and from there, directly to our city. If this is so, we rejoice that Her Serenity has finally reached a safe port. Considering our consolation and the honour of our state, we much regret that she did not arrive in our own port³ as intended. But the strong winds did not allow it to happen and prevented us from experiencing the pleasure and joy we had anticipated.⁴ But now we shall do all we can to ensure that the Most Serene Emperor and the Most Serene Queen are given an honourable reception in our city. The imperial steward arrived recently and has been assigned appropriate dwellings of his own choice.

[2] We ask your Reverend Paternity to inform us about these and other such matters as pertain to the honour of our state. We shall greatly appreciate hearing if there is anything we should do concerning the honour of our city. Finally, please recommend us, as much as possible, to the Most Serene Queen, and assure Her Highness of our good intentions.

Given etc.

¹ 1452, but 1451 after the calendar used in Siena.

² Leonora of Portugal.

³ Talamone.

⁴ Receiving the future empress in one of its own harbour cities

would have been an honour for Siena, and it rankled that she had arrived in the harbour city of rival Pisa. On the other hand, the city government had previously expressed its concern that conditions

in the small town of Talamone were not adequate for the reception of such a high-ranking person.

266. Letter from the city government of Siena (5 February 1452, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / *Concist.* 1673, c. 24¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 20, pp. 65-66.

Die 5. Februarii 1451.

Episcopo Senensi, existenti in oppido Talamonis scriptum est sub hoc exemplo. Reverende etc.

[1] Accipiet reverenda vestra paternitas litteras nostras heri datas, ex quibus intelliget, qua via habuerimus, serenissimam reginam in portu Pisano applicuisse, et quod ea in re per vestram paternitatem faciendum sit nos aperuisse. Quam rem diligentius considerantes, licet, ut scripsimus de salute et quiete suae serenitatis, contentissimi sumus. Tamen, quia veremur, ne honor nobis paratus alteri cedat, quo nihil esse posset nostrae civitati molestius, eidem vestrae paternitati iterato scribere duximus. Illam igitur enixissime rogamus, oramus atque precamur, ut, si qua in re curam, operam, studium, mentem, diligentiam dederit, impraesentiarum velit omnino adhibere. Quod enim optamus magnumque in modum desideramus est, ut ipsa serenissima regina Florentiam non proficiscatur, sed nostram ad urbem omnino iter vertat profecto, cum omnia paraverimus, quae ad decus et gloriam civitatis nostrae pro sua celsitudine recipienda noverimus attenere, quod alio diverteret, existimet vestra paternitas, quam laeto, quam jucundo animo id feremus, et, cum honoris nostri pro comperto habeamus, ipsam vestram paternitatem non minus quam nos curiosam esse, non ambigimus, illam omnem industriam operamque daturam, tum cum imperatoria majestate, tum alia quacumque via, ut honorem jam nobis quaesitum non amittamus nec ullo quovis modo privari possimus, pro illo etenim servando tuendoque solliciti magnopere sumus. Et si quidquam a nobis faciendum sit, a vestra reverenda paternitate certiores reddi expectamus, quo in facinore litterae vestrae nobis gratissimae fuerint easque omnifariam exequemur, expensisque tabellariorum non parcatis, quae libenti animo persolventur. Datum etc.

¹ *Reproduced after WO*

266. Letter from the city government of Siena (5 February 1452, Siena).

Context: See the previous letters from the city government.

Subject: The city government urges Piccolomini to ensure that Princess Leonora does not go to meet the emperor in Florence rather than in Siena.

5 February 1451.¹

Copy of a letter to the Bishop of Siena, presently staying in the Town of Talamone. Reverend etc.

[1] Your Reverend Paternity will have received a letter from us of yesterday, in which we inform you that the Most Serene Queen² has arrived in the harbour of Pisa, and what we should like Your Paternity to do in the matter. We wrote how pleased we are that Her Serenity has arrived safely and tranquilly. However, we fear that the honour prepared for us³ may go to another⁴: nothing could be more embarrassing for our city, which is why we have decided to write to Your Paternity again. We ask, pray and beg Your Paternity to apply your care, efforts, energy, mind and diligence to this matter. What we wish and intensely desire is that the Most Serene Queen does not proceed to Florence but comes directly to our city since we have prepared all for the reception of Her Highness as we know to befit the honour and glory of our city. Your Paternity will understand how [little] it will gladden and please us should she go elsewhere. But knowing that Your Paternity is as much concerned as we are about our honour, we are sure that you will make all effort, both with His Imperial Majesty and otherwise, to ensure that we do not lose and may in no way be deprived of the honour previously promised to us, which we are most anxious to keep and defend. If there is anything we should do, we expect to be informed by Your Reverend Paternity. A letter from you concerning this great matter will be most welcome, and we shall do anything you propose. Do not spare expenses on messengers, for we shall gladly pay them.⁵

Given, etc.

¹ 1452, but 1451 after the calendar used in Siena.

² Leonora de Portugal.

³ The reception of Princess Leonora and her meeting the emperor.

⁴ Florence.

⁵ The government of Siena had no reason to worry: the emperor arrived in Siena two days after, on 7

February, and the future empress on 24 February.

267. Letter from the City of Siena (9 April 1452, Siena).

Manuscripts: AAS / *Concist. 1673, ad diem*¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 22, pp. 70-71.

Die 9. Aprilis 1452. Episcopo Senensi, Romae existenti, scriptum est hoc pacto:

[1] Magnum in modum desideramus exploratum habere, si serenissimus imperator in suo reditu per hanc nostram urbem iter sit facturus, de quo vestram paternitatem et commodius et habilis quam alterum nos certiores reddituram profecto speramus. Quid igitur vere hac in re accipietis, quamprimum nobis significate. Curamus etenim atque studemus, ante tempus honori civitatis nostrae pro viribus providere. Pergratum nobis insuper foret, a vestra reverenda paternitate intelligere, si qua practica de pace Italiae istic habetur vel habenda sit, ac etiam quid sentiatis de adventu serenissimi regis Aragonum aut de copiis suis in Tusciam mittendis et ceteris occurrentibus memoratu dignis, quae scire iis, qui reipublice praesunt, summopere grata sunt.

¹ Reproduced after WO

267. Letter from the City of Siena (9 April 1452, Siena).

Context: The emperor's return from Italy to Austria after his coronation in Rome and visit to King Alfonso V in Naples was imminent.

Subject: The city government of Siena asks Piccolomini if the emperor will pass through their city on his return journey and if there is news of the movements of King Alfonso.

Copy of a letter to the Bishop of Siena, presently staying in Rome.

[1] We greatly desire to be informed whether the Most Serene Emperor will pass through this city on his way back, and we hope that Your Paternity can inform us better and more accurately than anybody else. So please let us know as soon as you hear anything. We shall make all efforts to prepare for such a visit and further the honour of our city. It would also be most welcome to hear from Your Paternity if negotiations about peace in Italy are being held there now or will be held later. Also, if you hear anything about the Most Serene King of Aragon arriving in person or sending troops to Tuscany or other important events, those who govern the state would very much like to know it.

268. Letter from the City of Siena (17 April 1452, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concistoro, 1673, ad diem ¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 23, p. 71.

Die 27. Aprilis 1452.

Episcopo Senensi responsum est, quod gratissimae fuerunt nobis litterae suae nuntiantes occurrentia, quae sentit. De his autem, de quibus² dubius est, cum propediem ipsum certiore fieri non dubitemus, velit sua paternitas, quamprimum ei nota sit, nobis notificare. Cognoscit enim, quanto honori et quanto saluti nostrae civitati ea scire opportuno tempore accedere valeat nec his gratiora a sua paternitate in praesentia expectamus.

¹ *Reproduced after WO*

² *non add. WO*

268. Letter from the City of Siena (17 April 1452, Siena).

Context: See the preceding letter.

Subject: The city government reiterates its request for speedy information on certain matters.

27 April 1452.

[1] A reply has been sent to the Bishop of Siena that we have gratefully received the letter¹ he sent with the news he heard. Since we are confident that he will soon be informed about the matters about which he was not sure, we ask His Paternity to inform us in turn as soon as he knows. For he is aware how important it is for the honour and safety of our city to be informed about them promptly, and, for the time being, this is the most valuable news we expect from his Paternity.

¹ *Not extant*

269. Letter from Nicolaus V (18 April 1452, Rome).

Manuscripts: Città del Vaticano / Reg. Vaticana / 398, f. 277¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 27, p. 79-81.

Nicolaus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, in regno Bohemiae ac marchionatu Moraviae nec non in Slesia ac civitatibus et diocesibus Aquilegiensis et Saltzburgensis provinciarum sub dominiis dilectorum filiorum, nobilium virorum Austriae, Stiriae, Carinthiae et Carniolae ducum consistentibus, nuntio et oratori nostro salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

[1] Christus, filius Dei vivi, ex alto caelorum throno descendens exemplum nobis reliquit, ut quemadmodum ipse discipulos, quos elegerat, in universas mundi partes destinavit, ut omnibus creaturis evangelium praedicarent ac sacris Christianae fidei institutis humanum genus edocerent, ita nos, qui licet immeriti ejus vices in terris gerimus, Christiano generi praesidemus, quantum nobis ab ipso conceditur per suas semitas incedentes ad fideles absentes oculos nostrae considerationis intendamus et ad ipsos, cum tempus postulare videtur, personas idoneas dirigimus, quae executionem voluntatis et sollicitudinis nostrae per suas operationes Deo propitio administrare valeant.

¹ Reproduced after WO

269. Letter from Nicolaus V (18 April 1452, Rome).

- Context:* During the emperor's coronation visit to Rome, he negotiated a number of matters directly with the pope. One of them was the situation in Bohemia, where the Hussite schism still prevailed, which would complicate the accession to the throne of the Habsburg prince Ladislaus. Since Piccolomini had become a specialist on Bohemian and Hussite affairs,¹ it was decided to give him the task to try to remedy the situation, at task at which two cardinals, Carvajal and Kues, had previously failed.
- Subject:* The pope appoints Piccolomini as his nuntius and ambassador - with the powers of a legate de latere - to Central Europe with the special task of furthering a settlement of the Hussite schism. Piccolomini's mission to Bohemia was overtaken by the violent events of the following years: the Austrian rebellion against the emperor, the release of Ladislaus the Posthumous from the emperor's wardship and his accession to the Bohemian throne, and the Fall of Constantinople.

Nicolaus, Bishop, Servants of the Servants of God, sends greetings and apostolic benediction to Our Venerable Brother, Enea, Bishop of Siena, our envoy and ambassador to the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia, Silesia, the cities and dioceses of the [church] provinces of Aquileia and Salzburg subject to our beloved sons, the noble dukes of Austria, Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain.

[1] Christ, son of the living God, descended from the high throne of Heaven and sent His chosen disciples to all the parts of the world to preach the Gospel to all His creatures and teach the human race the holy precepts of the Christian Faith. Following His example, We, who - though unworthy to represent Him on Earth - preside over the Christian people as much as He allows, follow the path shown by Him and turn Our eyes and mind towards those faithful who are far away and, when conditions warrant it, send them suitable persons who are able - with God's favour - to administer the execution of our will and solicitude.

¹ At the imperial court, Piccolomini had handled a number of Bohemian matters, including Prince Ladislaus's succession to the

throne of Bohemia. He had also visited Bohemia in 1451 where he studied the Hussite schism. Finally, during this visit, he had met and

developed a friendly relationship with the Bohemian governor, Georg Podiebrad. See CRDM, 1 and COR, 4: 16.

[2] Cum itaque nihil in animo nostro insit ardentius nihilque cum majori affectione desideramus quam videre universalem ecclesiam in sui status amplitudine stabilitam et sedem apostolicam in sua auctoritate et fastigio conservatam illaque praeterea insideat cordi nostro meditatio, ut pax et tranquillitas inter omnes vigeat Christi fideles, te, cujus personam Dei benignitate praeclaris virtutibus illustratam esse cognovimus, quam etiam vitae integritate, magnitudine consilii, rerum agendarum experientia ac plurimarum rerum doctrina pollere percepimus, in regno Bohemiae ac marchionatu Moraviae nec non in Slesia ac civitatibus et diocesibus, terris et locis Aquilegiensis et Saltzburgensis provinciarum sub dominiis dilectorum filium nobilium virorum Austriae, Stiriae, Carinthiae et Carniolae ducibus consistentibus pro pace et quiete partium praedictarum nec non finitimorum locorum apostolicae sedis nuntium et oratorem nostrum de fratrum nostrorum consilio cum potestate legati de latere facimus, constituimus et etiam deputamus teque per universum regnum Bohemiae, provincias, civitates, dioceses, terras et loca praedicta tamquam pacis angelum, ut in ipsis evellas et destruas, aedifices atque plantes, deformata reformes et corrigenda corrigas, deviantes ad viam veritatis reducas et statuas, quidquid ad concordiam mutuamque caritatem praefatorum populorum profutura cognoveris, prout caelestis gratiae infusio tuaque tibi providentia ministrabunt, de eorum fratrum consilio duximus destinandum, firma sperantes fiducia, quod actus tuos eo dirigente, qui novit plana, in directa reducere et aspera in vias planas per tuae circumspectionis industriam in dicto regno, provinciis, civitatibus et diocesibus ac locis convicinis praedictis omnia fient,¹ quae ad honorem Dei et statum Romane ecclesiae et apostolice sedis ac pacem, tranquillitatem illarum regionum, augmentum etiam et conservationem Christianae religionis videbuntur, quomodolibet pertinere.

¹ *Hier scheint etwas ausgefallen zu sein* WO

[2] Nothing is more important to Us and We desire nothing more than to see the whole Church firmly established in its full extent and the Apostolic See maintained in its authority and honour. Moreover, we are solicitous that there be peace and tranquillity among the Christian faithful. Therefore, on the advice of our brethren, We appoint, designate and nominate you - known to Us as a person who by God's clemency shines with eminent virtues and possesses integrity of life, profound counsel, experience of affairs, and knowledge of many things - as envoy of the Apostolic See and Our ambassador with powers of a legate *de latere* to the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia, Silesia, as well as the cities, dioceses, lands and localities of the [church] provinces of Aquileia and Salzburg subject to our beloved sons, the noble dukes of Austria, Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain, [to foster] peace and quiet in the said territories and neighbouring regions. On the advice of Our brothers, We send you as our representative to the whole Kingdom of Bohemia and the aforesaid provinces, cities, lands and localities as an angel of peace, to root up and destroy, to build and plant, to reform what needs reform and correct what needs correction, to lead those who have gone astray back to the path of truth, and to decide whatever you find will further the concord and mutual charity of the aforesaid peoples, as your wisdom and Heaven's grace show you. We firmly hope that under the guidance of Him who knows what is straight you will - with circumspect industry - make *[the crooked] straight and the rough ways plain*¹ and ensure that in the aforesaid kingdom, provinces, cities, dioceses and neighbouring regions all is done that furthers the honour of God, the status of the Roman Church and the Apostolic See, the peace and tranquillity of these regions, and the preservation and growth of the Christian religion.

¹ Isaiah, 40:4.

[3] Tuae igitur fraternitati quaecumque effectum praedictarum rerum, reformationem horum religionis et honestatis cultum, relevationem ecclesiarum, statum prosperum et tranquillum regni Bohemiae, provinciarum, civitatum, diocesum, terrarum et locorum praedictorum quomodolibet concernentia agendi, faciendi, statuendi, praecipendi, mandandi et corrigendi necnon omnes et singulas personas, cujuscumque status vel conditionis fuerint, aberrantes a vera fide Catholica et ab oboedientia et devotione nostra ad gremium ecclesiae reducendi illasque ab omnibus et singulis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque sententiis, processibus, censuris et poenis in ipsas quomodolibet latis absolvendi et liberandi, interdicta relaxandi et suspendendi ac omnem infamiae maculam sive notam per ipsas contractam abolendi ac super irregularitate per eas contracta dispensandi, ac etiam contra omnes et singulos nobis et sedi apostolicae rebelles et ab unitate ecclesie devios auctoritate nostra procedendi illosque suis officiis et beneficiis ecclesiasticis quaecumque et quocumque fuerint privandi et amovendi, processus de novo contra eos formandi illosque aggravandi et reaggravandi, prout fuerit opportunum, ac etiam auxilium brachii saecularis, quotiens opus fuerit, invocandi et omnia et singula agendi, quae circa haec profutura prospexeris,

[3] By the present letter, We grant Your Fraternity full and unrestricted power

- to do, decide, order, command and correct everything that concerns the fulfilment of the abovementioned [tasks]: the reformation of their religion, the dignity of worship, the advancement of the churches, the prosperity and tranquillity of the Kingdom of Bohemia and the aforesaid provinces, cities, dioceses, lands and localities;
- to bring all individuals, of whatever rank or condition, who have strayed from the true Catholic faith and from the obedience and devotion to Us¹ back to the Church's flock,
- to release and free them from all sentences of excommunication, suspension and interdict and from all other sentences, processes, censures and punishments incurred by them,
- to relax and suspend interdicts,
- to free them of all infamy they might have incurred,
- to dispense them from any irregularity incurred by them, but also
- to proceed, on Our authority, against all who have rebelled against Us and the Apostolic See and left the unity of the Church,
- to deprive them of and remove them from their ecclesiastical offices and benefices, irrespective of their kind and number,
- to institute new processes against them and to pursue and extend them as necessary and even to call upon the assistance of the secular arm whenever necessary,
- and to do everything you see to be helpful in these matters.

¹ I.e., the Bohemian Hussites.

[4] pacem quoque inter dictum regnum Bohemiae ejusque principes, barones et communitates ac nationes circumvicinas tractandi, practicandi cum capitulis, pactis, modis et conditionibus, de quibus videris expedire, ligas quoque et confoederationes inter ipsas nationes iniendi, firmandi, paciscendi illasque sub poenis, de quibus tibi videbitur, servari, mandandi; capitula insuper, promissiones et pacta, etiam si mandatum requirerent magis speciale, cum personis, de quibus tibi visum fuerit expedire, nostro et sedis apostolicae nomine faciendi, firmandi, concludendi et statuendi; insuper pro votiva et celebri expeditione negotiorum, prout tibi videbitur, generalem seu particularem synodum praelatorum, principum, ducum, baronum et dominorum temporalium, quorumcumque infra tuae legationis terminos consistentium, ubi et quando fuerit expediens, convocandi et congregandi ibique proponendi et deliberandi, prout agendarum rerum pondus pro tempore exiget, et quod inibi per te decretum et deliberatum fuerit, exequi, mandandi et faciendi per te vel alium seu alios opportune ac etiam omnibus et singulis aliis praelatis ecclesiarum et monasteriorum ac ordinum quorumlibet magistris, prioribus et praeceptoribus, cujuscumque dignitatis aut conditionis existant, capitulis quoque et conventibus ecclesiarum et monasteriorum praedictorum saecularibus et regularibus, exemptis et non exemptis, et clero per censuram ecclesiasticam et alia juris remedia mandandi et injungendi, ut omnia, quaecumque ordinaveris seu disposueris, exequantur efficaciter ac tibi plene pareant et intendant et nihilominus contradictores quoslibet et rebelles quacumque ecclesiastica et mundana, etiam si regali vel pontificali seu alia quavis praefulgeant dignitate, per censuram ecclesiasticam et alia juris remedia appellatione postposita compescendi, quibuscumque privilegiis, indulgentiis, exemptionibus, litteris apostolicis generalibus vel specialibus sub quacumque forma vel expressione verborum concessis, per quae nullum cujuscumque status, conditionis vel ordinis etiam Cisterciensis, Cluniacensis, Praemonstratensis, Brandimontensis, Carthusiensis, Vallisumbrosae, Camaldulensis, humiliatorum Sanctorum Benedicti et Augustini et hospitalium Sancti Johannis Iherosolimitani et Sancte Mariae Theotonicorum et Calatravensis et quorumcumque aliorum ordinum existerent, quibus in hac parte volumus afferri suffragium, nequaquam obstantibus, plenam et liberam tenore praesentium concedimus facultatem.

[4]

- to negotiate and arrange peace between the said Kingdom of Bohemia and its princes, barons and communities with the neighbouring nations, with such articles, agreements, provisions and conditions you consider expedient,
- to enter, confirm and negotiate accords and alliances between these nations and order them to be observed under threat of such punishments you consider necessary,
- to, in Our name and that of the Apostolic See, make, confirm, conclude and decide such articles, promises and agreements with suitable persons - even in cases requiring a special mandate,
- to ensure the desired and speedy expedition of matters by summoning, convoking and assembling, as you see fit, general or special synods of prelates, princes, dukes, barons and temporal lords from the territories covered by your legation where and when it might be appropriate and to make and deliberate such proposals as the importance of the matters and the conditions of the times require,
- to execute, command and carry out - by yourself or others as expedient - whatever you may have decided and discussed in these meetings,
- to order and enjoin - by ecclesiastical censures or other lawful means - all prelates of churches and monasteries and religious orders, as well as superiors, priors and preceptors of whatever rank or condition, secular as well as regular, exempt and non-exempt chapters and assemblies of the aforesaid churches and monasteries, and clergy to diligently execute your decisions and dispositions and fully obey and respect you,
- to force into compliance - with ecclesiastical censures and other lawful means and without right of appeal - any opponents or rebels, even men of eminent rank, ecclesiastical or temporal, even royal or episcopal, notwithstanding privileges, indulgences, exemptions, general or apostolic letters, whatever the form or wording, issued previously to anybody of whatever rank, condition or order - even the Cistercian, Cluniac, Premonstratense, Brandimontense, Carthusian, Vallombrosian and Camaldulense orders as well as the orders of the humble monks of Saint Benedict and Augustine, of the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, of Saint Mary of the Germans, of Calatrava and whatever orders we have approved in that region.

[5] Nos enim summas, quas rite tuleris, et poenas, quas inflixeris in rebelles, ratas habebimus et faciemus auctore domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari, quocirca fraternitati tuae per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus injunctum tibi ministerium laborum hujusmodi pro divina ac dictae sedis et nostra reverentia devote suscipiens, sic illud utiliter sicque sollicite et laudabiliter juxta datam tibi a Deo prudentiam exequaris, quod de eius laboribus caelesti favente clementia desiderati fructus proveniant, quos speramus, tuque illam, quae pias causas agentibus superna retributione impendatur, aeternae palmae gloriam consequaris.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis dominicae 1452, 14. Kalendas Maji pontificatus nostri anno 6.

De curia. A. de Racaneto.

[5] We shall ratify all fines legitimately imposed by you and the penances you inflict on rebels, and, with the Lord's help, We shall ensure that they are unfailingly upheld until they have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. We, therefore, by this apostolic letter, enjoin Your Fraternity to devoutly undertake this laborious charge out of reverence for God, the said Apostolic See and Us. Perform this task fruitfully, solicitously and laudably, using the wisdom God has given you. May your labours - with the favour of the Divine Clemency - bring about the desired results, as we hope, and may you gain the glory of the eternal palm granted as Heaven's reward to those who work for pious causes.

Given in Rome at Saint Peter's on 18 April in the year 1452 after Our Lord's incarnation, the 6th year of Our pontificate.

From the curia. A. de Racaneto.

270. Letter from the City of Siena (23 April 1452, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / *Concist.* 1673, *ad diem*¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 42, p. 94.

Die 23. aprilis 1452.

Episcopo Senensi scriptum est hoc exemplo:

[1] Scripsimus vestras primas litteras nobis redditas esse, placuit tamen mirum in modum earundem repetitio. Intelleximus enim per eas quaedam, quae denuo evenerunt, quia neutiquam nos latet multa quotidie occurrere, quae, ut scripsimus, magnopere explorata habere cupimus. Tabellarium praesentium delatorem ad vestram paternitatem mittimus et illam rogatam et oratam esse volumus, ut per eum nos certiores facere curet. Praecipue quidem nobis cura est, si per agrum nostrum imperatoria majestas iter factura sit, quod etiam de tractatu pacis Italiae secutum sit, quod certi etiam habentur de apparatus serenissimi regis Aragonum, etiam si sua majestas vel suae gentes ad Etruriam sint venturae. Haec sane intelligere nostrae rei publicae adeo grata erunt, ut nihil gratius a vestra paternitate habere possimus.

¹ *Reproduced after WO*

270. Letter from the City of Siena (23 April 1452, Siena).

Context: See the preceding letter from the city government.

Subject: The city government reiterates its request for information about the emperor's return travel, the negotiations for peace in Italy, and the movements of King Alfonso V.

23 April 1452.

Copy of a letter to the Bishop of Siena:

[1] We wrote to you that we had received your first letter, but we were most happy to also receive the second one, for we learnt about certain recent events from it. We are quite aware that many things happen daily about which, as we wrote, we should very much like to be informed. We send a messenger with the present letter to Your Paternity, asking you to ensure that we are kept informed. We are especially interested in knowing whether His Imperial Majesty will pass through our territory,¹ what has happened in the negotiations about peace in Italy, and what is known for sure about the Most Serene King of Aragon's preparations and whether he himself or his people will come to Toscana. Information about this will be most important to our state, and there is nothing we should like more to hear about from Your Paternity.

¹ On his way back to Austria.

271. Letter from the City of Siena (24 April 1452, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concist. 1673, ad diem¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 43, p. 94-95.

Die 24. aprilis 1452.

[1] Episcopo Senensi scriptum et responsum est, quod accepimus suis litteris reditum imperatoris ad urbem et ut per nostram civitatem ejus transitus futurus est et quod summo gaudio laetamur ejus reditum incolumem fuisse. Sed majori gaudio suam majestatem expectamus, cui nos filios et servitores suos commendatissimos faciat, et quid in dies occurrat, nos certiores reddat et maxime, quot equi sint venturi in societatem imperatoriae majestatis.

¹ *Reproduced after WO*

271. Letter from the City of Siena (24 April 1452, Siena).

Context: See the city government's previous letters.

Subject: The city government thanks for information about the emperor's visit and asks for further details about the size of his company.

24 April 1452.

[1] An answer has been sent to the Bishop of Siena that we have been informed through his letter¹ that the emperor has returned to the City² and will pass through our city. We are most happy that the emperor has returned safe and sound.³ With even greater joy, we now expect His Majesty here. The bishop is asked to highly recommend us to the emperor as his sons and servants and to inform us about current events, especially how many horses will accompany His Imperial Majesty.

¹ Not extant.

² Rome. The emperor had returned to Rome after his and the empress' visit to King Alfonso V in Naples.

³ From Naples.

272. Letter from the City of Siena (27 April 1452, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concist. 1673, ad diem¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 44, p. 95.

Die 27. aprilis 1452.

Episcopo Senensi scriptum est hoc exemplo:

[1] Per superiores vestras litteras de reditu serenissimi imperatoris et de transitu per agrum nostrum faciendo intelleximus, quibus gratias vestrae reverendae paternitati agentes respondemus. Nunc autem magnopere scire cupimus, quanta sit Caesaris comitiva quotve equi huc secum venturi, quando etiam sua inclyta majestas nostram urbem sit ingressura. De his igitur vestrae reverendae paternitati placeat nos quam primum per praesentem tabellarium certiores reddere. Rogamus igitur ac pro viribus precamur, ut omni studio, opera, diligentia curetis, cum imperatoria majestate suo in introitu quam pauciores ex suis gentibus hanc urbem ingrediantur, quasdam autem praemittat, quaedam vero post sequantur. Hoc profecto petimus, ut commodo ipsarum gentium abundantius ac melius provideatur. Est enim nobis hodie victualium, quae ad equos attinent, non parva carentia, quod, cum hic superiori tempore fuistis, perspicue vestra paternitas intelligere potuit. Postremo curate, ut scalchi antecedant, qui cum nostris hujusmodi rei praepositis rem omnem component. Haecine, si a vestra reverenda paternitate, ut speramus, acta fuerint, non veremur honori nostrae reipublicae magnum in modum consultum iri.

¹ Reproduced after WO

272. Letter from the City of Siena (27 April 1452, Siena).

Context: See the previous letters from the city government.

Subject: The city government thanks Piccolomini for information about the date of the emperor's arrival on his return voyage to Austria and asks for further details on the visit. The city government clearly fears the emperor's arrival with too many men, with the risk of an armed imperial intervention in the city's political affairs. Alleging there is a lack of fodder for the horses, it requests Piccolomini to endeavour to have part of the emperor's company sent ahead and another part arriving afterwards.

27 April 1452.

Copy of a letter to the Bishop of Siena.

[1] Your previous letter¹ informed us about the return of the Most Serene Emperor and his passage through our territory, for which we thank Your Reverend Paternity. Now, we urgently wish to know how large the emperor's company will be, how many horses will be with him, and when His Illustrious Majesty will enter our city. May it please Your Reverend Paternity to inform us about these issues as soon as possible through the present messenger. We urgently request that you make all efforts to ensure that His Imperial Majesty enters this city with relatively few men and that he sends some ahead and lets others follow later. We ask this to ensure abundant and better provisioning of these men, for there is presently a great lack of fodder for horses, as Your Paternity could easily see when you were here the last time.² Moreover, please ensure that stewards are sent ahead to arrange everything with our officials charged with this matter. If, as we hope, Your Reverend Paternity does this, we trust that it will greatly further the honour of our state.

¹ Not extant.

² The same pretext had been used previously by the pope in an at-

tempt to postpone the imperial visit to Rome, see letter 261.

273. Letter from the City of Siena (15 June 1452, Siena).

Manuscripts: ASS / Concist. 1673, ad diem¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 45, pp. 95-96.

Die 15. junii 1452.

Episcopo Senensi scriptum est hoc pacto: Reverende etc.

[1] De novis nobis significatis, cum Venetiis immorabimini, a quibus binas accepimus litteras, gratias peringentes vestrae reverendae paternitati dicimus et habemus, illamque magnopere precamur, ut, si quid novi occurrat, quod nostrae reipublicae alicui momento esse possit, nobis nuntiare omni studio curetis. Clerum autem cunctaque vestra non secus quam nostra commendata habemus. Reliquum est, ut nos nostramque rem publicam sacratissimae imperatoriae majestati pro virili vestra crebrius commendetis excusatosque nos eidem facite, si de mittendo captivum illum, quem hic dimisit, suis non paremus litteris. Permolestum quidem nobis est suae non obtemperare voluntati. Verum cum iter sit longum atque difficile et bellis pluribusque impedimentis plenum, non videmus profecto, qua via ipsum captivum possimus sub tuta custodia transmittere. Nullum in modum vellemus, quod quidem procul dubio futurum veremur, ne in tanto itinere captivus ille nostris e manibus fugeret vel ducentium negligentia aut simonia evaderet. Quae pericula cum mente evolvimus, satius duximus illum sub fida custodia tenere quam tantis periculis nos subicere. Rogatam igitur ac hortatam vestram reverendam paternitatem esse volumus, ut curam et operam detis, quod imperatoria majestas alia via tutiori et quae nihil sit habitura insidiarum suo satisfaciat desiderio. Hoc etenim usque adeo nobis gratum fuerit, ut nil gratius impraesentia expectemus ab ipsa reverenda paternitate, quam in dies bene ac feliciter valere cupimus et optamus.

¹ Reproduced after WO

273. Letter from the City of Siena (15 June 1452, Siena).

Context: Piccolomini was now travelling back to Austria in the emperor's train.

Subject: The city government thanks for the news Piccolomini had sent from Venice and asks for his assistance in the matter of a prisoner the emperor had left in Siena.

15 June 1452.

Copy of a letter to the Bishop of Siena. Reverend etc.

[1] We thank Your Reverend Paternity immensely for the two letters with the news you sent while in Venice,¹ and we urge you to endeavour to inform us of any news that may have importance for our state. We care for your clergy and all that is yours as if they were our own. Otherwise, please recommend us and our state as much as possible to His Most Holy Imperial Majesty and make excuses that we have not obeyed his letter requesting us to send him the prisoner he left here. We profoundly regret that we have not obeyed his wish, but the voyage is long and difficult, full of obstacles and threatened by war, so we really do not see by which route we can safely send the prisoner. We fear that during such a long travel, the he would escape either through the negligence of the guards or bribery - which would undoubtedly happen. Considering these dangers, we have preferred to keep him under reliable guard here rather than to expose us to such risks. We ask and exhort Your Reverend Paternity to ensure that His Imperial Majesty accepts some other, safer way without ambushes. This would be most agreeable to us, and for now, we expect nothing more agreeable from Your Reverend Paternity, whom we hope and wish to prosper and be in good health.

¹ Piccolomini had arrived with the emperor in Venice on 21 May 1452.

274. Letter from Johann Tröster (27 June 1452, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: Nikolsburg / Fürstl. Dietrichsteinische Bibliothek / II 122, f. 134¹

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 46, pp. 97-98.

Reverendissimo domino, domino episcopo Senensi Aeneae, nuntio ac oratori apostolico et poetae laureato, Johannes Tröster se commendat.

[1] Quo in loco sis, ignoro, in aequo equidem animo te semper scio optoque optatum locum animo optimo aequari ac continue jucundum humanissimo illo animo inesse, qui incredibili amore honoreque ab universis complectitur. Neque id mirum, cum et tu solus es, qui nostra nunc saecula studio ac humanitate, quae singulariter clementiam, liberalitatem et ceteras virtutes contineat, exornas. Si Aristotelem petimus, non Homero minus, Paulum aut Hieronymum aliosque legis sacrae professores una cum Vergilio reperimus in te uno, pater omnium doctissime. Quid multa? Universum Parnassum usque in fatigiam perlustrasti. Tu suades, tu consulis, sentis ac scis atque divino quodam animo terrestre nobis datus es oraculum, non Socrate minor sed et Platoni aequalis. Nescio equidem, uter felicior Caesar te, optimo, docto, an tu Caesare a te in te instituto. Memoror quondam me legisse Philippum Macedonem nato sibi filio Alexandro diis immortalibus gratias egisse, qui sub Aristotelis periodo in mundum produxere. Itidem nunc fandum nostrum Caesari, Ladislao, omnibusque nostri aevi gentibus puto. De Cordubensi taceo, in quo non minus clementiam praedicas, sine qua non divi reges sunt crudeles daemones appellandi.

¹ Reproduced after WO

274. Letter from Johann Tröster (27 June 1452, Wiener Neustadt).

- Context:* In 1452, the Austrians rebelled against the emperor, demanding the release of the boy-king Ladislaus from the emperor's guardianship. During the emperor's return travel from his coronation in Rome, they plotted, with the connivance of the boy's preceptor, Kaspar Wendel, to abduct the boy and take him to Vienna as their future ruler. The plot was discovered, and Kaspar Wendel was imprisoned. In the summer, the emperor - and Piccolomini with him - stayed in Wiener Neustadt, under threat from the Austrian rebels. Eventually, the emperor was forced to release Ladislaus,¹ but he would not soon forgive Wendel's treasonous behaviour. The Austrians, evidently, considered Wendel a hero and worked for his release. Johann Tröster, a secretary in the Austrian chancery, had somehow been involved in the plot to abduct Ladislaus and would eventually be dismissed from the imperial court.
- Subject:* In this letter, written during the turbulent summer of 1452, Johann Tröster outrageously compliments Piccolomini and asks him to help Kaspar Wendel.²

Johann Tröster³ commends himself to His Lordship Enea, Bishop of Siena, apostolic envoy and ambassador, and poet laureate.

[1] I do not know where you are now, but I know you enjoy your usual tranquillity of mind, and I wish that the desired place befits your excellent soul and that there is joy in that most humane soul, incredibly loved and honoured by all. And that is no wonder since you alone adorn our age with your learning and humanity that eminently contains clemency, liberality and the other virtues. If we seek Aristotle⁴ - as great as Homer - and Paul⁵ and Jerome and other teachers of holy law, we find them together with Virgil in you, most learned father of all. Why say much? You have wandered through all of Parnassus to the point of exhaustion. You argue, you advise, you perceive and know, and with your divine mind, you have been given to us as an oracle on Earth, not inferior to Socrates and equal to Plato.⁶ Indeed, I do not know whether the emperor is happier than you, excellent and learned man, or you are happier than the emperor, advised by you. I once read that Philip of Macedon⁷ thanked the immortal gods for bringing his son Alexander⁸ into the world in the time of Aristotle. I believe the same can be said about the emperor, Ladislaus⁹ and all the peoples of our time.¹⁰ I shall not mention the Cordovan¹¹ speaking about the clemency without which holy kings should be called cruel demons.

¹ The formal agreement was signed on 1 September in Wiener Neustadt (Koller, p. 131).

² The difficulties of the - possibly corrupt - Latin text have necessitated a very free translation.

³ Johann Tröster (-1485): Secretary in the chancery. Assistant teacher of the young King Ladislaus. Involved in the Hungarian-Austrian plans to abduct Ladislaus du-

ring 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*.

⁴Aristoteles (384-322 BCE): Greek philosopher. Founder of the Peripatetic school of philosophy.

⁵ The Apostle Paul

⁶ Platon (ca. 428-ca. 443 BCE): Athenian philosopher. Founder of

the Academic School. Teacher of Aristotle.

⁷ Philippos II (382-336 BCE): King of Macedonia.

⁸Alexander III the Great,

⁹ Ladislaus the Posthumous.

¹⁰ That they had been born in the time of Piccolomini!

¹¹ The two Seneca's came from Córdoba in Spain.

[2] Suppedita me, jam scias, cum jamque me ad scribendum appulit. Tanta mihi videtur, licet tuae paternitati parva, quam si impetravero, nihil est, quod tuae reverendissimae paternitati a me parvo non sit paratum. Nosti enim hominem captum, maceratum, ligatum, tibi quondam officiosissimum¹ Casparem. De sua salute, ut agas, oro. Moveat insuper te innocens ac angelicus juvenis Ladislaus rex, suus discipulus, cui te semper commendatissimum etiam longe absente dedit. Nihil aut facta aut dicta memoratu digna, quae non ex te tamquam ex fonte lucidissimo ortum habere suae serenitati involvit, me teste, cum audiverim et hisce meis oculis viderim. Ob communia etiam humanitatis studia, quibus insistebat, quod reconciliationis maximum est, eum defende. Persuade etiam Caesari, qui ingeniis favet, ut scis, clementiam, quoniam praeter te impulsore major est nemo, captumque aliquando specifico verbo revocillato, ob etiam summi ipsius omnipotentis reverentiam, mi Aenea suavissime, nec illam aeneitatem, quam et duritiem appellamus, in Didone Carthaginiensi commissam hoc illo praeceptore patiari, quod aeternae tuae laudis denigratio summa in hac illa patria (quam etiam reconciliatam Caesari quam cito, ut spero), esset. Haec me scribere, reverendissime pater, non prudentia mea hortatur, sed amor viri capti tuaeque laudis cupiditas, qua nihil toti huic universitati et universae communitati Wiennensi potest esse jucundius, cum sine te uno salus hujus consistere non potest.

Vale felix et me ama, ut soles. Solebis autem, quam diu vives. Iterum atque iterum vale. Ex Vienna Austriae, anno 1452, die 27. junii.

¹ *em.*; officiosissimi cod. (WO)

[2] I need your help, as you already know, and that is what made me write. Though the service I ask for is small to Your Paternity, to me it is so great that if I obtain it, there is nothing my humble self is not ready to do for Your Most Reverend Paternity. You know how Kaspar,¹ now in prison, exhausted and chained, was once most obliging towards you. I now ask you to do something to save him. You should also be moved by that innocent and angelic youth, King Ladislaus, to whom Kaspar highly recommended you even when you were far away. Everything memorable that was said and done concerning His Serenity came from you as from the clearest of fountains - as I can testify, having heard it and seen it with my own eyes. Support Kaspar out of regard for your shared interests in the humanities, which he pursued and which provide the firmest basis for reconciliation. Persuade the emperor, who - as you know - favours intellectuals, to show mercy, for besides you, no other high-ranking person will intervene. Comfort the prisoner with kind words, my dearest Enea, out of reverence for supreme and omnipotent [God]. Do not let this preceptor² experience the treatment - we can also call it hardness³ - that Aeneas⁴ showed Dido from Carthage.⁵ Otherwise, you will be forever reviled in this land (which I hope will soon be reconciled with the emperor). Most Reverend Father, it is not wisdom that compels me to write this but love of the prisoner and the desire that you should be praised, for nothing would please this university⁶ and the whole City of Vienna more than that you should help Kaspar, for his well-being and safety depend on you alone.

Farewell, and love me as you have always done and will do as long as you live. Again and again, farewell. From Vienna in Austria, 27 June 1452.

¹ Kaspar Wendel (d. after 1459): royal secretary, appointed tutor of Ladislaus. Planned the failed attempt to abduct Ladislaus during the emperor's coronation voyage (Heinig, pp. 622-623 and *ad indicem*).

² Kaspar Wendel.

³ Austria, still in rebellion against the emperor.

⁴ Aeneas: mythical prince and survivor of the fall of Troy (Homer) and founder of Rome (Virgil).

⁵ Queen Dido of Carthage, Abandoned by Aeneas of Troy as related in Virgil's Aeneid.

⁶ The University of Vienna (if Tröster here uses "universitas" in this sense).

275. Letter to Niklas von Wyle (c. July 1452, Vienna).

Manuscripts: Late version: G1, f. 105r¹; M3, f. 344r-345r² **.

Editions A: Early version: KO, 119³.

Editions B: Early and late versions: WO, 3: 1, 47, pp. 98-101.⁴

Late version (M3)

{344v} Moderato et praestabili viro, Nicolao, secretario civitatis Hesselingae, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis⁵, salutem plurimam dicit

Early version (KO)

Moderati ac⁶ praestabilis ingenii viro Nicolao de Ulm, insignis civitatis Esselingensis secretario, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit.

¹ Collated after WO

² DV, 689-690

³ DV, f. 98r

⁴ On the two versions, see WO, 3:

1, p. 98.

⁵ Tergestinus M3

⁶ et WO

275. Letter to Niklas von Wyle (c. July 1452, Vienna).

- Context:* Ludwig¹ had given Piccolomini some letters from Nikolaus von der Wyle to Michael von Pfullendorf, a friend and colleague who had died the year before in Siena. The letters were accompanied by a painting of Archangel Michael.
- Subject:* Piccolomini expresses his feelings at the loss of his friend. He then discusses the rebirth of eloquence and the art of painting, hoping they will also flourish in Germany. Finally, he offers his friendship to Wyle, thus beginning a relationship that would mean much for the development of humanism in Germany.²

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to the modest and distinguished Niklas,³ secretary of the City of Esslingen.

¹ Presumably, Ludwig Scheitler, a scribe in the Austrian chancery and a friend of Piccolomini, of whose correspondence he, for a period, kept a copy file. Left the chancery in 1452 (see Heinig, p. 735 and ad indicem).

² The translation is from the Late Version.

³ Niklas von Wyle (c. 1410-1478/79): Town clerk of Esslingen (1449). Early German humanist and translator. Later official of the counts of Württemberg and, later

again, of the emperor. Prepared an early edition of Piccolomini's letters and translated his *De Duobus Amantibus*. (See article in *Deutsche Biographie*).

Late Version

[1] Venerunt in manus meas **littere tuae, quas Michaeli Phullendorffio, imperiali protonotario, dum viveret, scripsisti**, quae mihi et molestiam et jucunditatem attulerunt. {345r} Nam quamvis humanum **sit mori neque vitari necessitas queat mortis, naturale** tamen est, cum **amicos¹ morte** perdimus, et lacrimari et **dolere et**, quotiens memoria in mentem revolvitur amissi amici, totiens dolor renovatur. Itaque, cum **tuae litterae** ad Michaellem scriptae mihi redderentur, **non potui non dolere, carissimi et dulcissimi amici consuetudine privatus. Consolabar tamen me ipsum**, quod illi bona mors fuit et, **ut Christianum decet**, vitam finivit. **Vixit cum virtute, mortuus est cum pietate**. Illud quoque mihi non parum placet, quod **in ecclesia mea Senensi sepultus est, cujus manibus quotannis parentabitur**. Nusquam ille sepeliri potuit, ubi majores haberet aut honores aut obsequia majora. **Faxit deus, ut cum illo apud Christum in promissa patria tandem reperiamur, ubi verae sunt opes et vera gaudia. Hic in terris nihil stabile, nihil est perpetuo bonum.**

Early Version

[1] Ludovicus, imperialis cancellariae notarius, homo frugi et nostri amans, tuas ad me litteras attulit², **quas Michaeli de Phullendorf, imperiali protonotario, dum viveret, olim scripseras**. Ex his rediit in memoriam obitus amicissimi hominis, qui me admodum turbavit. Quamvis enim **naturale** et commune sit omnibus **mori neque vitari necessitas mortis queat**, humanum tamen est **dolere et** contristari **amicos** ex amicorum **morte**. Fateor imbecillitatem meam: cum Michaelis mentionem in **tuis litteris** repperi, **non potui non affici** maerore **carissimi et dulcissimi amici**, dum me **consuetudine privatum** esse memineram. **Consolor tamen me ipsum**, quando **ut Christianum decet** obisse illum scio. Nihil est, quod illi morienti defuerit ab ecclesia requisitum. **Vixit cum virtute, mortuus est cum pietate**. Nusquam mala mors invenitur, ubi bona vita praecessit. Illud etiam ad felicitatem sibi et mihi ad consolationem cedit, quia **in ecclesia mea Senensi sepultus est, cujus manibus quotannis parentari curabo. Faxit Deus, cum illo apud Christum salvatorem in promissa patria reperiamur, ubi verae sunt opes veraque gaudia. Hic in terris nihil est solidum, nihil perpetuo bonum**. Omnia senescunt, omnia occidunt. Michael noster, ut mihi persuadeo, illuc reversus est, unde venit magnumque illum diem laetus prestolatur, in quo surgentibus omnibus corpus suum ex pulvere tollat et gloria vestiatur immortalis. Haec me scribere epistola tua coegit, in qua nec gravitas deest, nec ornatus desideratur.

¹ amicorum M3

² attulit litteras : litteras attulit WO

[1] The letters you wrote to imperial protonotary Michael Pfullendorf when he lived have come into my hands. They brought me both grief and joy. Though humans must die and cannot escape inevitable death, it is natural to cry and grieve when we lose friends to death, and whenever we remember our lost friend, the pain is renewed. Thus, when your letters to Michael reached me, I had to mourn the loss of the company of a dear and sweet friend. However, it is a consolation to me that he had a good death and ended his life as a Christian should. He lived virtuously and died piously. A good life is never followed by a bad death. He could not be buried with his ancestors, so it is fortunate for him and a comfort to me that he is buried in my church in Siena and that annual *rites will be performed at his tomb*¹. God give us that, in the end, we will be with him and Christ the Saviour in the promised land, where the true riches and the true joys are. Here on Earth, nothing is stable, and nothing good lasts forever. I am convinced our Michael has returned² where he came from and that he joyfully awaits the day of judgment when all shall rise up again, and he will take his body from the dust and clothe it in immortal glory. I was compelled to write this by your letter, which is both serious and elegant.

¹ Apulejus: *Metamorphoses*, 8: 12.
(Note Bishop Piccolomini's use of

this classical, quite pagan expression).

² Did Piccolomini believe that the soul resides in Heaven before being born on Earth?

Late Version

[2] Sed attulisti et jucunditatem tuis scriptis mihi, quia vidi epistolam tuam duabus perstare partibus, quas convenit habere omnem scripturam¹. Nam characteres rotundi sunt et bene connexi et apta oblectare legentem sunt² tota. Ornatus inest litteris, sunt texturae convenientes et sententiae dignae viro gravi, quod non in litteris Teutonicis hujus temporis inveni. Gaudeo, quod Almanniam reverti ad eloquentiam video. Spero brevi futurum, ut litterae in hoc climate reviviscant, nam et olim multi Teutonici docti fuerunt litterisque ornatissimis scripserunt. Perge tu, oro, et suade aliis hanc viam sequi, quae patriam possit illustrare.

Late Version

[2] -

¹ *em.*; scriptorem M3

² tum M3

[2] But your letter also brought me joy,¹ for I see it contains two things all letters should have. [Firstly,] the characters² are rounded, well connected, and pleasing to the reader. [Secondly,] the style is elegant, the syntax agreeable, and the sentences worthy of a serious man, as - until now - I have not found in German letters. I rejoice to see Germany return to eloquence. I hope that letters will soon revive under these skies, for once, many Germans were learned and wrote the most elegant letters. Do pursue this course and persuade others to follow it since it may illuminate your whole country.

¹ Not extant.

² Characters.

Late Version

[3] **Sed vidi picturam tuam, qua** multum excellis atque adeo praestas, ut priscis te aequare possim viris **Appelli vel Zeusi**, quorum mirata vetustas nimirum. Si perpedite scribis¹: **ingenium pictura expetit, ingenium** litterae exquirunt, uno eloquentia et pictura fonte prodeunt et passae sunt easdem calamitates easdemque felicitates. Olim eloquentia mirum in modum floruit, postea **jacuit** multis annis ab Augustino et a Jeronimo usque ad **Petrarcham**, deinde extollere **caput** coepit et jam ita elucet, ut **Ciceronis** temporibus aequata videatur. Sic et prisca aetate, dum Romana respublica in summo fuit, pictura ingens erat, deinde cecidit usque ad **Jobtum**, qui eam reparavit seu reformavit². Postea multi creverunt, et **jam** in **summo ars** est, ut surgere et cadere cum eloquentia pictura videatur. Gaudeo igitur, quod te **pictorem** et **oratorem** simul video.

Early Version

[3] **Sed vidi etiam picturam tuam, qua** divum Michaelem expressisti. Duae in te res elucent, eloquentia et pictura, sed hac magis, in **qua Appelli vel Zeusi** potes aequari. In altera, si perseverabis, gregem exhibis et ad singulares venies. Amant enim se artes hae ad invicem. **Ingenium pictura expetit, ingenium** eloquentia cupit non vulgare, sed altum et summum. Mirabile dictu est, dum viguit eloquentia, viguit pictura, sicut Demosthenis et **Ciceronis** tempora docent. Postquam cecidit facundia **jacuit** et pictura. Cum illa revixit, haec quoque **caput** extulit. Videmus picturas ducentorum annorum nulla prorsus arte politas. Scripta illius statis rudia sunt, inepta, incompta. Post **Petrarcham** emerserunt litterae. Post **Jotum** surrexere pictorum manus. Utramque ad **summam jam** videmus artem pervenisse. Laudo te, quem pictura summum, eloquentia mediocrem habet, et hortor, ut qualis es **pictor**, talem te velis **oratorem** praestare, ut dicendi facultas, quae olim apud Alamanos non vilis³ fuit, postea in exilium acta est, te duce priorem locum vendicet.

¹ scribes M3

² reparavit seu reformavit :
reformaui seu reparavit M3

³ utilis KO

[3] I have seen your painting.¹ In this art, you are so accomplished and proficient that I may compare you to Apelles and Zeuxis, greatly admired in Antiquity.² Painting demands talent, and so do letters. Eloquence and painting spring from one and the same source and experience the same bad and good fortunes. Eloquence once flourished amazingly, and then it lay prostrate for many years - from Augustine and Jerome until Petrarca.³ But then it began to raise its head, and now it shines forth again and seems to equal Cicero's times. In the same way, painting flourished immensely in the former age, when the Roman Republic was at its height, but then it fell into decline until Giotto,⁴ who restored and reformed it. After that, there have been many good [painters], and today the art of painting is at its peak. Indeed, painting appears to rise and fall together with eloquence. So I rejoice to see you both a painter and an orator.⁵

¹ Of Archangel Michael, see Early Version.

² Followed by: *si perpedite scribis*: Meaning unclear.

³ Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374): Italian scholar, author, and poet. One of the founding

⁴ Giotto di Bondone (ca. 1267-1337): Florentine painter and architect.

⁵ On this theme, see also letters 230 and 98: 1.

Late version

[4] Denique, quia in litteris illis meam videris amicitiam petere, ago tibi gratias, qui me tua benevolentia dignum putas. Ego tibi amorem meum ultro obtulissem non petenti, petenti avidius do. Utere mei post hoc amico non vulgari modo sed ut verae lex amicitiae jubet, ut nihil reserves, nihil celes, et scias, te non amari minus quam ames.

Vale.

Early version

[4] Denique quia meam videris amicitiam petere, concedo petenti libenter, quod recusanti ultro obtulissem. In eo jam tecum his litteris amicitiae foedus meque non vulgarem amicum do tibi, ut me posthac ex arbitrio utare, sciens, quia non minus amaberis quam amabis¹.

Vale. Ex Nova civitate, anno etc.

¹ ames WO

[4] Finally, since, in your letter, you seek my friendship, I thank you for finding me worthy of your affection. I would have offered you my friendship even if you had not asked for it, but now that you do, I give it fervently. Use me as a friend in a special way and, as the law of true friendship demands, do not hold anything back, do not conceal anything, and know that you are loved as much you love.

Farewell.

276. Letter to the City of Siena (10 July 1452, Vienna).

Manuscripts: Milano / Archivio Statale / Autografi, Arcivescovi di Siena¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 48, pp. 101-102 (on the basis of the Milan ms.).

Magnifici et potentes domini, domini honorandi, post recommendationem.

[1] Susceptis litteris vestris accessi mox imperatoriam majestatem, cui ex ordine exposui, quae mihi scripsistis, excusavique missionem captivi non esse factam et rationes adduxi, quas Caesar et honestas et vigentes judicavit et optime de vestra republica contentus remansit. Quando sibi videbitur opportunum mittet, qui captivum ad sese ducant.

[2] Quomodo res in istis regionibus se habeant, paucis scribam. Quamvis vestri parum intersit Australia noscere, decet tamen imperialia scire negotia. Australes, qui Caesari rebellaverunt, in sententia perseverant conducuntque undique milites et ajunt se velle castra facere. His favent aliqui ex Bohemia Moraviaque, sed major illarum pars provinciarum subsistit. Hungari conjuncti Australibus sunt, nullum tamen adhuc auxilium miserunt. Comes Ciliae eos sequitur, quamvis coepti poeniteat. At ex Austria multi barones et potentes cum Caesare sapiunt, quibus sunt arces 150 et amplius munitae et expugnatae difficiles. His Caesar equites adjungit. Magnus conflatur ignis. Ex Stiria et Carinthia expectatur exercitus. Inter Australes et rebelles et Caesarianos nulla commercia sunt, quamvis mixta undique castella sunt. Quisque sese munit. Nondum sunt apertae offensae, quamvis odia² manifesta sint. Sic stamus expectantes, quisnam prius bellum faciat. Arbitramur causam nostram et justiore et magis aratam. Australes ajunt, se hodie ad 8 dies in campum exituros facturosque pugnae copiam, quod nobis non videtur credibile. Si tamen id egerint, sentient a tergo vulnera et incendia. Sic ordinatae res sunt. Utinam de pace nobis et omnibus Deus provideret. Bohemi, qui haeresim sapiunt, conventum habituri erant apud Ratisponam cum fratre Johanne de Capistrano, sed nil secutum est memoratu dignum, nam Johannes de Rochezana heresiarcha noluit comparere. Alia, quae scribam, modo non occurrunt. Episcopalem domum et clerum recomendo magnificentissimis vestris, quibus parere ubique paratus sum.

Ex Nova Civitate Austriae, die 10. Julii 1452. Aeneas, Dei gratia episcopus Senensis et imperialis consiliarius, vestrae rei publicae servitor.³

¹ *Reproduced after WO*

² hodia WO

³ *Chancery notation:* Presentata dominis prioribus et capitaneo Senarum die 12. Augusti 1452.

276. Letter to the City of Siena (10 July 1452, Vienna).

Context: The Austrian rebellion against the emperor was in full flow, and a military conflict was approaching.
Subject: Piccolomini informs the city government of Siena that the emperor has accepted its dispositions concerning a certain prisoner. He then gives a brief account of the tumultuous situation in Austria.¹

Magnificent and Mighty Lords, Honourable Lords. After recommendation.

[1] When I received your letter,² I immediately approached His Imperial Majesty. I explained to him what you had written and excused that the prisoner had not yet been sent. I told him the reasons, which the emperor judged were honest and compelling, and he continued to be most satisfied with your republic. When convenient, he will send someone to bring the prisoner to him.

[2] I will write a little about the situation here: though Austrian affairs are of little interest to you, you should know about the imperial. The Austrian rebels against the emperor continue their campaign and gather soldiers from everywhere, declaring that they will establish a camp. Some Bohemians and Moravians support them, but most of those provinces stay calm. The Hungarians have allied themselves with the Austrians but have yet to send help. The Count of Cilly³ follows them, though he may regret the enterprise. Many Austrian barons and powerful men support the emperor. They hold more than 150 fortresses, amply fortified and difficult to conquer. The emperor sends them cavalry. A great conflagration threatens. An army is expected from Steiermark and Kärnten.⁴ There is no traffic between the Austrian rebels and the emperor's supporters. In many places, neighbouring castles side with opposing parties. Everybody is preparing for war. Though we are in a state of conflict, hostilities have not yet begun. So, we are now waiting for the first one to go to war. We believe that our own cause is more just and better founded. The Austrians say they will begin an intensive campaign in 8 days, but that does not seem credible to us. However, if they do, they will have attacks and burnings behind them. This is how matters stand for now. May God give peace to us and to all. The Bohemian heretics were to meet Brother Giovanni da Capistrano at Regensburg, but nothing happened worthy of mention, for Rokycana,⁵ the heresiarch, would not appear. I have nothing else to write for now. I recommend the episcopal residence and the clergy to Your Magnificences, whom I am always ready to obey.

From Neustadt in Austria, 10 July 1452. Enea, by God's grace, Bishop of Siena and imperial councillor, the servant of your state.

¹ The letter was presented to the city government on 12 August, which means it had taken about a

month to reach Siena from Neustadt.

² See letter 273.

³ Ulrich II von Cilly.

⁴ The emperor's domains.

⁵ Jan Rokycana.

277. Letter from Nicolaus V (8 September 1452, Rome).

Manuscripts: G1, f. 108^l; M3, ff. 358v-359r² **.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 49, pp. 102-103 (on the basis of the mss. mentioned above).

{358v} Nicolaus papa V. Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, etc.³ Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem⁴.

[1] Recepimus litteras tuas et intelleximus, quae nobis ad longum et seriose significasti. Gratissimum habuimus certiores fieri de singulis et exinde diligentiam tuam plurimum commendamus, exhortantes, ut in posterum continuare velis, quia rem nobis gratam efficies.

[2] Quantum ad accessum tuum versus Hungaros, placet nobis valde. Mittimus omnes litteras requisitas cum⁵ instructionibus, quibus nobis utendum videtur, cum fueris apud ipsos Hungaros. Non restringimus tamen⁶ te ad contenta in illis, nisi in quantum imperatoriae serenitati et prudentie tuae videbitur. Hortamur fraternitatem tuam, etsi minime necessarium putamus⁷, ut ad omnia honorem et commodum carissimi in Christo filii nostri imperatoris concernentia diligentissime intendas et totus incumbas, quia in nulla re posses nobis magis complacere, et quia scimus te sponte tua ad haec omnia inclinatissimum, non utimur pluribus in hac re. Quantum ad factum Bohemorum, placuerunt nobis valde, quae scripsisti.

[3] Fraternitatem tuam ad ea omnia⁸, etsi maxima et gravissima sint, valde idoneam esse censemus. Nihilominus, cum pendeat de praesenti tractatus cum ipsis Bohemis et mediatores sint nobiles viri, Ludovicus, dux Bavariae, et Albertus marchio Brandenburgensis, principes, ut nosti, magnae auctoritatis magnique crediti, non videtur nobis aliquid innovandum, nisi dicto tractatu prius finito, de quo bonam spem habemus propter ipsos mediatores. Accedit ad hoc, quod jamdiu dilectum filium nostrum {359r} Nicolaum, cardinalem Sancti Petri ad Vincula, presbyterum cardinalem, nostrum ac apostolicae sedis legatum ad res Bohemorum fecimus et jam⁹ litteras dictae legationis¹⁰ misimus. Propterea non videretur nobis utile, immo periculosum esset, aliquid in ipsa re innovare aut¹¹ immutare.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris¹², die 8. Septembris 1452.

¹ *Reproduced after WO*

² DV, 697-698

³ *omit.* M3

⁴ Salutem et ... benedictionem
omit. M3

⁵ et M3

⁶ enim WO

⁷ putemus WO

⁸ ea omnia : omnia ea WO

⁹ *omit.* M3

¹⁰ iam *add.* M3

¹¹ ac WO

¹² sub annulo piscatoris *omit.* M3

277. Letter from Nicolaus V (8 September 1452, Rome).

Context: As the Hungarians supported the Austrian claim for King Ladislaus' release from the emperor's guardianship and might support them militarily, it became important to come to terms with them via diplomacy. With the agreement of both the governor of Hungary and the Emperor, Piccolomini had sought the pope's permission to undertake such a mission.

Subject: The pope thanks Piccolomini for his reports and agrees to send him, as his legate, on a diplomatic mission to the Hungarians.

Pope Nicolaus V to Enea, Bishop of Siena etc. Venerable Brother, greetings and apostolic benediction.

[1] We have received and understood your long and important letter¹ and are most pleased to be informed about the various matters, and We highly commend your diligence. We exhort you to continue [to keep Us informed], which We shall greatly appreciate.

[2] Regarding your travel to Hungary,² We approve it. We are sending you the required letter with such instructions as We consider useful to you when in Hungary. However, We only bind you to use them in as far that it seems appropriate to His Imperial Serenity and your own wisdom. Though it is unnecessary, We exhort Your Fraternity to diligently attend to everything that concerns the honour of Our dear son in Christ, the Emperor, for in nothing else can you please Us more. But since We know you are already most attentive to this, We shall not say more about it. Concerning the events in Bohemia, We are most content with your report.

[3] We consider Your Paternity to be highly qualified to deal with even the greatest and most important affairs. But concerning the Bohemian matter, there are already negotiations with the Bohemians, and Ludwig,³ Duke of Bavaria, and Albrecht,⁴ Margrave of Brandenburg, have been appointed as mediators, princes of great authority and credit, as you know. Therefore, We consider that We should not take any new initiatives before a treaty has been made, for which We have good hopes because of the [chosen] mediators. Moreover, We have already, some time ago, appointed Our beloved son, Nikolaus,⁵ Presbyter Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, Our and the Apostolic See's legate in the Bohemian matters and have sent the letters of legation. Therefore, We believe that making changes or taking new action in this matter would be superfluous and even risky.

Given in Rome at Saint Peter's under the Fisherman's Ring, 8 September 1452.

¹ Not extant.

² The emperor and Hunyadi had apparently agreed on a mission by Piccolomini, cf. HA, 2: pp. 712-713: *Autem maximum existimans, si regni huius Austrialibus demeret, Aeneam episcopum Senensem ad eos [Hungaros] mittere decrevit, cui et Romanus pontifex in Hungariam legationis officium commiserat eumque instruxerat,*

quibus modis prelatos Hungariae et proceres alloqueretur, iamque publicae securitatis litteras regni gubernator ad Aeneam direxerat, qui eius adventum non invitus expectabat. ... [Hunyadi] optabat igitur Aeneam ad se mitti, per quem posset suam mentem caesari notam facere, iamque litteras ad Aeneam direxerat, quae tutum sibi per Hungariam iter praeberent.
The mission came to nothing since

the emperor, in the end, preferred to negotiate directly with the Hungarians.

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

⁴ Albrecht III von Brandenburg.

⁵ Nikolaus von Kues.

278. Letter from Nicolaus V (20 October 1452, Rome).

Manuscripts: AAV / Reg. Vatic. 400, f. 143v¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 51, pp. 106-108.

Nicolaus etc. dilecto filio Nicolao, tituli S. Petri ad Vincula presbytero cardinali, et venerabili fratri nostro Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, salutem etc.

[1] Regis pacifici, cujus in pace factus est locus, et qui, dum humanitate suscepta sui ortus declararet initia, rediturus ad patrem in ejus discessu dilectoribus ipsius nuntia et mandata commendavit suae pacis vices gerentes in terris. Si hujusmodi pacis commoda inter fideles quoslibet ubilibet propagari exquisitius affectamus, quanto propensius illis exquirendis et confovendis inter carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Fridericum, Romanorum imperatorem semper Augustum, et carissimi in Christo filii nostri Ladislai, Hungariae et Bohemiae regis illustris, regnorum dominiorum principes, barones et subditos, quorum utique status pacificus et tranquillus tam ecclesiae Catholicae quam Romano imperio multimoda confert, profectus et commoda interponere debemus sollicitudinis nostrae curas.

[2] Hinc est quod, cum sicut accepimus pro semovendis gravibus inter imperatorem ac principes, barones et subditos praedictos occasione tutelae praefati regis ad ipsum imperatorem spectantis subortis dissensionum et quaestionum materiis tractandae pacis et concordiae inter discidentes ipsos per eos suscepta sit in oppido Viennensi, Pataviensis diocesis, de proximo servanda dieta, nos recensentes, quot et quantae, nisi inter partes ipsas votiva successerit pacis concordia, ex hujusmodi subortis dissensionibus calamitates evenire possent, ac cupientes, prout praecipue nobis incumbit illis tollendis et praecavendis opem et operam impendere efficaces, sperantesque indubie, quod vos in hujusmodi promovendis et efficiendis pace et concordia plurimum poteritis esse profuturi, volumus et serie praesentium mandamus, quatinus ad ipsam dietam accedentes vice nostra hujusmodi efficiendis paci et concordiae juxta datam vobis a Deo prudentiam vos diligenter interponatis. Nos enim vobis eadem vice nostra singula, quae pacis et concordiae sunt, inter partes ipsas tractandi et approbandi, et quae ad hoc, ut illae votive succedant, congrua seu necessaria fuerint agendi, statuendi et ordinandi plenam concedimus earundem praesentium tenore facultatem.

¹ Reproduced after WO

278. Letter from Nicolaus V (20 October 1452, Rome).

Context: A meeting had been summoned in Vienna to settle the conflict between the emperor and the Austrian partisans of King Ladislaus, who had obtained his release from the emperor's wardship.

Subject: The pope authorises Cardinal von Kues and Bishop Piccolomini to represent him at the meeting and work for a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Nicolaus etc. to his beloved son Nikolaus, Presbyter Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, and Our Venerable Brother Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] The King of Peace made peace his abode. Having become a man, He declared from where He came, and when He was leaving to return to His Father, He commended the messages and commands to those who loved Him.¹ If We, who are charged with upholding His peace on Earth, endeavour to propagate the blessings of peace to the faithful everywhere, then how much more should We not seek and promote them between our beloved son in Christ, Friedrich, Emperor of the Romans, Always August, and the princes, barons and subjects of the realms and lands of Our Beloved Son in Christ, Ladislaus, Illustrious King of Hungary and Bohemia, whose peaceful and tranquil state in many ways profit both the Catholic Church and the Roman Empire, and mediate in a spirit of solicitude and caring.

[2] We have been informed that the parties have decided to shortly² hold a diet in the City of Vienna, in the Diocese of Passau, to settle the grave dissensions between the emperor and aforesaid princes, barons and subjects concerning his wardship over the aforesaid king and to negotiate the material conditions of peace and concord between the opposing parties. Therefore,

- considering how many and how great disasters may arise from these conflicts unless peaceful concord is successfully established between the two parties,
- desiring to effectively employ Our efforts - as especially incumbent upon Us - to remove and prevent these disasters, and
- firmly expecting that you³ may greatly benefit the process of promoting and achieving peace and concord,

We wish and, by the present letter, order you to proceed to the diet and, on Our behalf, intervene - with the wisdom God has given you - to achieve peace and concord. Therefore, by the present letter, We grant you full powers to, on Our behalf, negotiate and approve everything that pertains to peace and concord between the parties and to do, decide and ordain whatever may be suitable or necessary for the desired successful outcome.

¹ The faithful believers.

² 11 November 1452.

³ Cardinal von Kues and Bishop Piccolomini.

[3] Vobis igitur hujusmodi ministerii onus animo affectuoso suscipientes in illius executione vos adeo sollicitos exhibeatis, ut exinde praeter aeternae retributionis praemia etiam latius diffusus odor laudabilis famae vestrae per amplius invalescat.

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum anno 1452, 13. Kalendas Novembris, anno 6. De curia. D. de Luca.

[3] Taking on the burden of this service in a loving spirit, you should perform it so diligently that, besides the eternal rewards, the fragrance of your praiseworthy reputation may spread and grow ever more.

Given in Rome at Saint Peter's on 20 October 1452 in the 6th year [of Our pontificate]. From the Curia. D. de Luca.

279. Letter from Nicolaus V (22 October 1452, Rome).

Manuscripts: G1, f. 106r¹; M3, 50, f. 345r-345v^{2 3 **}

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 52, pp. 108-109; (on the basis of the mss. mentioned above).

Venerabili fratri Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, Nicolaus papa V. salutem et apostolicam benedictionem⁴.

[1] Ut scire debes, requisiti fuimus ab imperatoria serenitate, ut in dieta, que Wyennae in proximo festo Sancti Martini pro componendis dissensionibus illis Australibus teneri debet, legatum apostolicum destinare vellemus. Nos eidem serenitati, quemadmodum ad eam scribimus, in hac re et in omnibus aliis semper complacere vellemus, verum angustia temporis statutae dietae non patitur, ut aliquis legatus ex hoc loco in tempore proficisci possit hocque esset quodammodo impossibile, et propterea honestissimam excusationem nostram praefata serenitas aequo ferre debet animo.

[2] Tamen, ut desideria sua in toto non frustrentur, cogitavimus dilectum filium nostrum, cardinalem Sancti Petri ad vincula, qui propinquus est et paratus ad equitandum, legatum destinare teque illi in collegam adjungere, si placuerit suae serenitati, et sic ad eundem cardinalem proprium scripsimus per cursorem⁵, ut statim equitet versus imperatorem facturus, quae idem imperator ab eo duxerit requirenda, et fecimus fieri bullas duplicatas legationis, videlicet pro cardinali dumtaxat ad partem et pro eodem ac fraternitate tua simul, ut ambobus vel altero vestrum, prout sibi placuerit, uti possit idem imperator.

[3] Recepimus litteras tuas et intelleximus omnia, que nobis magno ordine et multum seriose nuntiasti. Gratissimum⁶ nobis fuit⁷ omnia ex litteris tuis intelligere nec occurrit ad alia, quae scripsisti aliter respondere, nisi quod laeto et bono sis animo et valetudini tuae diligenter intendas. De rebus Bohemicis non respondemus aliter, quia alias plene ad te scripsimus de voluntate nostra. Necesse est magna consideratione magnoque ingenio, ut res illae bene componantur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die 22. Octobris 1452 pontificatus nostri anno 6.

¹ As collated by WO

² SV, 690-691

³ WO: Bl. 245 (erroneously)

⁴ Titulus: Nicolai papae V. Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, venerabili

fratri salutem et apostolicam benedictionem G

⁵ proprium scripsimus per cursorem : per cursorem proprium scripsimus G

⁶ gratissime WO

⁷ fuerit M3; fuerunt WO

279. Letter from Nicolaus V (22 October 1452, Rome).

Context: See letter 278.

Subject: The pope informs Piccolomini of his dispositions regarding a legatine mission to the meeting in Vienna to settle the conflict between the emperor and the Austrians.

Pope Nicolaus V sends greetings and apostolic benediction to his Venerable Brother, Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] As you will know, His Imperial Serenity has requested Us to send an apostolic legate to the meeting in Vienna on the Feast of Saint Martin to settle the Austrian conflicts. We have written to His Serenity that We should like to accommodate his wishes in this and in all other matters. However, it is impossible for a legate from here¹ to arrive there in time, and We expect His Serenity to accept Our sincere excuse.

[2] But, lest his wishes be not wholly frustrated, we have decided to send Our beloved son, the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, who is close and ready to ride, as Our legate with you as his colleague if it pleases His Serenity. Thus We have written to the cardinal by a courier that he should immediately ride to the emperor and do as the emperor wishes, and We have issued duplicate bulls of legation, one for the cardinal alone and one for both him and Your Fraternity so that the emperor can himself decide to use both of you or only the one.

[3] We have received your letters and understood everything you informed Us about in an orderly and serious fashion. We were satisfied with all you wrote and have nothing to say about the other things you mentioned, except that you should be happy and content and take diligent care of your health. We say nothing about the Bohemian affairs since We have already written to you fully about Our wishes.² Great circumspection and comprehension are needed to achieve a happy outcome.

Given in Rome at Saint Peter's under the Fisherman's ting, 22 October 1452, the 6th year of Our pontificate.

¹ Rome.

² See letter 277.

280. Letter from Nicolaus V (23 October 1452, Rome).

Manuscripts: AAV / Reg. Vatic. 400, f. 143r¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 53, pp. 109-110.

Nicolaus etc. dilecto filio Nicolao, tituli Sancti Petri ad Vincula presbytero cardinali, et venerabili fratri Aeneae, episcopo Senensi, salutem etc.

[1] Cum nos nuper vos ad dietam de proximo in oppido Viennensi, Pataviensis diocesis, inter carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Fridericum, Romanorum imperatorem semper augustum, et carissimi in Christo filii nostri Ladislai, Hungariae et Bohemiae regis illustris, regnorum et dominiorum principes, barones et subditos pro semovendis dissensionibus inter eos occasione tutelae dicti regis ad praefatum imperatorem pertinentis subortis servandam, ut auctoritate nostra pro facienda pace et concordia inter ipsos interponeretis sollicitudines vestras, duxerimus destinandos,

[2] nos ad hoc, ut commodius pacis et concordiae huiusmodi commoda succedant, vobis et cuilibet vestrum quoscumque processus adversus imperatori praedicto in huiusmodi gerenda tutela rebelles et inoboedientes per nos seu auctoritate nostra habitos tollendi, cassandi et revocandi nec non quosvis ex ipsis quibuslibet sententiis, censuris et poenis propterea seu per processus huiusmodi irretitos ab illis absolvendi illosque honori, statui et juribus pristinis restituendi, interdictum quoque ecclesiasticum ubilibet fortassis occasione rebellionis huiusmodi positum relaxandi, necnon cum quibusvis personis ecclesiasticis, quae fortassis censuris et poenis huiusmodi irretitae divinis se immiscuerint, super irregularitate quam propterea incurrerunt tam in ordine quam beneficio et officio dispensandi omnemque inhabilitatis et infamiae maculam per eos praemissorum occasionem contractam abolendi omniaque alia circa ea opportuna faciendi, prout vobis vel alteri vestrum videbitur, dummodo tum huiusmodi concordiae subsequatur effectus, plenam et liberam auctoritate apostolica concedimus tenore praesentium facultatem.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno etc. 1452, decimo Kalendas Novembris, anno 6. De curia. D. de Luca.

¹ *Reproduced after WO*

280. Letter from Nicolaus V (23 October 1452, Rome).

Context: See preceding letters.

Subjects: The pope grants his two legates full powers to annul all censures, punishments etc., incurred by the Austrian rebels against the emperor.

Nicolaus etc. sends greetings etc. to his beloved son Nikolaus,¹ Presbyter Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, and Our Venerable Brother Enea, Bishop of Siena.

[1] We recently decided to send you to the meeting soon [to be held] in the City of Vienna, in the Diocese of Passau, between our most dear son in Christ, Friedrich, Emperor of the Romans, Always August, and the princes, barons and subjects of the kingdoms and lands of our most dear son in Christ, Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, to settle the grave dissensions concerning the emperor's wardship, so that you may solicitously and on Our authority intervene to make peace and concord between them.

[2] To facilitate the negotiations of peace and concord, We, by apostolic authority, by the present letter grant you both or either of you full and free powers to

- annul, quash and revoke any lawsuit concerning the aforesaid emperor's wardship² initiated against the disobedient rebels through Us or with Our authority,
- to absolve them of any judgments, censures and penalties they may have incurred because of or through these processes,
- to restore them to their former honour, state and rights,
- to cancel any ecclesiastical interdict that may have been declared as a result of the rebellion,
- to dispense those ecclesiastics, who, after having been subjected to such censures and penalties, participated in religious ceremonies, from irregularities incurred *tam in ordine quam beneficio et officio*, and to delete the stain of infamy contracted by them in connection with the rebellion, and
- and to do everything appropriate in this matter as seems fitting to both or one of you, as long as it leads to concord.

Given in Rome, at Saint Peter's etc. 23 October 1452, in the 6th year [of Our pontificate]. From the Curia, D. de Luca.

¹ Nikolaus von Kues.

² Over Ladislaus the Posthumous.

281. Letter to the provost of the Church of Saint Mary in Eisgarn (16 November 1452, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: Unknown¹.

Editions A: Ludewig: *Reliquiae manuscriptorum omnis aevi*, 4: pp. 308-310.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 54, pp. 111-112 (on the basis of the text published by Ludewig).

Aeneas, Dei et apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Senensis ac ejusdem sedis per Bohemiam, Slesiam, Moraviam, Austriam, Styriam, Carinthiam et Carniolam cum potestate legati de latere nuntius et orator specialiter deputatus, dilecto nobis in Christo praeposito ecclesiae Beate Marie in Eysger, Pataviensis diocesis, salutem in domino sempiternam.

[1] Ex injuncto nobis legationis officio humilibus fidelium votis libenter annuimus eaque, ut optatum pertingant effectum, pietatis laxato gremio ac perpetuos ignoscendo excessus, quantum cum Deo possumus et indulti se nobis extendat auctoritas, gratiosius exaudimus.

[2] Exhibita siquidem nobis nuper pro parte nobilis viri Georgii, baronis de Puchem, Pataviensis diocesis, petitio continebat,

[3] quod cum novissime cives communitatis Wiennensis dictae diocesis ac nonnulli alii nobiles et potentes in illam prorupissent rebellionis audaciam, ut etiam praevia diffidatione contra serenissimum principem, dominum Fridericum, Romanorum imperatorem ac Austriae ducem, spretis censuris et prohibitionibus apostolicis praesumpsissent arma movere, praefatus baro ac universi subditi sui eidem domino imperatori, postmodum invalescente commotione guerrarum, adherentes ac de justitia ipsius confisi - tam pro tuitione propria quam pro pulandis insolentiis hujusmodi - contra diffidatores praedictos, manu armata, obedientiae suadente debito, utcumque procedere statuerunt, ipsosque nonnumquam in ecclesiis et immunitate ecclesiastica tenentes insidias seu ecclesias confugientes ad easdem invaserunt,

[4] aliquotiens etiam vice versa baro et subditi praedicti similiter in e(im)munitate ecclesiastica et ecclesiis per hostes impugnati, et sic offensiones et defensiones ex iisdem immunitate et ecclesiis factae fuerunt, unde plerique utriusque partis homines in et ex illis enormiter laesi, vulnerati, aliqui vero interempti nec non ecclesie et e(im)munitates praedictae non sine effractione portarum earundem dicuntur exinde violatae.

¹ Reproduced after WO.

281. Letter to the provost of the Church of Saint Mary in Eisgarn (16 November 1452, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: In the Austrian rebellion against the emperor, both his supporters and the rebels had fought in churches and places with ecclesiastic immunity. Baron von Puchaim, a loyal supporter of the emperor, had sought absolution from the apostolic legate (Piccolomini) for such violent acts he and his followers had committed in churches of other places with ecclesiastic immunity.

Subject: As apostolic legate and by a papal decree (letter 280), Piccolomini authorises the provost of Saint Mary's in Eisgarn to absolve Baron von Puchaim and his subjects for violation of ecclesiastic properties.

Enea, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Siena and legate of the said See in Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain, nuntius and orator especially designated with the powers of a legate *de latere*, sends eternal greeting in the Lord to our beloved son in Christ, the Provost of Saint Mary's in Eisgarn, in the Diocese of Passau.

[1] As incumbent upon us by our legatine office, we are pleased to hear the humble wishes of the faithful, and to obtain the desired effect, we piously accept them and hear them, willing to forgive even long-lasting sins as far we can with God and the authority of our commission extends.

[2] Recently, We have received a petition on the part of the noble Georg, Baron of Puchheim,¹ of the Diocese of Passau, with the following request:

[3] Recently, the citizens of Vienna of the said diocese and many nobles and powerful men revoked their oaths of allegiance and rushed into a reckless rebellion against the Most Serene Prince, Lord Friedrich, Emperor of the Romans and Duke of Austria, and ignoring the apostolic censures and prohibitions they dared take arms against him. When war broke out, the aforesaid baron and all his subjects, believing in the justice of the emperor's cause, took his part and - both for their own protection and to tame the rebels' arrogance - opposed the oathbreakers and, fulfilling their own obligations of loyalty, with arms in hand attacked the aforesaid insurgents who often used churches and places with ecclesiastic immunity for their insidious designs or even sought refuge in churches.

[4] Conversely, the baron and his aforesaid subjects were similarly attacked by the enemies in churches or places with ecclesiastic immunity. Thus, violent attacks and defensive fighting took place in churches or places with ecclesiastic immunity, resulting in many men from both parties being seriously wounded and some killed there, while churches and places with ecclesiastic immunity were broken into and violated.

¹ Georg II von Puchheim (-1458): Noble. Councillor of Friedrich III.

See Heinig, 1: pp. 256-257 and *ad indicem*.

[5] Cum itaque, guerra hujusmodi divina disponente clementia jam sedante, ipsique baro et subditi de praemissis excessibus doleant ex intimis ac grave eis foret, si pro opportuno petendo absolutionis beneficio simul vel etiam singulariter singuli nostram seu commissarii per nos ad hoc deputandi potentiam necessario haberent adire, pro parte eorundem baronis et subditorum nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut absolutionis beneficium hujusmodi eis impendi ac ipsorum commoditati opportune provideri mandare dignaremur.

[6] Nos itaque praemissis attentis, volentes cum barone et subditis praedictis benignius agere, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, discretioni tuae, de qua in his et aliis specialem in domino fiduciam obtinemus, auctoritate nostrae legationis, qua fungimur, tibi committimus et mandamus, quatenus omnes et singulos ecclesiarum rectores beneficio absolutionis indigentes in dominio dicti baronis existentes ab omnibus et singulis excommunicationibus ac aliis sententiis et censuris ecclesiasticis atque poenis, quas occasione guerrarum hujusmodi quomodolibet incurrisse noscuntur, in forma ecclesiae consueta absolvas poenitentiamque salutarem cuilibet eorum imponendo, dummodo tamen non sint casus, propter quos sedes apostolica merito sit specialiter consulenda. Insuper eadem auctoritate tibi committimus atque praesentibus indulgemus, quod eisdem rectoribus et singulis aliis in eodem dominio existentibus auctoritatem tribuas et concedas, ut omnes et singulos suos parochianos de similibus casibus, excessibus, criminibus et delictis in forma ecclesiae consueta absolvant, injuncta cuilibet ipsorum pro modo culpae poenitentia salutari, quam etiam singuli peragere et adimplere debeant et etiam teneantur, alioquin praedicta absolutio eis nullatenus suffragetur. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium praemissorum praesentes litteras fieri et nostri pontificalis sigillo jussimus appensione communiri.

Datum et actum in Nova Civitate, Saltzburgensis diocesis, die Jovis 16. Novembris anno Domini 1452, indictione 15., pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri Nicolai papae V. anno sexto. In domo nostrae solitae residentiae ibidem.

[5] Now that this war is ending - with God's merciful help - the baron and his subjects deeply regret the aforesaid excesses. It would be important for them to, collectively or individually, obtain absolution and have the necessary access to someone, either ourselves or a deputy, with the power to grant it. Therefore, on the part of the baron and his subjects, we have been humbly requested to deign to grant the absolution and to suitably provide for their welfare.

[6] Having considered the aforesaid, desiring to deal benignly with the baron and his subjects, attending to the supplications, and greatly trusting - in the Lord - your discretion in these and other matters, we, by authority of our legatine mission, enjoin and command you

- to absolve - in the usual ecclesiastical form - all the those responsible for churches¹ in the said baron's domain in need of absolution from all excommunications and other ecclesiastical judgments, censures and penalties incurred in any way during the wars, and
- to impose on them salutary penitences except in such cases where the Apostolic See must be especially consulted.

Moreover, by the same authority, we enjoin and - by the present letter - authorise you

- to grant these persons and others in the same dominion powers to absolve - in usual ecclesiastical form - all their parishioners from similar cases, excesses and crimes, and to impose a salutary penitence for their guilty actions, which they should and are obliged to perform and fulfil individually lest the absolution be withheld.

In witness and testimony to all these [instructions], we have ordered the present letter to be made and issued under our episcopal seal.

Given and done in Neustadt, in the Diocese of Salzburg, on Friday 16 November in the year of Our Lord 1452, in the 15th indiction,² and in the 6th year of the pontificate our Most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Nicolaus V. In our usual residence in the same place.

¹ The term *rectores ecclesiarum* covers parish priests, prelates and abbots (see Du Cange).

² Indiction: A fiscal period of fifteen years instituted by Constan-

tine I in 313 CE and used throughout the Middle Ages as a way of dating events, documents etc.

282. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicki (24 December 1452, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: M1, 148r **: Krakow / Univ.bibl. / 48, f. 31r¹.

Editions A: None.

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 55, pp. 113-114.

[1] Venientes ad Caesarem praestabiles oratores nobilitatis et populi Prutenici litteras vestras tanto mihi desideratiores quanto expectatiores reddiderunt. Cognovi ex illis dignationem vestram bene valere et habere mei memoriam, quae res mihi magnae voluptati sunt. Precor divinam pietatem, aliquando vestrae presentiae mihi copiam faciat, cujus absentis merui gratiam. Sed ut ad litteras vestras redeam: queruntur illae Prutenicum statum timentque futura tempora, ne turbidiora molestioraque fiant, accusareque videntur Christianorum decreta capitum ad unius querelam partis promulgata, denique commendant concordiam et pacem. Respondebo breviter et meo ex more libere.

[2] Digna mihi videtur querela vestra, quae nobilis et florentis olim provinciae ruinam deplorat, sed natura datum est, ne qua in perpetuum provincia quiescat, et sunt, qui arbitrantur Deum, cui parent omnia, ex ordinata potestate pacem terris aeternam dare non posse. Lites ab initio mundi natae primos saeculi fratres inter se quietos esse non permiserunt. Apud Romanos - Lucano teste - *fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri*, et Statius *fraternas acies canit alternaque regna profanis decertata odiis*. Et Ovidius "*Non frater,*" inquit, "*a fratre, non hospes a hospite tutus, non socer a genero, et filius ante diem patrios inquirat in annos.*" Ni mirum, si Pruteni rixantur, homines sunt et humano errore labuntur. Optanda tamen et totis conatibus prosequenda est pax eorum, neque apostolica sedes aut imperium suis edictis pacis bonum eripiunt neque omnino sententiam ferunt inaudita parte.

¹ Collated after WO

282. Letter to Zbigniew Olesnicki¹ (24 December 1452, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: To settle the growing conflict between the Prussians and the German Order, the emperor had invited the parties to a formal hearing at the imperial court.²

Subject: Piccolomini reports to Cardinal Olesnicky on the treatment of the conflict at the imperial court.³

[1] Distinguished ambassadors from the nobility and people of Prussia have come to the emperor,⁴ bringing with them the letter⁵ from you that I have wished and waited for. It told me that Your Grace is well and remembers me, which I am most happy to hear. I pray to Merciful God to grant me the opportunity to meet in person with you, whose favour I have gained though absent. But to return to your letter: it laments the situation in Prussia and expresses fear that the future will turn even more troubled and disturbing. Moreover, it appears to criticise the Christian leaders⁶ for issuing decrees favouring one of the two parties, and, finally, it recommends concord and peace. I shall reply briefly and freely - in my customary manner.

[2] You justly lament the ruin of this once noble and flourishing province. But it is a fact of nature that no province enjoys peace forever. Some even believe that God, whom all obey, cannot give eternal peace to the lands through established power: in the beginning of the world, strife would not let the first brothers⁷ have peace between them. And according to Lucan⁸, *the rising walls of Rome were wetted with a brother's blood*.⁹ And Statius¹⁰ speaks of *fraternal warfare and alternate reigns fought for in unnatural hate*.¹¹ And Ovid¹² says, "*Brother was not safe from brother, guest was not safe from host, nor father-in-law from son-in-law, and sons inquired into their fathers' years before the time*."¹³ So, it is no surprise that the Prussians are quarrelling, for they are men and yield to human error. But peace between them must be sought by all means, and the decrees of neither the Apostolic See nor the Empire deprive them of the blessing of peace and would in no way make a judgment without hearing both parties.

¹ The RTA-editor assumes that the recipient of this letter is Cardinal Olesnicky, the Archbishop of Krakow, in whose university library the only copy of the letter exists. The tenor and contentents of the letter support this assumption, including Piccolomini's use of the title "Dignatio tua", which he normally uses for cardinals or other very high-ranking ecclesiastics. The present editor does not doubt

that the recipient of the letter is, indeed, Cardinal Olesnicky.

² Johannes Voigt: *Geschichte*, pp. 271 ff.

³ On this letter, see RTA, 19/1: p. 419.

⁴ 6 December 1452.

⁵ Not extant.

⁶ The emperor and the pope.

⁷ Cain killed Abel. See Genesis, 4.

⁸ Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus (39-65): Roman poet.

⁹ Lucanus: *Bellum Ciuile*, 1: 95.

¹⁰ Statius, Publius Papinius (ca 45-ca. 96): Greco-Roman poet.

¹¹ Statius: *Thebais*. 1: 1.

¹² Ovidius, Publius Ovidius (40-17 BCE): Roman poet.

¹³ Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 1: 144-145, 148.

[3] Modus hic summi tribunalis est, ut moneat, qui videntur errare. Non tamen illis defensionis abnuit facultatem. Possunt comparere et in medium afferre jus suum, dicere, ubi gravantur, ubi laeduntur. Tum sedentis auctoritas monitorium et omnes poenas in vim simplicis citationis resolvit. Sic et modo factum est. Usi sunt oratores Pruteni non parva modestia et prudentia: accesserunt Cesarem et facti rationem reddentes juris viam amplexi sunt, quae res Caesari grata extitit commendavitque sua serenitas illorum humilitatem atque ex communi consensu diem dixit, in qua vel amicabiliter vel juris ordine terminari controversia debet. Medio tempore inhibitum est utrique parti, ne quid via facti attemptent, sed suis quique terminis contenti sint et omnis absit novitas. Ego ad res has toto nixu operam dedi, quamvis oratores ipsi numquam mihi verbum fecerint. Sed movit me vestra epistola et jus amicitiae, quo mihi praecipere omnia potestis. Simul et rei honestas insinuat se mihi, qui paci nihil habenti insidiarum semper duxi favendum. Nec plura de Prutenis, quos spero ad votum vestrum futuros unanimes in domo domini.

[4] De xeniis ad me missis ago gratias ingentes humanitati et benignitati vestrae, quamvis pervenire non poterint impediensibus ad me latrunculis. Sed sufficit mihi voluntas: fecit satis, qui fecisse voluit. Precor tamen deinceps, ne quid ad me mittatis nisi epistolas, neque enim in natura me decent, qui sum dignationis vestrae servus. Meum esset domino aliquid muneris impertiri, videri ut possem gratus. Quod non facio, in causa est non itineris vel longitudo vel periculum, sed inopia, nam mihi praeter titulum episcopatus nihil est, quod videri possit hominis divitis. Sum tamen dives, quia fortuna praesenti contentor et fruor paratis. Non deest mihi bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum copia. Animus vel seni laetus est.

Valete et me amate, ut soletis, quoniam id reciproce sit. Ex Novacivitate, 24. Decembris 1452.

[3] The function of this tribunal is to admonish those who are at fault. However, they are not denied the opportunity to defend themselves: they can appear [before the tribunal] and plead their rights, stating how they are being molested and harmed. Then, by the authority of the presiding [judge], the admonishment and all punishments are issued as a simple citation. This procedure was also followed in the present case. The Prussian ambassadors, with great modesty and prudence, came before the emperor, and, having given their version of the matter, they accepted the course of justice. This pleased the emperor, and His Serenity commended their humility. With the agreement of all, he announced the date on which the conflict would be settled either amicably or by a trial. In the meantime, both parties were forbidden to proceed by way of deed but to remain within their present borders and abstain from any violent action. I worked strenuously to achieve this, though the ambassadors never spoke with me. But I was moved by your letter and the law of friendship by which you may command me to do all I can. I am also influenced by the need for an equitable solution, for I have always favoured sincere peace. Now, no more about the Prussians: I hope your wish for unanimity in the Lord's house will be fulfilled.

[4] Regarding the gifts sent to me, I am most grateful for your humanity and kindness, even though robbers prevented them from reaching me. But your intention is enough for me: he has done enough who wanted to do it. But I ask you, in the future, to only send me letters. Gifts *in natura* are inappropriate for me, who is Your Grace's servant. It is I who should send a gift to my lord, to show my gratitude. The reason I do not is not the travel, the distance, nor the danger but poverty, for besides the title of bishop, I have nothing to make me rich. But I am rich in the sense that I am content with my present fortune and enjoy what is available. I do not lack books or provisions. And my spirit is joyful even though I am old.¹

Farewell, and love me as always, as I do you. From Neustadt, 24 December 1452.

¹ Piccolomini was now 47 years old and yet to become a cardinal and pope.

283. Letter to Juan Carvajal (End 1452 or beg. 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Manuscripts: Unknown.^{1 2}

Editions A: Duellius: *Biga librorum rariorum*. Frankfurt, 1730, p. 1;

Editions B: WO, 3: 1, 56, p. 115; (on the basis of Biga).

Johanni de Carvajali, sacrosanctae Romane ecclesiae diacono cardinali, doctissimo et optimo patri, domino suo, Aeneas, episcopus Senensis, salutem plurimam dicit.

[1] Leonardum Aretinum, nostri saeculi virum eloquentissimum, scripsisse de Gothis historiam accepi. Nunquam illa in manus meas venit, quamvis cupidus essem, res gestas Gothorum agnoscere, nam populum illum, ex quo tuos reges originem ajunt ducere, quasi turbinem quendam Romanae rei publicae insultasse, Italiam ac Germaniam, Hispaniam Galliamque conculcasse majores nostros saepe dicentes memineram, sed neque, qui forent neque unde venissent, neque rerum, quas gesserant, ordinem tenebam optabamque magnopere Leonardi libros in manus dari meas, ut haec omnia discerem, nam in ore hominum saepe de Gothis est sermo, sed nec perfectus neque tanta re dignus.

[2] At dum hoc desiderio feror, veni ad monasterium Gotvicense³, quod est in monte altissimo constructum, non longe ab Histro inter Viennam atque Pataviam. Ibi, dum intro bibliothecan, incidit in manus meas Jordanis *Historia*, quae res *Gothorum* continet. Perlegi invenique, quod cupiebam, sed quia longa est, statui in compendium redigere tibi que mittere, ut videas, quomodo Leonardi commentarius consonet, mihi que rescribas. Prospiciet in ea tui ordinis cardinalis de Columna, vir honesti atque amoeni ingenii ac verus elegantiarum cultor, quem scripsi, ut tibi cum inspiciat omnino. Ego, quod apud Jordanem reperi, fideliter refero.

Vale.

¹ For a list of mss. containing the letter as an introduction to Picco-

lomini's *Historia Gothorum*, see HG, pp. 41-47.

² *Reproduced after WO*

³ *em.* WO; Cirtuicense cod.

283. Letter to Juan Carvajal (End 1452 or beg. 1453, Wiener Neustadt).

Context: In the best tradition of humanist book hunters, Piccolomini had apparently succeeded in finding a manuscript of Jordanes' *Getica* in the monastery of Göttweig.

Subject: Piccolomini sends an abbreviated version of the *Getica* to Cardinal Carvajal.¹

Enea, Bishop of Siena, sends many greetings to Juan de Carvajal, Cardinal Deacon of the Holy Roman Church, most learned and excellent Father.

[1] I had heard that Leonardo Aretino,² the most eloquent man of our age, had written a history of the Goths,³ but I never could lay my hands on it though I was eager to learn about the deeds of the Goths.⁴ For I remembered that our forefathers often said this people, from whom your kings claim descent, attacked the Roman state like a hurricane and vanquished Italy, Germany, Spain and Gaul, but I never understood properly who they were, where they came from, and what they did. Therefore, I much wished to get hold of Leonardo's books to learn all this, for men often speak about the Goths but neither correctly nor deservedly.

[2] While still nurturing this wish, I came to the Monastery of Göttweig,⁵ built on a high mountain not far from Donau, between Vienna and Passau. In its library, I came upon Jordanes'⁶ *Historia Gothorum*⁷. I read it and found what I wanted,⁸ but since it is long, I decided to write an abbreviated version⁹ and send it to you so that you can assess to what extent Leonardo's commentary agrees with it, and write back to me about it. It will also be examined by your fellow cardinal Colonna,¹⁰ a decent and charming man of superb taste, whom I have invited to look at it with you. I have faithfully reported what I found in Jordanes.

Farewell.

¹ On this letter, see HG, pp. 6-9.

² Leonardo Bruni [Aretino] (ca. 1370-1444): Italian humanist, historian, and politician. Chancellor of Florence from 1427 to his death. In his *Commentarii* (1462), Piccolomini wrote about him: ... *Leonardo, who was born in Arezzo, but became a citizen of Florence. His eloquence approached that of Cicero and he earned a brilliant reputation for himself by translating many works from Greek into Latin* (COM, 1: 30 (Meserve, vol. 1, p. 323)). Piccolomini was quite an admirer of Bruni, whom he may have met or at least seen in Florence on a study tour during his university years (1430-1431). See DVI, ch. 16. See also the article in DBI.

³ *De Bello Italico adversus Gothos Gesto Libri IV* (1441).

⁴ Piccolomini had mentioned the Goths in a letter of October 1445 to Cardinal Szécsy (letter 187: 14) and in a letter to Giovanni Campisio of December 1445 (letter 197: 1).

⁵ Göttweig Abbey: Founded in the 11th century. Benedictine rule since 1094. It is not known when Piccolomini visited the abbey. Göttweig is 75 km. from Vienna, not particularly far, but since 1452 was an extremely busy year for him (the emperor's coronation voyage to Rome and the Austrian rebellion) it could hardly have been that year.

⁶ Jordanes (fl. 6th c.): Eastern Roman bureaucrat believed to be a

descendant of the Goths. Author of the *Getica* and another historical work (on Rome).

⁷ *Getica*, from c. 551. Partly based on Cassiodorus' history of the Goths (now lost).

⁸ It is not known if Piccolomini copied or abbreviated the manuscript on the spot or brought it with him to be copied and/or abbreviated later.

⁹ On the classical and Renaissance abbreviation literature (epitome / compendia), see HG, pp. 10-14.

¹⁰ Prospero Colonna (c. 1410-1463): Roman noble. Nephew of Pope Martin V. Cardinal *in petto* 1426, published 1430.