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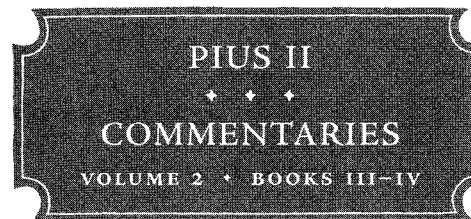
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COMMENTARIORUM PII SECUNDI  
PONTIFICIS MAXIMI  
LIBRI XIII

THE COMMENTARIES OF PIUS II  
PONTIFEX MAXIMUS  
IN THIRTEEN BOOKS

rum fidelem gentem multis afflictae cladibus. Verebatur quod futurum est, nisi sapimus: devictis Hungaris et Germanos et Italos et omnem prorsus Europam subactum iri, quod absque religionis nostrae subversione fieri non posset. Cogitavimus hoc malum avertere; indiximus hoc in loco conventum; vocavimus principes ac populos ut communi consilio rem Christianam tueremur. Venimus spe pleni, quam vanam fuisse dolemus.

3 Pudet nos tantam esse Christianorum negligentiam: alii deliciis indulgent, alios avaritia retinet. Turchi pro sua damnatissima secta non recusant mortem, nos pro sancto Christi Evangelio nec subire sumptus nec labores perferre vel minimos possumus? Si sic pergitur, actum de nobis fuerit. Peribimus brevi nisi alios adsumimus spiritus. Ob quas res vos hortamur, viri religiosi, ut orationibus assiduis Deum precemini: Christianis regibus aliam mentem praebeat, sui populi animos excitet, corda fidelium incendat, ut iam tandem arma sumentes iniurias ulciscantur quibus religionem nostram in dies Turchi afficiunt.

4 Agite, fratres, agite, filii! Convertimini ad Deum toto corde, vigilate, orate, ieiuniis et elemosinis peccata vestra redimite! Facite opera digna poenitentiae! Sic enim placatus Deus nostri miserebitur, et audentibus nobis hostes tradet in manus nostras. Nos hic tamdiu manebimus donec animos principum exploremus. Quod si venturi fuerint, simul cum ipsis rei publicae consulamus; si minus, necessarium erit domum repetere eamque sortem ferre quam Dominus dederit. Verum defendendae religionis propositum, quoad vires vitaeque suppetant, nunquam deseremus, nec durum putabimus, si res petierit, pro nostris ovibus animam ponere.'

5 Exceperunt cardinales et episcopi mira attentione pontificis verba, eiusque mentem magnis praeconiis extulerunt, ac rebus gerendis honestum putavere principium datum venia delictorum

jury to the faithful Hungarians. We feared that if Hungary were overrun, Germany, Italy, and indeed all of Europe would be subdued, a calamity bringing with it the destruction of our faith—and one which will surely come to pass unless we come to our senses! We considered how to prevent this disaster; we called a congress here; we summoned princes and peoples to come with one accord to the defense of Christendom. We came with high hopes and we weep to see them dashed.

“The depth of Christian indifference is shocking. Among some, 3 comfort breeds complacency, while greed keeps others away. The Turks are not afraid to die for their damnable superstition. But will we incur the slightest expense, or endure the least discomfort, for the sake of the gospel of Christ? If we go on like this, we are done for! We’ll be dead before long, unless attitudes change. And so we urge you as men of God to pray to the Lord without ceasing; may He change the minds of Christian kings, rouse the spirits of His people, and inflame the hearts of the faithful until at long last we take up arms and avenge the insults which the Turks daily inflict on our faith.

“To action, my brothers, my sons! Turn to the Lord with all 4 your heart.<sup>3</sup> Watch and pray;<sup>4</sup> atone for your sins with fasting and charity;<sup>5</sup> make fit signs of repentance!<sup>6</sup> God, thus pleased,<sup>7</sup> will have mercy on us.<sup>8</sup> If we take action, He will deliver our enemies into our hands. We will stay here until we hear more of the princes’ intentions. If they mean to come, we will join them in planning for the defense of Christendom. If not, we must go home again and accept the fate the Lord has decreed. But as we live and breathe, we will never abandon our goal of defending the faith, nor shall we complain if circumstances demand that we lay down our life for our flock.”<sup>9</sup>

The cardinals and bishops listened to the pope with extraordinary 5 attention and showered his sentiments with praise. He then offered absolution to all who made confession and duly cleared

omnibus concessa, qui suam conscientiam per confessionem rite purgassent. Blanca his visis admodum laeta cum plerisque vicibus pontificis alloquium obtinisset et animo suo abunde satisfecisset, sese, virum ac liberos apostolicae pietati commendans Deo devota Mediolanum rediit.

: 2 :

*De multorum vanis perversisque calumniis  
in pontificem et maxime Aquilegiensis,  
et dissuasionem perseverandi.*

- 1 Post aliquot dies, cum pauci convenissent nec fama esset conventuros plures, spernebatur consilium praesulis, qui tantum laborem frustra suscepisset. Murmurare passim curiales de pontifice, cardinales obloqui, suae cervicis et parum pensi habentem dicere, neque parcere calamo: ii per Italiam, illi per Gallias et ad omnes ultramontanas regiones probrosas epistolas missitare (qui per se ipsos scribere non auderent, aut amicis aut servis hanc provinciam demandare): venisse Mantuam stulto consilio Pium, oratores principum paucissimos adventasse, pauciores venturos; locum palustrem atque insalubrem esse, cuncta aestu fervere, neque vina sapida neque res alias ad victum necessarias placere; aegrotare quam plurimos, febres admodum multos absumere;<sup>3</sup> nihil audiri nisi ranas. Fuerunt et qui regi Franciae litteras dedere, in quis concilium ad alium locum transferendum asseverarunt. Nonnulli prolatum conventionis diem nuntiavere.

their consciences. It was reckoned that this was a good start to the project. Bianca was delighted by what she had seen; after several audiences with the pope, from which she took great spiritual satisfaction, she commended herself, her husband, and her children to his mercy and returned to Milan renewed in her devotion to God.<sup>10</sup>

: 2 :

*The pope endures many absurd and ridiculous insults, above all from the patriarch of Aquileia. Attempts are made to dissuade him from his purpose.*

After a few days, since only a handful of delegates had arrived and there were no reports of more on the way, questions began to be raised about the pope's plan. Had he undertaken this enormous project in vain? The staff of the curia began to murmur; the cardinals inveighed against the pope for his obstinacy and lack of judgment. Nor were their pens idle: critical reports began to fly the length of Italy and across the Alps. (Those who did not dare to write in their own name had friends or retainers do it for them.) They said that Pius had been a fool to come to Mantua; hardly any princes had sent representatives and still fewer were likely to come. The place was a swamp and a hazard to health; it was too hot; the wine was terrible and so was the food; everyone was getting sick and many were catching their death of fever; all you could hear was the frogs. A few people even wrote to the king of France, saying the congress should be transferred somewhere else; some put it about that the date of the meeting had been postponed.

2 Neminem tamen contemptibilius de pontifice locutum ferebant quam Ludovicum cardinalem Aquilegiensem, qui modo inter domesticos modo etiam in corona praelatorum pueriles fuisse cogitationes praesulis affirmabat, inexpertum eum et parum providentem dictitans qui relicta urbe Roma per aliena hospitia vagaretur, crederetque suis hortatibus reges in bella trahere atque Turchos delere, quorum insuperabiles vires essent; melius mansisse domi et ecclesiae suae consuluisse. Venetos autem dehortabatur ne legatos ad eum conventum mitterent, qui nullos pariturus esset effectus.

3 Iacobus quoque cardinalis Sanctae Anastasiae venenatis inter amicos sermonibus utebatur fatuitatem pontificis palam accusans, qui ditaturus alienos subditos Mantuam venisset, suis pauperiem reliquisset. Verum est quod vulgo dicitur, 'inter quadrigarum rotas eam stridere, quae peior sit.' Iacobus germani, qui Callisti medicus fuit, non meritis suis ad cardinalatum ascendit; statura parvus, sapientia minor, nulla rerum experientia praeditus, nec doctrina nec moribus excellens, genere ignobilis. Ex Umbria Romam venit loco natus vili, qui vulgo Colliscipolis appellatur (quidam 'Scipionis' interpretantur, quidam 'caeparum').

4 Accedentes autem nonnulli ex cardinalibus praesulem: 'Quid agis?' aiebant, 'Frustra hic nos retines, nisi aere hoc pestifero nos paras interficere. Quin abis? Venisti ad praestitutam diem, satisfacisti termino. Principes domi manent, et te nosque contemnunt. Intellexerunt omnes curam tibi fuisse tutandae fidei: sufficit honori tuo. Quis te arguat, si solus vincere Turchos nequeas? Repetamus propriam sedem! Si qui sunt, qui bene consultum rei Christianae velint, non recusabunt te sequi, quocunque ieris.'

5 Inter has voces constans atque immobilis perstabat praesul, nec rumores ponebat ante salutem, Deo placere, non multitudini stu-

It was said that no one spoke more contemptuously of the pope than Ludovico, the patriarch of Aquileia.<sup>11</sup> Both in front of his staff and in the company of the cardinals, he criticized the pope's mission, calling it a childish fantasy and him inexperienced and reckless: Pius had abandoned Rome to wander from one strange place to another; he imagined his rhetoric alone could call kings to arms and destroy the invincible Turks; he would have done better to stay home and look after his church. Ludovico urged the Venetians not to send ambassadors to a congress which was destined to fail.

Jacopo, the cardinal of Sant'Anastasia, also spread poisonous talk among his friends. He openly criticized the pope, calling him an idiot for coming to Mantua to line the pockets of foreigners while leaving his own subjects destitute. It's true what they say: "the worst wheel makes the most noise." Jacopo had not been made a cardinal by his own merits but only because his brother had been doctor to Calixtus.<sup>12</sup> He was a small man, and even smaller-minded, with no experience of affairs, nor any mark of learning or character. His family was undistinguished. He had come to Rome from Umbria, from a little place called Colliscipoli which some people think means the "Hill of Scipio" and others, "Onion Hill."

At this point, a few of the cardinals approached the pope. "What are you doing?" they said. "There's no point in keeping us here unless you mean to kill us in this pestilential heat. Why not leave? You were here at the appointed time; you met the deadline. The princes stay home and insult you and us both. Everyone knows you tried to defend the faith. Your honor is secure. Who can blame you if it turns out you can't defeat the Turks by yourself? Let's go back where we belong. Anyone who truly cares about the good of Christendom will follow you wherever you go."<sup>13</sup>

Amidst such talk the pope stood firm, resolute and unwavering. He valued salvation above idle chatter<sup>14</sup> and sought to please

dens. Fuerunt et inter cardinales plerique melioris consilii, qui perseverantiam suadebant, ut Bessarion Nicenus et Iohannes Sancti Sixti: Graecus alter, Hispanus alter. Quidam, etsi aliud mente gererent, pontifici tamen blandiebantur tanquam non inviti manerent. Qui abeundum dixerant, cum non impetrassent, per vicina castella dilapsi urbanum aestum evitarunt: Aquilegiensis sub specie lavandi apud balneas Patavium petiit, deinde Venetias profectus est. Quibus in locis adversus cardinalem Sancti Marci multa molitus ne Patavinam consequeretur ecclesiam, de conventu Mantuano pessime loquebatur, quaecunque illic agerentur extenuans.

: 3 :

*De Peloponneso seu Morea eiusque situ, et despoti legatione,<sup>4</sup>  
ac Pii et Blancae praesidio ad eum misso,  
et Demetrii perfidia.*

I Dum haec aguntur, legati Thomae despoti Moreae praesulem adeunt. Haec olim provincia Peloponnesus dicta est, et arx quondam Graeciae habita. Formam Cherronesi habet, Aegaei atque Ionii pelagi fluctibus illiditur. Hic nobilis Corinthus fuit et Elis, ludorum memoria insignis; et vetus Lacedaemon, Agamemnonis et Menelai sedes, qui rapinam Helenae vindicantes Ilium delevit; et vetustiores Argi et Nestorea Pylus. Hae olim praeclarae urbes fuere, nunc sine nomine iacent praeter Corinthum, cuius ad Isthmum nonnullae visuntur reliquiae, et castellum Argos.<sup>5</sup> Occupata per Turchos Constantinopoli, ut ante diximus, et interfecto

God,<sup>15</sup> not popular opinion. A good many cardinals, too, had sounder opinions and urged him to persevere, among them Bessarion, the Greek cardinal of Nicea, and Juan, the Spanish cardinal of San Sisto.<sup>16</sup> Some others tried to curry favor with the pope by pretending they did not mind staying even though in their hearts they felt otherwise. When those who wanted to leave saw they had lost the argument, they scattered to the neighboring hill towns to escape the heat of the city. The patriarch of Aquileia went to Padua on the pretext of visiting the baths. From there he proceeded to Venice, where he hatched numerous schemes to prevent the cardinal of San Marco<sup>17</sup> from succeeding to the church at Padua. He also made disparaging remarks about the Congress of Mantua and belittled all its proceedings.

: 3 :

*On the Peloponnese, or Morea. An embassy arrives  
from the despot, and Pius and Bianca send troops.  
The treachery of Demetrius.*

I During this time, the pope was approached by ambassadors from Thomas, the despot of Morea. This province, once known as the Peloponnese, was long considered the very fortress of Greece.<sup>18</sup> It is a peninsula surrounded by the Aegean and Ionian Seas. Here stood noble Corinth; and Elis, famous for its games; Sparta, the ancient seat of Agamemnon and Menelaus, who avenged the rape of Helen by destroying Troy; and—even more ancient—Argos and Pylos, the city of Nestor. These were once splendid cities but now they all lie forgotten except for Corinth, where a few remains may be seen on the Isthmus, and the fortress of Argos. When Constantinople was captured by the Turks, as we described above,

Constantino Palaeologo, gentis imperatore, fratres eius Thomas ac Demetrius huc se receperunt, et modo Turchis tributum penderunt, modo arma in eos verterunt, Latinorum auxiliis et loci munitioibus freti.

2 Exin orto inter eos discidio Demetrius Turchorum partes secum filiam suam Mahumeti despondit. Thomas auxilio Albanorum qui Peloponnesum frequentes incolunt et fratrem magna regni<sup>6</sup> parte mulctavit, et Turchos qui arma in se verterant proelio fudit, captivosque multos cepit, ex quibus sedecim per legatos quos diximus pontifici dono misit, auxilium secundis rebus efflagitans. Nec magno exercitu opus esse dicebat: Italorum parvam manum sufficere ad eiciendos peninsula Turchos.

3 Re in Senatu discussa placuit trecentos illuc pedites mittere. Blanca Mediolanensium dux<sup>7</sup> centum suo aere conduxit, Pius reliquos. Quamvis non probaret coeptis ingentibus tam debile fundamentum apponi, Bessarioni noluit denegare,<sup>8</sup> cui ea res cordi erat. Cuncti Mantuam ad pontificis pedes se contulere, egregie armata et robusta iuventus. Ianonus Cremonensis his praefuit, quos Blanca delegit, pedestrium copiarum non ignotus ductor; aliis Dotha Senensis, propter civilis discordias patria extorris. Qui suscepta benedictione per Padum Ravennam petiere, dein terra profecti apud Anconam ingressi mare felici vento in Peloponnesum navigavere, ubi comiter a Graecis excepti Patracensem urbem primo congressu expugnare. Verum dum alia quaedam summa contentione oppugnant oppida, seu<sup>9</sup> virtutis aemulatione seu praedae cupiditate inter se dissidentes incepta reliquere, disper-

and the Emperor Constantine Palaeologus was killed, his brothers Thomas and Demetrius took refuge here. At times they paid tribute to the Turks and at times they launched attacks against them, relying on support from Italy and the natural defenses of the terrain.

2 After the brothers fell out, however, Demetrius went over to the Turks and betrothed his daughter to Mehmed. Thomas called on the Albanians for help (there is a sizeable Albanian population in the Peloponnese) and deprived his brother of a large part of the kingdom. The Turks then mounted an expedition against Thomas which he routed decisively, taking many prisoners in the process. He sent sixteen of these to Pius in care of the ambassadors just mentioned and pleaded with him for support in his moment of victory. He did not need a great army, he claimed; a small party of Italian soldiers would be enough to expel the Turks from the peninsula.

3 The matter was raised before the assembly and it was decided that a company of 300 men should be sent. Bianca, duchess of Milan, paid for a hundred of these and Pius the rest. The pope thought it unwise to launch a great enterprise<sup>19</sup> on such a weak footing, but he could not bring himself to refuse Bessarion, whose heart was set on the project. The whole company came to Mantua to kneel before the pope — a sturdy group of youths, proudly arrayed. Bianca's levy was commanded by Giannone of Cremona, an experienced infantry captain; the rest were led by Dotha of Siena, an exile from civil strife in his country. After receiving the pope's blessing, the company set off down the Po for Ravenna and went from there overland to Ancona, where they embarked and sailed to the Peloponnese on a following wind. Here they were warmly welcomed by the Greeks. In their first engagement they stormed the city of Patras and went on to attack a number of other towns with great zeal. But at this point, whether out of jealousy of one another's exploits or greed for plunder, they fell out among them-



sique milites in diversa cum dedecore abierunt. Infaustum rebus gerendis omen!

: 4 :

*Germanorum discidia, et Suicensium pax  
legati opera confecta.*

- 1 Inter haec gravissima Germanos exagitare principes discordia coepit. Ludovicus Baioariae dux auro et amicitiiis potens Verdeam imperiale oppidum armis invaserat, atque in deditionem acceperat. Id aegre tulit Federicus imperator, iussitque marchionem Albertum Brandenburgensem arma capere, et insolentiam Ludovici comescere, quem declaraverat hostem. Paruit non invitus Albertus, qui alioquin propter iudicium Norembergense Ludovico erat infensus. Vocati utrinque amici sunt: Alberto Saxoniae duces, comites Wirtembergenses, Maguntinae, Bambergensis et Herbipolensis ecclesiarum praesules et civitatum, quas vocant imperiales, pars maior arma coniunxerant; Ludovicum sequebatur Federicus comes Palatinus et non pauci suae familiae principes. Iam vexilla Imperii Albertus dux belli designatus acceperat, iam undique arma et auxilia concurrebant, nec dubium videbatur, quin superior Germania omnis rueret in ferrum: incendium atrox et nulli parsurum excitabatur hinc Federico imperatore illinc Baioariae ducibus bellum cientibus.
- 2 Quae res magno maerore pontificem affecit, cum et rem fidei hoc modo perituram, et nobilem Germaniam exustum iri animad-

selves, and soon they abandoned the undertaking altogether. To their shame, the men scattered in every direction. A bad omen for future endeavors!

: 4 :

*Strife in Germany. An ambassador works out a truce  
with the Swiss.*

Meanwhile a serious dispute was brewing among the German 1  
princes. Ludwig, duke of Bavaria, a man of great wealth and important connections, had attacked the imperial city of Donauwörth and forced its surrender.<sup>20</sup> Emperor Frederick was incensed at this and ordered Albert, the margrave of Brandenburg, to take up arms and curb the insolence of his sworn enemy, Ludwig. Albert was happy to comply, as he bore his own grudge against Ludwig for the way things had been decided in the Nuremberg case.<sup>21</sup> Both sides called in their allies. Albert drew military support from the dukes of Saxony, the counts of Württemberg, the bishops of Mainz, Bamberg, and Würzburg, and most of the imperial cities; Ludwig was backed by Frederick, count Palatine, and several prominent members of his own family. Albert was appointed the emperor's commander-in-chief and had already received the imperial standards; troops and munitions were gathering from every quarter. It seemed beyond doubt that all of upper Germany would soon rush into battle. Each side was eager for war: Frederick on one side and the dukes of Bavaria on the other were fanning the flames of a terrible conflagration which would leave no one unscathed.

The pope took this news badly, for he saw it meant the failure 2  
of the crusade and the ruin of the noble land of Germany. Ger-

verteret. Querelae Germanorum ad eum undique deferebantur asserentium, nisi papa succurreret, alium esse neminem, qui tantum ignem restinguere posset; nationis principes bifariam divisos, alios Caesarem alios Baioarios sequi; qui belli expertes essent, minus idoneos pacis ministros esse.

3 Anxius inter haec praesul felici nuntio recreatus est, quod apud Constantiam Nardini legati sui<sup>10</sup> opera inter Suicenses et Austriae duces, Albertum et Sigismundum ita compositae res fuerant ut restituta ducibus Rapisvilla in quinquagesimum annum dicta pax olim servaretur, cuius adhuc tres anni restarent; medio tempore, cum Pio pontifici maximo et Carolo Franciae regi placeret, dies inter partes constitueretur ad quem cum legatis aut in Constantia aut in altero vicino loco convenirent de controversiis suis regis et papae arbitrio iudicium recepturae. Qua re cognita iussit pontifex Nardinum prope Norembergam petere, quod eo in loco Germanorum principes conventuri essent, collegasque illi dedit Spirensis episcopum et Henricum Semfleben, aulicum suum, qui summo conatu Germanorum animos ad concordiam traherent, belloque, priusquam initium caperet, finem imponerent.

4 Convenerant iam Norembergae Ludovicus et Albertus, belli futuri duces amicorum stipati gregibus, Sigismundus et Albertus Austriae principes, et cum his Iohannes episcopus Estetensis ac magister Alamaniae Ordinis Prutenorum, qui tanquam pacis arbitri illos accersierant. Verum legatis papae plus fidei atque auctoritatis inerat, minus suspicionis.

5 Concordia pluribus diebus quaesita est. Difficilis et prope desperata res fuit, animis partium ira succensis et ad bellum paratis. Albertus quattuor et viginti milia militum expedita in armis coegerat, plenusque victoriae spe maiora belli quam pacis emolumenta sibi persuadebat. Ludovicus, etsi non tam pugnae accinctus erat, munitionibus tamen locorum ferre hostis impetum, et auri dives

mans on every side of the issue sent desperate appeals: the pope must help them; no one else could put out such a terrible blaze; the princes of the realm had divided into two factions, with some supporting the emperor and others Bavaria; those who remained uninvolved in the war were quite unsuited to negotiate a peace.

In the midst of these worries, the pope received some encouraging news: at Constance, his legate Nardini had helped conclude an agreement between the Swiss and Dukes Albert and Sigismund of Austria. Rappersweil would be restored to the dukes and the terms of the old fifty-year truce would be observed for the three years it had left to run. In the meantime, a date would be set, at the convenience of Pope Pius and King Charles of France, for representatives to meet, either at Constance or somewhere else nearby, to hear how the king and the pope had resolved their dispute. On hearing this news, the pope ordered Nardini to go without delay to Nuremberg, where the German princes were to meet. He sent with him the bishop of Speyer<sup>22</sup> and Heinrich Senfleben, one of his courtiers, who were to make every effort to reconcile the Germans and thus put an end to the war before it could begin.

Ludwig and Albert, who would lead the two sides into war, had already arrived in Nuremberg with throngs of their supporters. Sigismund and Albert, the dukes of Austria, were also there, along with Johann, bishop of Eichstätt, and the Master of the Order of the Teutonic Knights,<sup>23</sup> who had summoned them there as peacemakers. But the pope's envoys inspired more confidence and respect and less suspicion.

They worked towards a settlement for several days but the situation was difficult—practically hopeless, in fact—as tempers flared on both sides and each prepared for war. Albert had 24,000 troops in the field. Inflamed by the prospect of victory, he had convinced himself that there were greater gains to be had from war than from peace. Ludwig, though not quite so ready for battle, was still confident his defenses could withstand an enemy attack. And,

propediem maiores se copias habiturum non dubitabat. Cum obstinatius utraque pars detrectaret pacem, accedentes conventum apostolici legati in hunc modum locuti sunt:

: 5 :

*Oratio legatorum pontificis ad Germanos de pace eiusque  
confectione, et Palatini pertinacia.*

- 1 'Saepe et multum, illustres principes, cohortati sumus ut sepositis odiis in pacem coeatis. Vobis plus cordi bellum est: vastare agros, villas incendere, urbes delere, Christianum sanguinem fundere paratis. Non iura propinquitatis, non patriae caritas, non religionis zelus vos retrahit; non caedes innocentum, non virginum raptus, non adulteria matronarum, non ecclesiarum incendia, non alia prope infinita mala quae bella pariunt, horrere<sup>11</sup> videmini. Furore atque ira pleni non cernitis Christianae rei publicae vulnera, quae vestra inferunt odia.
- 2 'Pius pontifex maximus melius intuetur, qui nobilis Germaniae misertus ferre non potest tot viros illustres, tot fortia pectora, tantum Christiani robur exercitus in sese ferrum stringere. Intelligit sapiens praesul Germanorum calamitatem Turchorum esse felicitatem, tantumque vires illorum crescere quantum vestrae diminuantur, atque illorum ferocitati vestro discidio portas in Christianos aperiri. Dolet vicem vestram, dolet communem cladem, dolet hoc pacto Christianam fidem conculcatum iri. Facit quod sui officii est: Christianos in concordiam revocat. Ne sanctum Evangelium detrimentum sustineat, suum est praevidere. Vester est com-

as he had plenty of money, he was sure he could raise more troops without delay. Both sides dug in and refused to consider peace until the papal representatives addressed the meeting with the following words:

: 5 :

*The papal legates to Germany declaim on the nature of peace.  
The impudence of the count Palatine.*

"Illustrious princes, we have urged you—frequently and at length!—to put aside your quarrels and make peace. But you prefer war. You are prepared to trample fields, burn farms, sack cities, shed the blood of Christians. Neither the rights of your neighbors, nor love of country, nor respect for religion restrains you. Innocents murdered, virgins raped, matrons defiled, churches burned down, and all the other almost countless evils of war—none of these can deter you. In your anger and rage you cannot see how your feuds weaken the whole of Christendom.

"Pope Pius has a clearer view of what is happening and he takes pity on the noble land of Germany. He cannot stand to see so many great warriors—so many stout hearts,<sup>24</sup> the core of the Christian army—drawing swords against each other. He sees, he knows that the destruction of Germany is good news for the Turks; that the more you waste your energies, the stronger they become; that your quarreling opens the gates to them and their savage attacks on Christians. He grieves for you and for our common destruction; he grieves that the Christian faith will thus be trampled under foot. He is doing his duty: he calls Christians to reconciliation. He must see that the holy Gospel comes to no harm. He is father and judge of you all, the head of the Catholic

munis pater et iudex et catholicae caput Ecclesiae, cui qui resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit et mancipium se diaboli facit. Cupidus Christianae quietis iubet vos Pius arma deponere quae vestra in viscera stringere paratis, et fraterna pace composita adversus fidei hostes de bello cogitare. Nisi haec agitis, extra Ecclesiam vos faciet et in omni ditione<sup>12</sup> vestra sacris interdicet. Eritis Gehennae filii, Deo et<sup>13</sup> hominibus infesti, et omnis vestra posteritas infamia notabitur. Diximus quod Sedes Apostolica iussit; deinceps innoxii sumus a vestro sanguine.’

3 His commoti principes paulo post concordiam iniere, cuius haec formula fuit: facessant inimicitiae, pax ex integro redeat; Verdea imperatori restituatur; iudicium Norembergense Alberto liberum esto; Ludovicus arbitrio imperatoris plectitor, aut Pii precibus absolvitor; Federicus Palatinus viduae, quam frater reliquit, auri quindecim milia nummum quam primum dissolvito et deinceps quoad vitam duxerit, tria milia quotannis; capitulo ecclesiae Maguntinae chirographum novem milium aureorum vi extortum reddito; feudum Berzabrensis oppidi ad naturam suam reducito; Steffardum comitem sub publica imperatoris fide captum libertati dimittito; reliqua quae componenda restant in festo Sanctae Crucis apud Norembergam iterum convenientes arbitri decidunto.

4 His compositis exercitus hinc atque inde dimissi sunt, et datae dexteræ. Non interfuit conventis Federicus Palatinus neque oratores eius assensum præbuere; verum Ludovicus Baioariae et Albertus Austriae duces itemque Iohannes episcopus Estetensis facturum illum quae iussus esset in se receperunt: Federicus autem, ubi res compositas accepit, litteras in hunc modum ad Ludovicum dedit:

5 ‘Federicus Palatinus Ludovico duci salutem. Dexteram inimico dedisti, eamque pacem amplexus es quae te nostramque familiam

Church. Whoever disobeys him, disobeys the word of God and makes himself a slave of the devil! Pius wants peace in Christendom; you are poised to plunge blades into each other’s hearts! Pius commands you to lay down your arms, make peace like brothers, and turn your attention to the crusade. Do this or he will excommunicate you and declare an interdict on all your territories. You will be sons of Gehenna,<sup>25</sup> despised by God and man, and all your descendants will be branded with shame. We have spoken on orders from the Apostolic See. From this moment we wash our hands of your blood.”

The princes were moved by this speech and soon concluded a 3 peace on the following terms: hostilities would cease and peace would be restored; Donauwörth would revert to the emperor’s control; Albert would retain jurisdiction over Nuremberg, and Ludwig would be punished at the emperor’s discretion, unless absolved by Pius’s intercession. Frederick, count Palatine, would pay his brother’s widow 15,000 florins immediately and thereafter 3,000 a year for the rest of her life; he should return to the chapter of Mainz the indenture for 9,000 florins which he had forcibly removed from it, restore the fief of Bergzabern, and release his hostage Count Steffard, whom he had taken in violation of an imperial safe-conduct. Any remaining issues would be decided by a panel of judges who would convene again in Nuremberg on the feast of the Holy Cross.<sup>26</sup>

Once this was agreed, both sides disbanded their armies and 4 shook hands on it. Frederick, count Palatine, was not at the meeting nor did his spokesmen give their consent. Dukes Ludwig of Bavaria and Albert of Austria, together with Johann, bishop of Eichstätt, guaranteed that he would abide by the terms, but when Frederick received word of the agreement, he sent this message to Ludwig:

“Frederick, count Palatine, to Duke Ludwig, greetings. You 5 have shaken hands with the enemy and embraced a peace which

inhonestet. Timuisti ferrum, et exertos spectare gladios horruisti, et amator videri vis. Et quae mulier deinceps amare te poterit, saeculi nostri dedecus et monstrum infame Baioariae domus? Aut rescinde conventa, aut me hostem habeto longe ferociorem Alberto! Quae meo nomine promisisti, scito me neque precibus neque vi facturum. Vale.'

6 His receptis illacrimatus est Ludovicus, et poenitentia ductus causas quaerere coepit, quibus pactam dissolvere fidem posset. Fredericus ipse misso ad pontificem Bernardo Hebersteynensi comite multis se rationibus excusatum reddidit quod ad Mantuanum conventum, ut ante pollicitus fuerat, pro suo desiderio non accederet; exin causas adiecit cur pacem Noremburgae compositam sibi onerosam et minime amplectendam putaret, iudicium eius litis aut in imperatorem aut in papam referens.

: 6 :

*De variis legationibus Orientalium, et perfidia Bosnensium in prodenda Sinderovia.*

1 Interea legati ex Cypro, Rhodo, Lesbo ac nonnulli ex Asia praesto adsunt. Tum vero Albani, Epirotae, Bosnenses et omnis ora Illyrii missis oratoribus auxilium petere, et iam frequentes tota urbe apparere ex Orienti homines qui adversus Turchos opem efflagitant. Hinc ortum verbum: 'Orientales, quos Levantes vocant, celes ac solertes esse; Occidentales, qui Ponentes nominantur, et pigros et inertes,' quod perinde est ac si dicas: morosi et difficiles sunt qui opem ferant, diligentes qui petant. Ab occiduus namque

dishonors both yourself and our family. You have shied away from steel and shrunk from the sight of swords drawn, and you wish to be thought a great lover? What woman could bring herself to love you now—the scandal of our age, a monstrous blot on the house of Bavaria? You must either break the compact or consider me your enemy—an enemy far worse than Albert. Rest assured, I can be neither persuaded nor forced to do the things you promised in my name. Farewell."

When Ludwig read these words he burst into tears and, spurred by remorse,<sup>27</sup> began to cast about for a pretext to renege on the agreement. Frederick himself sent Bernard, count of Eberstein, to the pope full of excuses for his not having attended the Congress of Mantua as he had promised and as the pope had desired. He also explained why he thought the Nuremberg compact was unjust and impossible for him to accept and he suggested that the dispute should be referred to either the emperor or the pope for resolution.

: 6 :

*Various embassies arrive from the East. The treacherous Bosnians betray Smederevo.*

1 Meanwhile, ambassadors from Cyprus, Rhodes, Lesbos, and even Asia Minor arrived. Then representatives from Albania, Epirus, Bosnia, and from all along the Illyrian coast appeared, requesting assistance. All of Mantua was thronged with men from the Orient come to ask for help against the Turks. And so the saying arose that Orientals, or "Risiers," are quick and clever while Occidentals, or "Sinkers," are dull and lazy—which is as much as to say that those who offer aid are captious and difficult while those who seek

partibus auxilia expectabantur, atque inde pauci adventabant; ab Orienti nulla legatio non querula venit. Ragusei tantum pro suis facultatibus auxilia in Turchos promiserunt.

- 2 Rex Bosnae, quamquam Turchis clam reconciliatus esset, legatos tamen ad pontificem misit adversus illos opem flagitans. Regnum Bosnae in montibus situm Rascianis Hungarisque coniungitur. In eo multi sunt Manichaei qui etsi Christiani videri volunt, longe tamen absunt a Christi lege: blasphemii homines et erroribus pleni, adversus quos Aurelius Augustinus librum scripsit. Ragusei et Trigurienses ad litus Adriatici maris iacentes vicini sunt Bosnensibus, quos Illyricam fuisse gentem non est ambiguum. Hos Croatini, qui et Dalmatae sunt, orientales et boreales habent.
- 3 Sicut Romani quondam suos principes vel Caesares vel Augustos vocavere, Aegyptii vel pharaones vel Ptolomaeos, ita et Bosnenses suos reges appellaverunt Stephanos. Quorum qui legatos Mantuam misit, vafer homo fuit et inconstantis animi. Is paulo ante ad Matthiam Hungariae regem profectus interventu Iohannis Sancti Angeli cardinalis, apostolici legati foedus cum eo inierat multa in Turchos pollicitus, plura mentitus.
- 4 Rasciani per id tempus Turchorum impetum aegre ferebant; ob quam rem passus est rex Hungariae ut Senderoviam, oppidum aprime munitum et ad ripam Danubii situm, Stephani filius defendendum acciperet; qui paucis post mensibus quam intromissus est, accersitis Turchis magno auri pondere oppidum vendidit. Quae res non minus Hungarorum animos fregit quam perdita olim Constantinopolis. Est enim Senderovia porta quaedam ex Rascia in Valachiam ad bellum Hungaris inferendum opportuna,

it are quick off the mark. For they were looking to the West for aid, and from that direction few had appeared. No Eastern embassy arrived without a list of complaints. Only the Ragusans promised they would help as best they could in the campaign against the Turks.

The king of Bosnia had secretly come to terms with the Turks, but he too sent ambassadors to the pope to ask for help against them. The mountain kingdom of Bosnia borders the territories of Serbia and Hungary. It is full of Manicheans who, though they would like to be thought Christians, are still a long way from orthodox. They are blasphemers<sup>28</sup> and heretics, of the sort St. Augustine condemned. They are neighbors of the Ragusans and the people of Traù who live along the Adriatic coast. There is no doubt that they are ethnically Illyrian. To the west and south of them are the Croats, also known as Dalmatians.

Just as the Romans once called their princes "Caesar" or "Augustus," and the Egyptians called their kings "Pharaoh" or "Ptolemy," so the Bosnians call their kings "Stephen" or "Stjepan." The Stjepan<sup>29</sup> who sent ambassadors to Mantua was a shifty and undependable character. A while before he had approached King Matthias of Hungary (through the intervention of the papal legate, Juan, cardinal of Sant'Angelo)<sup>30</sup> and concluded an agreement with him, making grandiose promises of help against the Turks which turned out to be lies.

At that time, the Serbians were having trouble fighting off Turkish attacks, so the king of Hungary charged the Stjepan's son with the defense of the heavily fortified town of Smederevo on the Danube. A few months after taking possession of the place, he betrayed the town to the Turks for an enormous sum of gold. This was as crushing a blow to Hungarian spirits as the loss of Constantinople had been. For Smederevo stands like the gate from Serbia to Wallachia. It makes an ideal base for launching attacks

quo in loco multae sunt naves ad fluvium transeundum,<sup>14</sup> et in alteram ripam descensus faciles.

- 5 Verum prius legati Bosnenses ex Mantua recesserunt quam proditio innotesceret, quae ad legatos Hungaros primum delata est. Ii fuerunt episcopi duo: Cenadiensis et Segniensis, et cum his Stephanus Croatiae comes, ab origine Romanus Frangepania gente, quae sanctissimum olim pontificem Gregorium produxit, praesulum decus ac normam, et Tarvisinus quidam doctor, cui postea Pius apud Dalmatas episcopatum commisit.

: 7 :

*Lex lata de contentione praesidentiae et episcoporum adversus notarios praelatione.*

- 1 Cum iam legati regum principumque convenire coepissent, magna de sedibus orta contentio est, nec reges regibus nec duces ducibus cedere: locum sibi quisque in consessu primum arrogare, verbis nitibusque contendere. Quod ne rebus gerendis officeret, pontifex legem edidit ne vel postpositi detrimentum vel praelati lucrum honoris iurisve aliquod ferrent. Nec tamen hoc pacto pacari omnes potuere, sicut postea dicemus, nec ordo episcoporum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae animo ferebat aequo quae notarios apostolicos anteponebat. Contra plurimi morem Curiae sacram esse legem et nullo mutandam pacto censebant; scandalum ingens futurum et orbem quodammodo ruiturum affirmantes si quid adversus notarios statueretur.
- 2 At Pius altitudinem episcopalis eminentiae animo volvens, qua nihil est in Ecclesia sublimius, et quod ipse Romanus praesul, Iesu

against Hungary, for there are numerous boats for crossing the river and the other bank offers an easy landing.

The Bosnian envoys left Mantua before this treachery came to light. It was first reported to the Hungarian ambassadors; the bishops of Csanád and Zengg, along with Stephen, a count of Croatia from the Roman family of Frangipane (which once produced St. Gregory, the glory and model of all popes), and a certain learned scholar of Treviso whom Pius later appointed to a bishopric in Dalmatia.

: 7 :

*Pius rules on the dispute over precedence and condemns the elevation of notaries over bishops.*

Representatives from the kings and princes now began to arrive in Mantua, and a heated debate arose about the order of seating. Kings would not give way to kings nor dukes to dukes; each claimed the place of honor for himself, arguing with words and gestures until at last the pope ruled (in order to get on with the business at hand) that a seat at the back implied no loss of honor or privilege, nor did a seat at the front indicate more. But even this could not make everyone happy, as we shall explain later on.<sup>31</sup> Next the bishops took offense at the protocol of the Roman Curia, which gave precedence to the apostolic notaries. Many others, though, thought the usage of the Curia amounted to a sacrosanct law, never to be altered under any circumstances. Any decision that disadvantaged the notaries would cause an enormous scandal, they said; the world would practically fall apart.

But Pius, considering the high status of the episcopacy, which is the most exalted element in the Church, and the fact that the

Christi vicarius, episcopi nomine contentatur, notarios corruptela quadam, non consuetudine praelatos episcopis iudicavit, idque deinceps fieri prohibuit edita lege quam totus ferme orbis collaudavit. Notarii, etsi ambiendo cardinales contra niterentur et multa in praesulem probra iactarent, legem tamen vel inviti receperunt.<sup>15</sup>

: 8 :

*De Maguntia urbe ac Dyetheri simoniaca electione.*

1 Migraverat ex hac luce Theodericus archiepiscopus Maguntinus non multis ante diebus, indoctus homo et qui scorta inter et convivia virilem animum effeminaverat; una tantum laude memorandus, quod in schismate Basiliensis concilii Apostolicae Sedis partes secutus est, quamvis et hanc quoque dotem amisit in extrema senectute parum fidelis et novitatum sequax.

2 Maguntia praeclara urbs est sinistram magni Rheni ripam obsidens e regione intrantis in eum Mogani amnis, a quo nomen accepit. Olim Gallica fuit, nunc Germanica est; de qua illud elogium fertur: ‘Maguntia ab antiquo Nequam.’ In ea<sup>16</sup> divitem ecclesiam veteres fundavere, cuius archiepiscopus inter electores Imperii primum obtinet locum. Suffraganeos habuit XIII, qui ab Italia usque in Saxoniam parochias protenderunt, nam et Curia in Alpibus Lepontiis et Hildesemensis civitas apud Saxones metropolitico iure Maguntinae subest ecclesiae, cuius temporale imperium<sup>17</sup> instar amplissimi regni longe lateque patet, atque idcirco vacantem multi ad eam aspiravere potentes viri; quorum ardentissimus fuit Dye-

pope himself, the Vicar of Christ, is content to be called a bishop, decided that the notaries had taken precedence over the bishops by some misunderstanding rather than by regular usage. Now, therefore, he banned the practice by a decree that met with almost universal approval. Although the notaries objected strenuously to this action and lobbied for support among the cardinals and constantly muttered against the pope, still they reluctantly accepted his decision.

: 8 :

*The city of Mainz and the simoniactal election of Diether.*

A few days earlier, Dietrich, archbishop of Mainz, had died, an ignorant man debauched by lust and dissipation.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, he deserves to be remembered well for this one thing alone, that during the schism occasioned by the Council of Basel he had taken the side of the papacy. But in his dotage he lost this virtue, too, through his disloyalty and political agitation.

The renowned city of Mainz sits on the left bank of the great river Rhine at its confluence with the Main, from which its name is derived. It was once a city of Gaul but is now German. The saying is, “Mainz, wicked of old.”<sup>33</sup> Long ago, its citizens established a rich church there whose archbishop ranks first among the imperial electors. It has thirteen suffragans who administer parishes from Italy all the way to Saxony; for Chur in the Lepontine Alps and the state of Hildesheim in Saxony are subject to the metropolitan jurisdiction of Mainz. Its temporal authority stretches far and wide like that of a great kingdom. Accordingly, when the church fell vacant, many great men aspired to acquire it. The most ambitious of all was Diether von Isenburg, a man of noble birth—



therus Hisenburgensis, nobili loco natus, quamvis non tam genere quam perfidia et ambitione insignis.

3 Hic cum sedente Callisto Treverensem ecclesiam, pro qua magnum auri pondus offerens emere non potuisset, ad Maguntinam deinde convertit animum, cuius erat canonicus. Et cum certo sciret in capitulo per suffragia maioris partis electionem in se cadere non posse, quia difficile corrumpitur multitudo, in paucos fieri compromissum studuit. Septem viri nominati sunt, hisque data potestas pontificis eligendi; quorum tres iam pridem corrupti Dyetherum elegerunt, tres Adolphum Nassaum, genere ac probitate illustrem, cuius maiores ad imperium ascendissent; septimus alium quendam nominavit, sed tandem tribus milibus aureis inaratus ad Dyetherum accessit, qui mox electus est declaratus et ad possessionem bonorum ecclesiae malo exemplo receptus.

4 Is legatos Mantuam misit, superbe et arroganter nimis confirmationem petens. Pius, qui rem gestam ignoraret: 'Conventum,' inquit, 'hoc in loco de rebus Catholicae<sup>18</sup> religionis agimus. Accersivimus Theodoricum, dum viveret, archiepiscopum, qui magnae pontifex ecclesiae consilio et auxilio esset catholicae fidei, quam Turchorum impietas ac feritas delere conatur. Illo fati functo veniat electus aequum est, quem e vestigio confirmabimus.'

5 Legati febricitare Dyetherum dixere et inopia laborare; longa esse itinera et insegura. Pontifex convalescentiam expectari posse respondit, paupertatem et viarum incommoda confutavit. Remissi et iterum missi oratores sunt. Vicit pietatem impietas et mansuetudinem pervicacia: persuaderi adventus ad tantum conventum de tam sancta re indictum Dyethero non potuit. Pontifex facta rela-

though he was less famous for his pedigree than for his treachery and lust for power.

3 During the pontificate of Calixtus, Diether had tried—and failed—to buy the church of Trier for an enormous sum of gold. He then shifted his efforts to the church of Mainz, where he was a canon. Since he knew very well that he could not secure a majority of votes in the chapter (for bribing large numbers of people is no easy thing), he tried to get the matter entrusted to the decision of a few men. A committee of seven was commissioned to elect the bishop. Three of them, having been bribed well in advance, voted for Diether, and three for Adolf of Nassau, a man of distinguished birth and character whose ancestors had sat on the imperial throne. The seventh voted for some other candidate, but in the end was persuaded to accede to Diether for 3,000 florins. Diether was duly elected and by these corrupt means came into possession of the property of the church.<sup>34</sup>

4 He sent ambassadors to Mantua, demanding in a high-handed manner that his election be confirmed. Pius, who had no idea what had happened, said, "We are having a meeting here about the state of the Catholic faith. We invited Dietrich, who was then the archbishop, for as the priest of a great church he could give counsel and support to the Catholic faith in the face of the vicious, ungodly Turks who wish to destroy it. If he is dead, let the man chosen in his place come here, as he ought, and we will confirm him at once."

5 The ambassadors said that Diether was suffering from a fever; he had no money; and the journey would be long and dangerous. The pope replied that he could wait for him to recover, but poverty and the inconveniences of travel were not valid excuses. The envoys were sent back and then returned once more. The impious won out over the pious and meekness gave way to obstinacy. Diether could not be persuaded to come to the congress despite the fact that it was dedicated to such a holy purpose. On the sug-

tione per cardinalem Sancti Marci absentem confirmavit, ea lege adiecta ut intra annum accedere Sanctam Sedem Apostolicam teneretur, et ab ea vivendi normam recipere, idque iure iurando affirmaret quod per legatos potestatem habentes promissum et iuratum est. Sed, ut postea suo loco dicemus, barbara fides nec promisso facit satis nec iuris iurandi religioni.

: 9 :

*Legatio imperatoris non satis digna  
et Pii ad eum mandata.*

- 1 Federicus imperator ad conventum interea tris oratores legavit: Antonium Tergesti episcopum, Iohannem Inderbachium Tridenti praepositum et Henricum Semfleben decanum Vratislaviensem; qui licet viri praestabiles essent, pontifici accepti, et mandatum plenum attulissent, non tamen eam prae se auctoritatem ferebant quam tanti conventus dignitas ac maiestas exposcere videbatur. Ideoque iussit praesul Henricum cum hisce mandatis ad imperatorem reverti:
- 2 ‘Coeptus Mantuae conventus de tutela religionis sollicitus est adversus potentissimos hostes, quos perdere post Hungaros tua in primis interest. Pius pontifex maximus relicto Ecclesiae Romanae regno eo se contulit, nec pericula nec sumptus pensitavit, dum rei publicae bene consulere posset. Speravit te simul conventurum, cui non plus itineris quam sibi faciendum fuit. Tu neque venisti, neque legatos tanta re teve dignos misisti. Qui haec animadvertunt, aut te sumptibus parcere per avaritiam putant, aut or-

gestion of the cardinal of San Marco, the pope confirmed Diether *in absentia* on condition that he presented himself before the Holy Apostolic See before a year passed, received a rule of conduct from it, and affirmed under oath everything his authorized representatives had promised and sworn in his name. But (as we shall explain when we come to it) barbarian honor has no regard for a promise, nor for the sanctity of an oath.<sup>35</sup>

: 9 :

*The emperor's delegation is insufficiently distinguished.  
Pius sends him a message.*

- In the meantime, Emperor Frederick had sent three ambassadors to the congress: Antonio, bishop of Trieste,<sup>36</sup> Johann Hinderbach, provost of Trent, and Heinrich Senfleben, dean of Breslau. Although these men were eminent enough, personally acceptable to the pope, and fully authorized to speak for the emperor, still they did not give the impression of authority which such an important congress seemed to demand. So the pope sent Heinrich back to the emperor with this message:
- “The congress in session at Mantua concerns itself with the defense of the faith in the face of a formidable enemy. After the Hungarians, you of all people should care most about defeating that threat. Pope Pius left the papal state to come here; he gave little thought to either danger or expense as long as he had the opportunity to benefit the Church. He hoped you would meet him here, since you had no further to come than he. But you have not come, nor have you sent ambassadors worthy of yourself or of the occasion. Those who see this must conclude either that you are stingy and trying to economize, or that you care nothing for the

thodoxae fidei defensionem contemnere, neque te dignum existimant qui Christianis imperes. Nam quo pacto protector et advocatus Ecclesiae dici potes, qui non modo Ecclesiam deseris sed ipsam quoque religionem Christianam et fidem negligis? Pio fortasse invides, qui tibi honorem praeripuerit, nec vis ob eam causam convenire cum eo? Erras: non tam suum honorem Pius quam tuum quaerit, qui te anima sua cariorem habet; de gloria tua cogitat, atque ut eam conserves hortatur, ut secum de communi salute acturus convenias. Si non potes, at saltem legatos illustri loco natos et auctoritate praeditos mittas, neque hac tua dissimulatione (sive avaritia vocanda est?) Ecclesiam Dei perire sinas!

: IO :

*Philippi ducis Burgundi mutatum propositum legatioque eius splendidissima, et regis Gallorum aemulatio, et quomodo accepti Burgundi honoratique sint, quaque transierint.*

1 Profecto cum his mandatis Henrico Philippus Burgundiae dux, qui se venturum ad conventum scripserat, et unus omnium ardentissimus iudicabatur qui Turchorum genus perdere cuperent, mutato consilio domi remanere statuit, non tam suo ingenio quam suorum suasu,<sup>19</sup> qui res in Gallia novas suboriri verebantur. Succensebat rex Franciae Philippo, qui Ludovicum Dalfinum Viennensem, primogenitum suum ad se fugientem domi recepisset, neque curasset patri reconciliare. Contra Philippus indigne agere

defense of true religion. They doubt you should be a ruler of Christian men. How can you assume the title of protector and advocate of the Church when you not only desert the Church but neglect the Christian faith itself? Do you bear Pius a grudge? Do you think he usurped an honor that was rightfully yours? Is this why you refuse to meet with him? You are mistaken, for Pius does not care about his own honor so much as yours; he holds you dearer than his own soul. It is your reputation he is concerned about, and it is to guard that reputation that he urges you to come and confer with him about the safety of all. If you cannot do this, at least send ambassadors of distinguished rank and authority. Do not let the Church of God perish through this indifference (or should we say avarice?) of yours."<sup>37</sup>

: IO :

*The duke of Burgundy changes his mind and sends a magnificent embassy. The king of France is piqued. How the Burgundians were received and honored, and by what route they came.*

After Heinrich left with this message, Duke Philip of Burgundy, 1 who had sent word that he would attend the congress and was considered the most zealous supporter of a war against the Turks, changed his mind and decided to stay at home. This was not really his choice: his friends had persuaded him not to go because they feared that trouble was brewing in France. The French king was angry with Philip because he had taken in his eldest son Louis, dauphin of Viennois, after he fled to him for refuge, and had made no effort to reconcile him to his father. Philip, on the other hand,

regem aiebat, qui nonnulla in ducatu Lucemburgensi (id est in Imperii ditione) oppida occupasset adversus antiquum foedus quod Franciae reges cum Romanis imperatoribus apud Tullum percussere, in quo cautum sit imperator in regno Franciae, rex in Imperio ne dominatum<sup>20</sup> sibi vendicet, etiamsi volentes aliqui sese dedant; iniuste regem agere qui foedus violet et oppignoratum sibi Lucemburgensem ducatum molestare audeat.

2 Sic inter se rex duxque mandata miserant, neque alter alteri cedebat. Augebantur in dies querelae, et simultates in aperta evaserant odia. Quibus ex rebus inconsulte agere ducem suum Burgundi existimabant si domo abscederet, et alii insidias in itinere timendas aiebant, alii seni non esse laborem subeundum, alii Italicum caelum et aestivum ardorem timendum, alii alias viarum incommoditates obiciebant.

3 Victus Philippus cum remanere in patria decrevisset, Iohannem ducem Clivensem, sororis suae filium, mittendum censuit et Iohannem Croium, qui multorum proeliorum victor tota Gallia clarissimus habebatur, tum plures equites et alios divini et<sup>21</sup> humani iuris interpretes famae celebris, quibus adiunctus est Iohannes episcopus Atrebas, apud pontificem referendarium agens, litterarum ferme omnium doctrina praeditus et acceptus Pio.<sup>22</sup>

4 Iter Clivensi ex curia Philippi recedenti per Flandriam, Piccardiam et Parisios et reliquam Galliam ac Sabaudiam fuit. Viderunt Franci splendidam legationem qualem antea nunquam, aedentesque regem maiora de magnis referebant; laudare Burgundum, qui rem fidei curae haberet, arguere Francum, qui negligeret; pontificem magnis de rebus concilium indixisse, eoque Roma relicta

claimed that the king had acted dishonorably in seizing certain towns in the duchy of Luxemburg (that is, within imperial jurisdiction) in violation of the ancient treaty of Toul, by which the French kings and the Roman emperors agreed that the emperor could not claim sovereignty over any territory within the kingdom of France, nor the king in the empire, even if the subjects voluntarily transferred their allegiance. The king had acted unlawfully by breaking the treaty and daring to invade the duchy of Luxemburg which was Philip's fief.

The king and the duke were exchanging accusations in this way and neither showed signs of yielding to the other. The quarrel grew more bitter with every passing day, till their differences erupted into open hostility. For these reasons the Burgundians thought the duke would be very ill-advised to leave home. Some said there was a risk of ambush on the way, others that the hardships were too much for an old man. Some said the Italian climate and the summer heat were to be feared, while others raised objections to still other difficulties of travel.

Philip was persuaded by these arguments and decided to stay at home. He chose to send his sister's son, Duke Jean of Clèves, together with Jean of Croy, a veteran of many victories and reputed to be the most illustrious knight in all France. They were accompanied by many knights and distinguished experts in both canon and civil law, as well as by Jean, bishop of Arras, who held the post of papal Referendary, a man of very broad learning and well thought of by Pius.<sup>38</sup>

Clèves set out from Philip's court on a route that passed through Flanders, Picardy, Paris, southern France, and Savoy. When the French beheld the embassy train, the most splendid they had ever seen, they went to the king and exaggerated its magnificence even further. They praised Burgundy for his devotion to the faith and condemned Charles for his neglect. They said the pope had called a congress on important matters and, in spite of his age, had left

senem venisse; non esse regiae dignitatis tanto in conventu deesse. Quibus clamoribus excitatus Carolus et ipse magnam et claram legationem decrevit.

5 Clivensis et qui eum sequebantur per Sabaudiam et montem Iovis, qui hodie Sancti Bernardi melius appellatur, Augustam Praetoriam petiit, et per Hipporegiam, Vercellas ac Novariam Mediolanum venit, Insubrium caput. Quo in loco nonnullis immoratus diebus a Francisco duce summis honoribus cumulatus est, deinde per Laudam et Cremonam iter ad conventum habuit.

6 Quaesitum est in Senatu, intranti quis honor impendendus esset. Pontifex duos cardinales e Collegio mittendos censuit; illi suae dignitatis amantes indignum esse aiebant atque insolitum, minori dignitati maiorem occurrere; cardinales regibus pares haberi; viles cere, si duci obviam mitterentur. Pontifex de dignitate cardinalium nihil adversari, quae pontificali proxima esset; nihil tamen ei deperire si ducem venientem paulo extra urbem exciperent;<sup>23</sup> vidisse se Caesarem, qui non esset cardinalibus minor, saepe ducibus ac marchionibus ad se venientibus occurrisset; Clivensem ex ultimis Galliarum finibus atque ab Oceani litore iussione apostolica Mantuam petere; non parem esse causam eorum qui privata et eorum qui publica curaturi negotia Romanum pontificem adeunt; tribuendum plus aliquid honoris his qui dicto parentes fidem catholicam defensuri accedunt; fugiendam arrogantiam cunctis odiosam; humilitati, quam nemo non laudat, inserviendum; non placere hominibus cardinalium fastum, qui se quasi deos existimantes mortalium neminem dignarentur; purgandam hanc superbiae notam, quae alio modo quam per humilitatis opera, tolli non posset.

Rome to attend it; they said a proper king would not shun such a gathering. Roused by this outcry, Charles too decided to send a large and distinguished embassy.

The duke of Clèves and his train proceeded by way of Savoy 5 and Mount Jove (better named today after St. Bernard) to Aosta; then through Ivrea, Vercelli, and Novara to Milan, the capital of Lombardy. Here he stayed for several days and was piled high with honors by Duke Francesco. Then he continued his journey by Lodi and Cremona to the congress.

The assembly debated how to honor him on his entrance into 6 Mantua. The pope wanted to send two cardinals to meet him, but the cardinals stood on their dignity and said it was unprecedented and inappropriate to send men of higher rank to meet an inferior; cardinals were considered the peers of kings; sending them out to greet a duke would be demeaning. On the question of the cardinals' rank the pope had no objection, for they were closest in line to the pope; but he thought it would do them no harm to go a little way out of the city to welcome the duke. He had often seen the emperor, who was certainly no lower in rank than a cardinal, go out to greet visiting dukes and marquises. Clèves had obeyed the pope's bidding by coming to Mantua; he had journeyed all the way from the ocean shore, from the outermost reaches of France. There was no comparison between people who came to the pope on their own private business and those who came on a public commission. Some special regard ought to be shown to those who answered a summons and came to the defense of the Catholic faith. He advised his listeners to steer clear of arrogance, a vice universally despised, and practice humility instead, which all men praise. No one liked the cardinals' hauteur; did they think they were gods, that mere mortals were beneath them? They must purge themselves of the stain of pride, which only works of humility could erase.

7 Vicit pontificis sententia duobus cardinalibus electis qui duci occurrerent, Latino Ursino et Prospero Columnensi; quod reliquum fuit Curiae ad honorandum<sup>24</sup> legationem his<sup>25</sup> adiunctum. Exceptus est summo honore Clivensis cunctis admirantibus et hominum maiestatem et ornatum externum procerum ac doctorum.

: II :

*Oratio Burgundorum et Pii responsum.*

1 Sequenti die consistorium publicum habitum est, ubi episcopus Atrebas sedente in maiestate Pio orationem habuit, in qua et prae-sulis propositum de tuenda religione et desiderium Philippi et legationis dignitatem et genus sui principis et vetusta novaque Burgundionum gesta magnifice collaudavit, et cur Philippus ipse ad conventum non adventasset exposuit. Postremo facturum illum cuncta professus est quae pro tutela Christiani nominis expectari ab eo possent. Auditus est cupide et attente, omni contione Philippi animum laudante.

2 Pontifex e sublimi trono respondens clarissimum Philippi genus ignorare neminem inquit, in quo Burgundionum Francorumque sanguis elucesceret, et utranque gentem extendisse factis famam; quamvis non egeret Philippus maiorum imaginibus, qui virtute propria suam illustraret aetatem; vidisse se illum et saepe cum eo miscuisse sermones apud Baioarios in Ratispona; intellexisse ex eo tempore quo animo esset in Turchos, qua fide fereret, quo zelo teneretur tuendae atque ampliandae religionis; non esse mutata-

The pope's opinion prevailed. Two cardinals, Latino Orsini and Prospero Colonna, were chosen to go out to meet the duke, and the rest of the Curia joined in paying its respects to the embassy. The duke of Clèves was received with the greatest respect; everyone was full of admiration for the distinguished envoys and their splendid train of noblemen and scholars.

: II :

*The Burgundians make a speech. Pius's response.*

1 The next day Pius presided over a public consistory at which the bishop of Arras delivered an oration.<sup>39</sup> He spoke glowingly of the pope's intention to defend the faith, Philip's zeal, the importance of the embassy, the lineage of his prince, and the history of the Burgundians, both ancient and modern. He explained why Philip had not come to the congress in person and assured the pope that the duke would do everything that could be expected of him in order to defend the Christian religion. The audience gave him their enthusiastic attention; the entire assembly applauded the conviction of the duke.

2 Down from his majestic throne came the pope's reply. There was no one who did not know of Philip's illustrious forebears, who boasted both Burgundian and French blood. Both these nations were known far and wide for their great exploits<sup>40</sup>—though it was hardly necessary for Philip to invoke a gallery of ancestors: he added luster to his age by his own merits. Pius had met and talked with him on several occasions at Regensburg in Bavaria; he had known since then what the duke thought about the Turkish problem, how devoutly he practiced his religion, how fervently he desired to defend and extend the faith. He was sure the prince had

mentem, quantum legatio eius affirmaret; stare propositum votumque principis; utinam venisset quemadmodum spem dederat: cognovisset profecto quanti fieret apud Apostolicam Sedem; at retentum domi novarum metu rerum venia dignum fore, et praesertim tot viris excellentibus, qui suam vicem agerent, emissis.

3 Collaudavit et Clivensem ducem, qui longissimo et laboriosissimo itinere ad eum conventum se contulisset, in quo de servanda religione agendum esset, quam Turchi passim dilaniarent; fecisse enim<sup>26</sup> quod suum erat, atque ut principem Christianum quae sunt digna principe procurasse; quod si reliqui pari studio tenerentur, neque Christianis insultarent Turchi, neque sepulchrum Domini Saraceni custodirent; facturum fortasse Dominum misericordiam cum populo suo, et exemplo Philippi ducis atque Clivensis Christianos alios commoturum, mendacesque redditurum<sup>27</sup> qui Mantuanum contemnentes concilium cuncta quae fierent in eo derisoriiis verbis extenuarent; reliqua in alios dies reservanda esse. Atque his dictis contio soluta est. Cardinalis Aeduensis ducem Clivensem ad hospitium usque suum honoris causa secutus.

: 12 :

*De discordia Clivensis ducis cum Coloniensi praesule  
Susatensium et Xantensium causa.*

1 Huic duci multa odia et plura fuerunt proelia adversus Theodoricum antistitem Coloniensem. Causa belli Susatum, magni nomi-

not changed his mind. To judge from what his ambassador said, the duke had neither altered his intentions nor broken his vow. He wished Philip had come himself, as he had led them to hope he would, for then he would have understood clearly the great esteem in which the Apostolic See held him. But the pope could understand his staying at home, since he feared an uprising and had besides sent so many distinguished men to represent him.

The pope also praised the duke of Clèves for undertaking such a long and difficult journey to the congress to discuss the defense 3 of the faith which the Turks were everywhere trying to destroy. He had done his duty and discharged his obligations as a Christian prince should. If only the others showed similar commitment, the Turks would not now be assailing Christians nor would Saracens stand in possession of the sepulcher of our Lord. Perhaps God would have pity on His people; perhaps other Christians would be inspired by the example of Duke Philip and the duke of Clèves; as for those who belittled the Congress of Mantua and treated all its proceedings with scorn, perhaps God would now show them up for the liars they were. The remaining business must be put off till another day. With these words the pope concluded the session. As a mark of respect the cardinal of Autun escorted the duke of Clèves to his lodgings.<sup>41</sup>

: 12 :

*A dispute between the duke of Clèves and the archbishop of  
Cologne over Soest and Xanten.*

The duke had long been engaged in a dispute (or, more often, an 1 outright feud) with Dietrich, archbishop of Cologne.<sup>42</sup> At the heart of the conflict was the famous city of Soest which had en-

nis oppidum, quod ab ecclesia Coloniensi deficiens dux tutandum recepit.

2 Susatum in Vesfalia situm est, lata et non ignobili terra, in qua latrones facilius quam stultos invenias. Iacet Vesfalia inter Rhenum et Visurgim amnem, eam intersecat Amasia fluvius, qui ex montibus oritur quos Anobos Claudius Ptolomaeus appellat, et Vesfalias ab Hassia disiungunt. Ex hac olim provincia Longobardos exisse compertum habemus, qui peragrata Germania in Pannoniam migravere, et denique vocatu Narsetis, Iustiniani Caesaris eunuchi, Italiam invasere; a quibus in hanc usque diem Longobardia nomen habet quae olim Gallia Cisalpina dicta est. Traiectensium agri et stagnantes terrae Vesfalias ad septentrionis oram<sup>28</sup> concludunt. Habet Vesfalia nomen ducatus, qui ad ecclesiam Coloniensem iure feudi pertinet.

3 Ubi nunc Susatum est, pauper quondam villa fuit, quam annos supra sexcentos Coloniensis emit episcopus, et cum diu postea confluyente populo mirum in modum coaluisset, successores cinxere moenibus et ad ius oppidi reducere. Quod cum aliquoties rebellasset, armis evictum est et ad oboedientiam redactum. Verum sub Theodorico praesule gravior rebellio facta, propter quam non parvo tempore in curia Federici Caesaris litigatum est. Sed cum damnati Susatenses iudicia eluderent, Theodericus ad arma recurrit, vocatisque in auxilium Bohemis et maximis copiis congregatis Susatensem agrum ferro et igne vastavit, ipsamque urbem durissima cinxit obsidione. Illi ad Clivensem ducem defecere, cuius paulo ante fecimus mentionem.

4 Clivense oppidum in Belgia situm est, populo plenum et nobile. Sigismundus imperator ducalem in eo dignitatem erexit, cum esset antea comitatus. Agrum<sup>29</sup> habet non admodum latum, verum divitem et frugum feracem.<sup>30</sup> Insula Rheni duci paret, quam Batavi quondam incoluerant, viri bellicosi atque adeo robusti ut armati

joyed the duke's protection after it seceded from the diocese of Cologne.

2 Soest is a city in Westphalia, which is an extensive territory of some importance where thieves are easier to find than fools. It stands between the rivers Rhine and Weser and is divided in two by the river Ems, which rises in the Anobian mountains (as Ptolemy calls them)<sup>43</sup> dividing Westphalia from Hessen. It is thought the Lombards came from here; they left to wander through Germany and then Hungary before finally invading Italy at the invitation of Justinian's eunuch Narses. The region once known as Cisalpine Gaul is called Lombardy after them, a name it retains to this day. Westphalia, where Soest lies, is bounded on the north by the territory of Utrecht and the marshlands. It now has the status of a duchy and belongs by feudal right to the church of Cologne.

3 Once, there was only a poor farmstead standing on the future site of Soest; ages ago this was bought by a bishop of Cologne. The place attracted settlers and after some time grew to remarkable size. Later bishops built a wall around the site and gave it the status of a town. It rebelled several times but was forcibly subdued and reduced to obedience. After Dietrich became bishop, however, a more serious rebellion broke out, followed by a lengthy suit at the court of the emperor Frederick. The people of Soest lost the case but ignored the verdict, at which point Dietrich resorted to arms. He called on the Bohemians for help, raised a great army, rampaged through the territory of Soest with fire and sword, and subjected the city itself to a bitter siege. Soest then appealed to the duke of Clèves whom we have just mentioned.

4 Clèves is a renowned and populous city of Belgium, which Emperor Sigismund raised from a county to a duchy. Its lands, while not extensive, are rich and fertile. The duke rules over an island in the Rhine that was long ago settled by Dutchmen — warlike men, so strong they can swim the Rhine in full armor. Clèves raised a company of these men and sent them to assist the besieged citi-



Rhenum tranarent. Ex his Clivensis militem legit obsessisque Susatensibus auxilio misit. Coloniensis, etsi omni tormentorum genere aggressus est oppidum, atque admotis scalis muri partem ascendit, expugnare tamen non potuit oppidanis cum praesidio ducis summa vi resistentibus. Diu ducta obsidio est et multi mortales periere. Clivensis, ut a Susato cladem averteret, in Coloniensis ecclesiae subditos duxit; Theodericus ab obsidione recedens in Clivensem agrum se convertit atque alter alterius incendit agros.

5 Santense oppidum est non procul a Clivis, cuius pars altera ad ecclesiam Coloniensem spectat, ad ducem altera. In eo nobile fanum habetur Helenae, Constantini matris, opus, cuius praeposituram Pius obtinuit, cum cardinalis esset; ad pontificatum assumptus nepoti reliquit. Hoc oppidum Clivensis iure belli ad se totum traxit; Coloniensis pleraque alia, quae Clivensis erant, armis evicta in deditionem accepit, exarsitque bellum atrox quod magno partium detrimento tamdiu ductum est, donec Nicolaus pontifex maximus missis legatis arma deponi iussit. Nicolaus Sancti Petri et Iohannes Sancti Angeli cardinales pacem in hunc modum composuere: arma uterque ponito, captivos dimittito, occupata servato, donec causa cognita Nicolaus cum consilio Philippi Burgundiae ducis litem dirimat.

6 Agitata est causa longo tempore, testes in partibus auditi, dicta eorum ad Curiam missa, consilium Philippi habitum. Nunquam tamen vivente Nicolao sententia ferri potuit: tot fuerunt intercessores, qui iustitiae cursum impedirent. Neque sub Callisto Tertio iudicio locus fuit: potentiae Clivensis adulatus est.

7 Apud Pium cum legati Colonienses administrari sibi iustitiam petivissent, non censuit pontifex relinquenda esse nobilis ecclesiae

zens of Soest. The archbishop of Cologne was battering the city with all sorts of artillery and had even scaled part of the wall with ladders, but the stout resistance of the citizens, reinforced by the ducal troops, prevented him from taking the city. The siege dragged on, with many casualties. In an attempt to stave off the destruction of Soest, Clèves attacked some subjects of the church of Cologne, causing Dietrich to abandon the siege and shift his operations against the territory of Clèves. The two proceeded to burn each other's fields.

The town of Xanten lies not far from Clèves. Part of it belongs 5 to the church of Cologne and part of it to the duke. There is a famous church there believed to have been founded by Helena, the mother of Constantine. Pius had been its provost when he was a cardinal; he left it to his nephew on his elevation to the papacy.<sup>44</sup> Clèves took possession of the entire town but many of his own cities were conquered by the archbishop and made their surrender to him. The conflict escalated into a terrible war which dragged on, with enormous casualties on both sides, until Pope Nicholas sent legates and ordered them to lay down their arms. Nicholas, cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, and Juan, cardinal of Sant'Angelo,<sup>45</sup> arranged a truce on the following terms: both sides should lay down their arms and release their prisoners; they should retain their spoils until the case was heard and Nicholas, under advice from Philip of Burgundy, could settle the quarrel.

The case was argued back and forth for a long time. Witnesses 6 were deposed for each side, their testimony was sent to the Curia, and Philip was consulted. But so many people intervened to hinder the course of justice that a decision could not be reached in Pope Nicholas's lifetime. Under Calixtus III there was no chance of a judgment, for he fawned on the power of the duke of Clèves.

When the ambassadors from Cologne came before Pius to ask 7 for justice, the pope decided he could not ignore the claims of a celebrated church; the people of Soest and Xanten should be ad-

iura, sed admonendos Susatenses ac Santenses ut ad dominum suum aliquando redirent. Illi scriptis apostolicis, et quae comminabantur, plane cognitis Clivensem adeunt, parumque sibi fuisse dicunt materiali gladio vicisse, si spirituali mucrone feriantur; vereri se apostolicum anathema, nec sacris carere posse, quibus interdixit esset pontifex, nisi ad priorem dominum redirent.

8 Commotus his Clivensis cum Mantuam petivisset, nihil de re publica tractare voluit, priusquam rei suae consuleret, iniuriatum sibi pontificem adserens, qui etsi apostolicis litteris<sup>31</sup> pollicitus fuisset adversus se, priusquam vocaretur, nihil acturum, nihilominus non vocato eo Susatenses atque Santenses redire ad Coloniensem ecclesiam sub censuris gravioribus commonuisset. Pontifex servatum esse promissum ait; non enim Clivensem aut ei subiectos monitorio comprehendere, sed Susatenses atque Santenses, quos ad Coloniensem ecclesiam pertinere exploratissimum esset; ipsum praeterea monitorium vim vocationis habere. Clivensis contra hos suos esse subditos contendere, qui iusto bello in sua iura venissent; instare, urgere ut monitorium tolleretur; nisi hoc impetraret, abiturum se retro dicere, nec de re fidei quicquam acturum. Superba ducis verba et aliena videri, quae prodirent ex ore nobilis principis!

9 Aderant et legati a Coloniensi antistite missi, viri praestantes, quorum princeps fuit Robertus, nobilis comes Firnenburgensis, vir forma egregia et moribus prudentiaque singularis, nondum quinque et viginti natus annos; qui postea, cum domum rediret, magno suorum damno et Theoderici maiori maestitia non longe a Basilea diem obiit. Hic multa de iure Coloniensis ecclesiae in medium adduxit; Clivensem perverse atque inique agere, qui cum es-

monished to return at last to their lawful allegiance. When they fully understood the apostolic letter and the threats it implied, the citizens went to the duke of Clèves and said victory with a physical sword meant nothing if they were to be struck by the sword of faith; they dreaded the apostolic interdict and could not give up the sacraments, which the pope would forbid them unless they returned to their former lord.

Clèves was incensed by this news and on his arrival at Mantua 8 refused to discuss any public business until he had settled this private affair. He claimed the pope had done him wrong; Pius had said in an apostolic letter that he would take no action against the duke without summoning him to a hearing, but he had nevertheless admonished the people of Soest and Xanten to return to the church of Cologne, on pain of strict penalties, without ever having summoned the duke. The pope replied that he had kept his promise, for he had not addressed that order to the people of Clèves or the duke's subjects, but to the citizens of Soest and Xanten, who were undeniably subjects of the church of Cologne. The order itself, furthermore, had the force of a summons. The duke of Clèves, however, maintained that the citizens were his subjects, who had come under his jurisdiction according to the rules of war. He demanded that the order be rescinded. If he did not get his way, he would go home again and take no action at all for the defense of the faith. An arrogant speech, and one not worthy to have come from the lips of a noble prince!

There were also ambassadors from the archbishop of Cologne 9 in attendance—a group of prominent men led by Robert, the noble count of Virnenburg, a man of distinguished bearing and character and extraordinary wisdom, who was not yet twenty-five years old. (He was to die on his way back home, at a spot not far from Basel; this was a great loss to his people and an even greater sorrow for Dietrich.) Robert argued at length for the rights of the church of Cologne; he said the duke of Clèves's actions had been

set ecclesiae vasallus et intra parrochiam natus, adversus matrem et dominam suam arma sumpsisset, neque imperio paruisset neque Deum fuisset veritus: poenas eum incidisse, quae adversus fellones et dominorum suorum proditores statutae sunt; egregias eius virtutes nunc apparere, qui missus ad res publicas privatas agitat; faciendum ergo quod petit: iudicium in eum de privata causa reddendum; id Coloniensi antistiti gratissimum esse, aequitatis ac iustitiae cupido.

10 Pontifex concordiam ac iustitiam Clivensi proposuit: eligeret utram vellet. Ille plane intelligens nec uno nec altero modo se tutum esse, Piumque omnia facturum quae vellet, antequam se rebus ad quas venerat infectis dimitteret, utrumque negavit. Erat in eo constituta res ut vel iustitiae partes ad tempus negligere oporteret, vel conventum absque fructu dissolvere, siquidem retrocedente per indignationem Clivensi nec Veneti nec alii multi<sup>32</sup> ad concilium venturi erant, eam occasionem, per quam domi honeste remanerent, cupide arripientes.

11 Anxius praesul atque incertus quid ageret, etsi gravissime ferebat ius postulanti negare, non tamen adeo periculosum existimavit iudicium suspendere, quam fidem catholicam indefensam relinquere. Consueverunt enim Romani praesules, ubi iustitia sine publico scandalo ministrari non potest, tamdiu dissimulare, donec temporis opportunitatem capiant; neque id legum conditores ventant, semper enim maiori malo est occurrendum. Revocavit igitur monitorium, Clivensi ut morem gereret, promittens Coloniensibus id denuo concessurum, postquam fidei negotia suum cursum acce-

unjust and wicked. The duke was himself a vassal of Cologne and had been born in one of its parishes; he had taken up arms against his mother and mistress and had shown neither respect for her authority nor fear of God; he deserved to be punished like a felon or a traitor to his master. How admirably virtuous was the man who, when sent to discuss matters of public concern, brought up his own private business! Well, they should do as he asked, and pronounce judgment on this private affair—against the duke. This would be perfectly agreeable to the archbishop of Cologne, who wanted only equity and justice.

The pope offered Clèves a choice: arbitration or a trial. The 10 duke knew perfectly well that neither route was secure, and that Pius would do anything he asked rather than let him depart without accomplishing the business for which he had been summoned. So he refused both. The situation had got to the point where, if the interests of justice were not (for the moment) disregarded, the whole congress would have to dissolve without having achieved a thing. For if the duke of Clèves stormed off, the Venetians and many others would seize on this as a valid excuse to stay at home and would refuse to come to the congress.

The pope was troubled and could not decide what to do. He 11 did not like to deny justice to anyone who asked for it, but he thought that suspending the case would be less risky than leaving the Catholic faith exposed to danger. Indeed, it has long been the case that, if justice cannot be done without a public scandal, the bishops of Rome will temporize until the right moment presents itself; nor do the legal authorities forbid this, for the greater evil is always the one that must be faced first. And so, in order to satisfy Clèves, Pius rescinded the order, but promised the ambassadors from Cologne that it would be reissued once the affairs of the faith were put in order. The bishop of Arras had secretly recommended this course of action to the pope without his compan-

pissent. Idque Atrebas episcopus clam suis Pio suasit. Quibus pe-  
ractis ad publica transitum est.

: 13 :

*Mandata Burgundi et Pii confutatio divina.*

- 1 Interrogati Clivensis atque collegae quid consilii quidve auxilii Philippus afferret, se missos a suo principe dixere ut audirent pontificis mentem, exin cogitata Philippi referrent. Rursus dicere iussi Philippum saepenumero inter amicos de proposito pontificis cogitasse affirmaverunt, quod quamvis sanctum esset, difficile tamen et paene impossibile videretur; gerendum enim in Turchos bellum maximas vires exposcere, qui victoria in multos annos potiti auctoritate famaue ipsa apud Christianos terrori essent; maiores, quotiens in orientales duxere, ex Gallia, Germania et Anglia copias quaesivisse; has provincias aut domesticis agitari discordiis et civilia inter se arma vertisse, aut cum finitimis de agri possessione certare; pacandas prius esse, bellum deinde Turchis indicendum; male in externos ferrum stringere, qui domi cum suis civibus contenderent; Philippum, ut concordibus principum animis bellum decernatur, ea facturum quae pontifex iusserit.
- 2 Pius ad haec non se ignorare ait ad superandos Turchos magnis viribus opus esse, atque iccirco evocatos ad concilium<sup>33</sup> Christianos reges, ut communibus auxiliis expeditio fiat; valere Turchos et armis et ingenio, aliquanto tamen minus quam fama ferret; qui cum una Hungarorum gente per annos LXX varia victoria

ions' knowledge. After this was settled they turned their attention to public business.

: 13 :

*Burgundy's instructions, refuted by the sacred words of Pius.*

Clèves and his colleagues were asked what advice or aid Philip had to offer. They said their prince had sent them to hear the pope's thoughts and report his ideas back to Philip. They were instructed to speak again. This time they said that Philip had frequently discussed the pope's project with his friends; the task, holy though it was, seemed difficult if not impossible. A crusade against the Turks would require extraordinary force. After so many years of victories, their power—indeed their reputation alone—struck terror in the hearts of Christians. When men of old led armies against the East they raised troops from France, Germany, and England; now these countries were rent by internal strife and mired in civil war—or else they were squabbling with their neighbors over territory. They would have to be reconciled before war could be declared against the Turks, for a country at war with its own citizens could hardly draw its sword against a foreign foe. Philip would do whatever the pope commanded in order to ensure that war was declared by the princes in a united front.

Pius replied that he knew full well that a great force would be necessary to overthrow the Turks. It was for this very reason that he had summoned the Christian princes to a congress, so they might combine forces and make the crusade a reality. The Turks had the advantage of both manpower and tactics, but they were not quite as formidable as their reputation suggested. In seventy years of fighting just the Hungarians they had enjoyed only partial

contenderint, claritatem adeptos Graecorum ignavia, quos inermes atque effeminatos vicerint; quod si Germanorum, Gallorum, Italorum aut Hispanorum arma tentaverint, cum viris sibi pugnandum intellecturos; pudere se tam foedam gentem Christianis esse timori, qui omnibus olim timorem incussissent.

3 Salubre consilium Philippi, qui componendas eas censeret regiones ex quibus essent legendi milites; fateri, quod diceretur: raras in Orientem pro tutela religionis<sup>34</sup> expeditiones sine Francis ductas, propriumque Francorum videri bellare pro fide; daturum se operam ut lites inter Francos et Anglos componantur, ac Germanorum quieti consulturum; verum haec longum exposcere tempus: mittendos legatos, vocandos ad communem locum dissidentes ex longinquis regionibus, tractandum, suadendum, artibus diversis utendum; nam quo pacto diebus paucis multorum annorum tollantur odia?

4 Interea Hungaros propemodum exhaustos bello perituros; his Turchos imminere, neque dubium, quin proxima aestate omni conatu in eos ducant; iam Rascianos sentire cum eis, et Bosnensium defectione Sinderoviam occupatam, qua copiae per Danubium facile traiciantur; si cedat Hungaria Turchis, et in Germaniam et in Italiam patere illis apertam ianuam, viresque paene adduplicari; nec ambigendum quin Hungari a reliquis deserti Christianis aut deleantur aut societatem cum hoste iungant; utrunque perniciosum.

5 Ponenda ante oculos exempla veterum: Hunorum, Gothorum, Vandalorum, Erulorum, Gepidarum, Longobardorum, Hungarorum aliorumque barbarorum innumerabiles fere irruptiones per Pannoniam, quae nunc appellatur Hungaria, saepenumero in Ita-

success; they had achieved their greatest glory thanks to the cowardice of the Greeks, who had been unarmed and weak as women at the time of the Turkish conquest. But if the Turks engaged with German, French, Italian, or Spanish troops, they would find they had men to contend with. Pius was ashamed to see Christian men, who once inspired fear throughout the world, trembling before such a contemptible race.

Philip was right to say that those regions where soldiers would be drafted had to have settled conditions. Pius also agreed with the view that had been expressed, that very few crusades had ever set out for the East without the French. It seemed to be the special responsibility of France to go into battle for the faith. Pius would take measures to settle the dispute between France and England and to ensure the peace of Germany. But all this would take a long time; ambassadors must be despatched and the conflicting parties must be summoned from far away; arguments, enticements, all sorts of delicate negotiations would be necessary. How could such ancient enmities be resolved in a matter of days?

In the meantime, the war-weary Hungarians were on the point of exhaustion and would surely perish. The Turks already threatened them; there was no question but that next summer they would launch an all-out attack. The Turks had the Serbians on their side and thanks to the treachery of the Bosnians they possessed Smederevo, where troops could easily be put across the Danube. If the Hungarians surrendered to the Turks, they would nearly double the size of the Turkish force and open the way into Germany and Italy. There was no doubt that if the Hungarians were deserted by their fellow Christians, they would either be destroyed or defect to the enemy. Either result would be fatal.

The lessons of antiquity should be recalled: on countless occasions, Huns, Goths, Vandals, Eruli, Gepids, Lombards, Hungarians, and other barbarians had stormed through Pannonia (now Hungary) on their way into Italy and Germany and thence into

liam ac Germaniam factas, quae deinde ad Gallias atque Hispanias penetrarunt; cavendum ne hac tempestate idem fiat, quando certissimum sit Turchos ad Occidentis imperium aspirare; occurrendum esse, dum vinci possunt, et antequam Hungaros sibi subiiciant.

6 Neque tanti faciendos ut insuperabiles videantur; cecidisse apud Albam triennio ante ipsorum exercitum, Christianorumque impetum ferre non potuisse, cum tamen armati adversus inermes et multi adversus paucos cruce signatos proeliarentur; virtutem Christianam semper Turchis fuisse formidini, neque unquam succubuisse, nisi aut fraude deceptam, aut vincendo defatigatam nimia multitudo circumventam, aut Domino<sup>35</sup> Deo nostro super nostris iniquitatibus indignato.<sup>36</sup>

7 Quod si comparentur vires, non solum Christianitatem, quae tot latissimis provinciis continetur, sed Italiam solam, si concurs fuerit, ad delendos Turchos sufficere; nihil tam illis prodesse quam Christianorum inter se odia, qui se invicem lacessentes privatas potius iniurias quam publicas ulciscerentur, et domesticos fidei acrius quam hostes persequerentur; neque iam hoc tempore sperandum vel Francos vel Theutonicos aut alios collectis copiis expeditionem in Turchos ducere, qualem aut Gotfridus aut Corradus aut alii complures in hostes fidei duxere, quando nemo regum inveniatur qui non vicinum et relinquere vacuam domum timeat.

8 Quae quamvis ita se haberent, non tamen de communi salute desperandum neque sociis auxilia deneganda; patere viam qua possit Hungaris subveniri, modo principes velint; conandum esse summo studio ut dissidentes inter se reges missis legationibus in pacem coeant, eoque facto generalis expeditio decernatur.

France and Spain. They could not let the same thing happen again; it was clear the Turks dreamed of conquering the empire of the West. They must ride out to meet them while there was still a chance of defeating them—and before the Hungarians surrendered.

No one should consider the Turks so great as to be invincible. 6 Three years ago an army of theirs fell at Belgrade, unable to withstand the force of the Christian attack, even though they were armed troops fighting against unarmed men, a great force against a few crusaders. The Turks had always been terrified by Christian valor in battle, nor had Christians ever been defeated except by treachery, or if they were exhausted from their victories and completely outnumbered, or because our Lord God had been angered by our sins.

If their forces were compared, Italy by itself, if it were united, 7 would suffice to wipe out the Turks, let alone the whole of Christendom with all its extensive territories. Nothing helped the enemy so much as dissension among the Christian people, who preferred to attack one another over private quarrels than to right public wrongs, and to assail the household of the faith<sup>46</sup> more fiercely than the enemy. Nowadays there was no point in hoping that the French or the Germans or anyone else would raise an army and crusade against the Turks as Godfrey or Conrad or their many fellows once sallied forth against the infidel foe; not now, when no single prince could be found who was not fearful of his neighbors and frightened to leave his home unguarded.

This was how matters stood; but still they must not give up 8 hope for Christendom or refuse to help their allies. The way was open to help the Hungarians if the princes would only decide to do it. They must send embassies out and make every effort to reconcile the warring princes. Once this was accomplished, a general crusade must be proclaimed.

9 Interea, cum id longum esset, Hungaris auxilia mittenda ex milite qui aequali contributione facta deligeretur; neque enim aut Burgundo aut Franco aut Anglo timendum hoste suo aequae atque ipso<sup>37</sup> conferente, neque (ut ipsi et alii multi existimarent) ducenta aut trecenta armatorum milia ad id operis necessaria; nam qui res Turchorum noscerent, non amplius quam pugnatorum aut quinquaginta aut ad summum sexaginta milia cogenda dicerent: maiores copias neque regi, neque ali facile posse, neque in acie<sup>38</sup> explicari; hunc numerum Christiano populo non esse magnum, citoque colligendum, si quaelibet provincia vel paucos milites daret; possent et reges aurum conferre, quo miles ex Hungaria, Theutonia, Bohemia ac Polonia conduceretur, qui duce legato apostolico et Hungariam tueatur et proximas provincias, donec viribus unitis (si tandem placuerit) maiores parentur exercitus.

10 Nisi horum alterum fiat, verendum ne amissa Hungaria Christiana res pessundet; debere Philippum haec animo volvere, qui quanto potentior esset, tanto servire Deo magis ac magis teneretur; bellum Turchorum sibi haereditarium esse, cuius pater ab illis in proelio captus non nisi auri magno pondere libertatem obtinuerit; meminisse sui voti debere, qui audita Constantinopolitana clade ducere in Turchos Deo promiserit; nisi voto satisfecerit, ultionem ei divinam imminere.

In the interim (since it would take a long time to do all this), 9 they must send help to Hungary. An army must be assembled with equal contributions from every party; for neither France nor Burgundy nor England could be apprehensive if their opponents contributed as much as they did. Nor was it true, as they and many others maintained, that two or three hundred thousand armed men were needed for the task. People familiar with the Turks' circumstances said that no more than fifty or at most sixty thousand men need be levied; a larger force would be hard to discipline and feed and maneuver in battle. This was not a large number for the Christian nations to supply; the target could be met quickly if each country would send but a handful of troops. The princes could also contribute funds to hire soldiers from Hungary, Germany, Bohemia, and Poland. Under the command of an apostolic legate, these troops could protect Hungary and the neighboring provinces until a larger army could be raised, if they so chose, once they had united their forces.

Unless some action was taken, they must fear the loss of Hun- 10 gary and disaster for Christendom. Philip ought to reflect on the following considerations: the more power he accrued, the more he was obliged to offer up his service to God.<sup>47</sup> It was his destiny to fight a war against the Turks, for they had captured his father in battle and only released him after payment of a large ransom.<sup>48</sup> He must not forget the vow he had made on hearing news of the fall of Constantinople, when he promised God he would lead an army against the Turks. The threat of divine retribution would hang over him unless he fulfilled his vow.

*Burgundi oblata, et Clivensis aegrotatio.*

- 1 Attenti haec audivere legati, et quamvis essent nonnulli eorum rei militaris peritissimi ac facundia valerent, nihil tamen adversari praesulis orationi sunt ausi. Dixerunt pauca in excusationem principis, qui non per se solum ducere in Turchos vovisset, sed conditione adiecta: si vel rex Franciae vel imperator vel alius princeps se non inferior in eam expeditionem proficisceretur; nullum adhuc inventum qui se offerret, quamvis Alfonsi duo (alter Aragonum rex, alter Portugalliae) signum Crucis non tam corde impresserint quam vesti consuerint.
- 2 Pontifex aliter cum Deo agendum quam cum hominibus ait; cogitandum Philippo esse, quantis a Deo donis cumulatus esset, qui tot ditissimis provinciis imperaret, tot deliciis afflueret, tamdiu valitudine inoffensa frueretur, qui filium haberet quem relinqueret successorem, qui unus inter Christianos principes felicissimus existimaretur; nisi Deo, a quo haec<sup>39</sup> acceperit, gratum se redderet, non aliam erga se divinam pietatem expectaret quam ipse in eos esset, quos pro receptis beneficiis offenderet ingratos.
- 3 Multa super his et legati simul et pontifex locuti sunt, frustra non pauci dies inter tractandum abiere. Nec profuit cardinales adhibuisse, nihil enim ex legatis haberi potuit, nisi postquam semel atque iterum soli cum pontifice verba fecerunt; tunc enim demum victi sunt, promiseruntque Philippum, quando pontificis nomine requireretur, missurum in Hungariam, aut ibi suo aere conducturum equitum duo milia, peditum bis totidem, qui tamdiu contra Turchos militarent, quamdiu reliquus Christianorum exercitus in bello perseveraret.
- 4 Hac promissione facta mox Clivensis de recessu agere coepit; praesul eum tamdiu immorari cupiebat, donec Mediolani et Mutinae duces adventarent, qui propediem affuturi credebantur.

*The Burgundians offer promises. Clèves falls ill.*

The envoys listened carefully to this speech. They did not dare 1  
contradict the pope, though some of them were veteran soldiers  
and eloquent debaters. They offered a few excuses for their prince:  
he had not vowed to march alone against the Turks, but on condi-  
tion that the king of France or the emperor or some other prince  
equal in rank to himself joined the expedition. It appeared that no  
one had yet volunteered; the two Alfonsos, kings of Aragon and  
Portugal, might have sewn the sign of the cross on their garments,  
but it was not engraved in their hearts.

The pope replied that one could not negotiate with God as 2  
one could with men. Philip ought to consider the great gifts  
with which God had graced him: he ruled several wealthy coun-  
tries, lived in luxury, enjoyed perfect health, and had a son to suc-  
ceed him. He was considered the happiest of all Christian princes.  
If he did not render thanks to the God who had given him these  
gifts, he should expect the Almighty to treat him no differently  
than he himself might treat those he found ungrateful for benefits  
received.

The envoys and the pope both argued these points at length 3  
and many days were wasted on pointless wrangling. Bringing the  
cardinals into the discussion was no help; it was only after two pri-  
vate meetings with the pope that the envoys made any concessions  
at all. Only then did they give in and promise that Philip would,  
on receipt of a pontifical command, send some 2,000 cavalry and  
4,000 infantry to Hungary, or hire them there at his own expense,  
to campaign against the Turks as long as there was a Christian  
army in the field.

Having made this promise, Clèves immediately started to talk 4  
of returning home. But the dukes of Milan and Modena were ex-



Mansit ea de causa Clivensis plus quam statuisset diebus octo; sed cum alter illorum, Borsius, promissa revocaret, alter differret, impetrata praesulis potestate<sup>40</sup> recessit. Difficilis est magnorum conventio principum, qui neque se amant, neque invicem cedunt; rara inter potentes concordia, rarior fides: nihil tutum relinquit invidia.

- 5 Abiit Clivensis paululum aegrotans. Iohannes Croius gravissimas peressus febres mortis filius a medicis iudicatus est, quorum consilia spernens salutem recuperavit; gravi enim aestu laborans attenuatis viribus itineri se commisit, et paucos intra dies curru vectus pristinae valitudini restitutus est. Manserunt nihilominus ex Philippi legatis in conventu<sup>41</sup> aliqui usque ad finem. Duo ad imperatorem profecti sunt.

: 15 :

*De Francisco Sforzia eiusque origine et rebus gestis ac gloria rei bellicae singulari.*

- 1 Paucis post diebus Franciscus Mediolanensium dux affuit, belli domique clarus. Sforcias Attendolus pater eius fuit, apud villam cui Cotiniola nomen est in Aemilia, tenui censu et modicis parentibus ortus, qui paterna rura relinquens in militiam profectus ad Brolium Brandolinum Foroliviensem, egregium sui temporis copiarum ducem se contulit; at cum equis armisque careret, sordida mulionis arte prima stipendia meruit, et paulo post inter calones receptus cum egregiam in quodam certamine navasset operam,

pected to arrive shortly and the pope wanted Clèves to wait until they had come. So the duke stayed eight days longer than he had intended. But when one of the dukes, Borso, went back on his word and the other postponed fulfilling his, the pope gave Clèves permission to depart. It is no easy thing to bring together great princes who bear one another no love and are not willing to compromise. Unity is rare among sovereigns and good faith even rarer. Rivalry spoils everything.

Clèves was slightly ill when he left. Jean of Croy had come 5 down with a severe fever and was given up for dead by the doctors, but he paid no attention to them and made a full recovery. Though he suffered from the intense heat and felt very weak, he set out on the trip and after a few days of travel by coach was restored to his former strength. A few of Philip's ambassadors remained in Mantua till the end of the congress. Two of them set off to see the emperor.

: 15 :

*Francesco Sforza: his background, achievements, and extraordinary military career.*

A few days later Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, a prince distinguished both at home and in the field, arrived at the congress.<sup>49</sup> His father, Sforza Attendolo, was born to a poor and humble family in the Emilian village of Cotignola. Leaving the family farm to become a soldier, Sforza joined Broglio [and] Brandolino of Forli, one of the leading *condottieri* of his day.<sup>50</sup> But as he owned neither arms nor horses, he earned his keep at first by doing the menial work of a mule driver. Before long he was made a squire and then, after valiant service in battle, received the honor of a knighthood.

equestri militia ornatus est. Erat praestanti corpore vir, militari facundia praeditus, manu promptus, praesenti animo atque ingenio versatili; qui cum excelleret inter equites aetatis suae, multaque rei militaris insignia edidisset facinora, Brolio mortuo non paucis copiis praefectus est.

2 Prima eius incrementa apud marchionem Estensem fuerunt, cum Ottonem Parmensem clarum in armis ducem dolo captum apud Riveriam interfecisset; de qua re celebre carmen extat, quod in hanc usque diem vulgo cantatur.

3 Militavit et in regno Siciliae sub regina Iohanna adversus Alfonsum regem, Troiamque et alias nonnullas civitates in Apulia tenuit.<sup>42</sup> Martino quoque pontifici maximo stipendia fecit vexillifer Ecclesiae declaratus. Sed dum Braccium Perusinum Romani pontificis ac reginae Iohanne hostem persequitur, in flumine, quod Piscariam vocant, periclitanti puero opem ferens submersus est; cadaver eius nusquam repertum.

4 Adolescens Franciscus eius filius in castris agens magna indole repertus mox paterni exercitus concordii militum voto ducatum accepit. Ferunt ex concubina natum, saepe ab astronomis et qui genetliaci vocantur patri commendatum, quoniam dux clarissimus evaderet, Sforciamque saepe dicere solitum: 'Franciscus, si vixerit, et virtutem et fortunam meam superabit. Siquidem eorum iudicio, qui astrorum cursus metiuntur, nativitatem eius tam benigna sidera invenerunt ut regnum ei et maxima quaeque portendant.'

5 Occupaverat per id tempus Braccius Perusinus patriam suam, Asisium, Tudertum multasque civitates Ecclesiae Romanae ademerat, et Aprutiorum caput, Aquilam magnis copiis obsessam tenebat, brevique potiturus urbe et infestis signis Romam petiturus ferebatur. Quod veritus Martinus pontifex conducto milite obsessis opem ferendam censuit. Dux copiarum Franciscus designatus

He was a man of splendid physique, quick to act, with a soldier's wit and a sharp and flexible mind. He stood out among the soldiers of fortune of his generation, with many feats of military prowess to his name. When Broglio died he was put in command of a considerable company of men.

2 He first began to move up in the world while serving the marquis of Este, when he killed Ottobone of Parma, a celebrated captain whom he had lured into an ambush near Rubiera. There is a famous song about that exploit which is still sung to this day.

3 He also served Queen Giovanna of Sicily in her war against King Alfonso, during which he occupied Troia and several other towns in Apulia. He fought for Pope Martin, too, and was named Standard Bearer of the Church. But during a campaign against Braccio of Perugia, the common enemy of the pope and Queen Giovanna, he plunged into the river Pescara to save a child and was drowned. His body was never found.

4 His young son Francesco was in the field with him. Already an accomplished soldier, he soon succeeded to his father's command with the unanimous endorsement of his men. It is said that his mother was a concubine; that astrologers (especially those known as *genethliacs*)<sup>51</sup> often told his father he was destined to be a brilliant general; and that Attendolo himself was known to say, "If Francesco lives, he will surpass me in valor and achievement. Those who measure the courses of the stars say that the constellations at his birth were so auspicious that it was clear he would win a crown and achieve the heights of glory."

5 At that time Braccio of Perugia had captured his native city, along with Assisi, Todi, and many other cities of the papal state. With a large force of men he laid siege to L'Aquila, the chief city of the Abruzzi, and was rumored to be on the point of taking it and marching on Rome. Fearing this, Pope Martin decided to send relief to the besieged town; he hired an army and made Francesco its captain, though he was scarcely twenty-four years

est, vix quattuor et viginti natus annos. Commisso proelio diu Marte dubio pugnatum; ad extremum cum cedere suos Braccius animadverteret, ex pugna dilapsus fuga salutem quaerere conatus est; sed cognitus a suis civibus, qui patria eiecti Ecclesiae militabant, ex fuga retractus ad Franciscum victorem in castra relatus, ex vulnere quod fugiendo acceperat mortem obiit. Cadaver eius Romam vectum (ut ante diximus) apud Sanctum Laurentium extra muros Urbis in agro cum bestiis sepulturam obtinuit, quamvis paulo post defossum Eugenio permittente in patriam fuerit translatum.

6 Crevit hac victoria mirum in modum Francisci nomen, qui a Philippo Mediolanensium duce vocatus diu sibi adversus Venetos militavit, et Blancam eius filiam ut sibi desponderetur obtinuit;<sup>43</sup> quam cum ducere pro suo arbitrio non posset, nam Philippus id matrimonium in dies suspendebat, ab eo tandem defecit. Erant eo tempore Florentini simul et Veneti foedere iuncti; Philippus utrunque populum armis urgebat.

7 Restaverat ex Braccio proles nomine Oddo, qui ad Florentinos defuncto patre confugerat, eorumque stipendia merebatur; at cum per aetatem exercitum gubernare non posset, Nicolaus Picininus, qui patris commilito fuerat, eius copias regebat. Is adversus Philippi duces in vallem quam vocant Amonis missus proelio fusus et ab agrestibus terrae occisus est; Nicolaus captus et Faventiam ductus civitatis regulum ut Florentinorum partes adiuveret, persuasit; verum ipse non diu post ad Philippum defecit.

8 Non ferebant se duo duces inimicarum gentium. Iam enim factiones duae clarissimorum tota Italia militum emergerant: alii Sforziani, qui 'violatores' dici possunt, alii Bracciani vocabantur, et magnis inter se odiis dissidebant. Itaque non tulit Franciscus sub eo principe militare qui emulum ad se traxisset et desponsam sibi

old. The first major battle dragged on for hours without a clear winner, but at length Braccio saw that his men were falling back. He slipped away from the fighting and tried to save himself by flight. But he was recognized by some fellow Perugians, exiles who were fighting in the armies of the Church. He was caught as he fled and brought back to the camp of the victorious general, dying of a wound received during his flight. His body was taken to Rome, as we have said,<sup>52</sup> and buried beside beasts in waste ground near the church of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, but shortly afterwards, with Eugenius's permission, it was disinterred and removed to his native city.

This victory gave an extraordinary boost to Francesco's reputation. He was hired by Filippo, duke of Milan, and long waged war on the Venetians for him. He was betrothed to Filippo's daughter Bianca Maria, but since he was not allowed to marry her when he wanted to (Filippo kept putting off the marriage day after day), he at last left his service. At that time Florence and Venice were allies, and Filippo was at war with both. 6

Braccio had been survived by a son, Oddo, who fled to the Florentines at his father's death and was in their pay; but since he was too young to lead an army, Niccolò Piccinino, an old comrade of Braccio's, was commanding his troops. Oddo was sent to attack Filippo's captains in the Val di Lamone; he was routed and killed by some local peasants. Niccolò was captured and taken to Faenza, where he persuaded the prince of that city to aid the Florentine cause. But he himself went over to Filippo's side not long afterwards. 7

The two captains, long in the pay of enemy states, could not stand each other. Moreover, every soldier of renown in Italy had by now chosen sides; two factions had emerged, the Sforzeschi ("violators," as it were) and the Bracceschi, who were bitterly opposed. Francesco could not bear to serve under a prince who had both hired his rival and refused to give him the daughter he had 8

filiam retentando negaret: quaerebat abeundi occasiones. Exortum iam erat inter Basiliense concilium et pontificem Eugenium grande discidium.

: 16 :

*De bello Philippi ducis Mediolani adversus Ecclesiam et Venetos, et eius morte.*

- 1 Philippus Eugenio infensus, qui superiori bello Venetorum partes iuvisset, concilio adhaesit, misso Francisco qui Picensem agrum invaderet ac concilii nomine possideret. Neque sic pontificem satis ultus paulo post Picinum ire iussit, qui pari modo reliquum Ecclesiae patrimonium laceraret. Ingens tum motus Ecclesiae terras involvit, Francisco Picenum, Nicolao Umbriam vexante.
- 2 Eugenius paulo ante civili tumultu Romae captus, plerisque diebus apud ecclesiam Beatae Mariae trans Tiberim custoditus tandem clam fugerat, et Florentiae sese receperat. Cumque nullo a Venetis auxilio iuaretur (nam populi fere<sup>44</sup> omnes calamitosos oderunt fortunae magis quam virtutis amici), victo apud Anglarium Picinino e Florentia Senas concessit, et reconciliatus Philippo foedus cum eo percussit; Alfonsi quoque, qui regnum Siciliae armis obtinisset, societatem quaesivit. Quibus adiutoribus et Picinum ad se traxit, et Franciscum magna Piceni parte exiit, quamvis a Venetis Florentinisque obnixè iuaretur, ad quos relicto

promised. He was looking for an opportunity to break his contract. By now, the great schism between Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel had begun.<sup>53</sup>

: 16 :

*Duke Filippo of Milan and his war against Venice and the Church. His death.*

Filippo was angry with Eugenius for helping the Venetians in the previous war and therefore sided with the Council. He sent Francesco to invade the Marches and take possession of the region in the name of the Council. Then, feeling this was still not sufficient revenge on the pope, he ordered Piccinino to attack the rest of the papal state in the same way. The lands of the Church were then thrown into great turmoil, with Francesco ravaging the Marches and Niccolò Umbria.

Not long before, a popular uprising had broken out in Rome in the course of which Eugenius was taken captive and imprisoned in Santa Maria in Trastevere for several days. At length he escaped undercover and took refuge in Florence.<sup>54</sup> The Venetians sent him no help—for hardly any nation loves a victim and most choose to support the lucky rather than the good—and Piccinino suffered defeat at Anghiari.<sup>55</sup> The pope then left Florence for Siena, where he was reconciled with Filippo and struck a treaty with him. He also sought an alliance with Alfonso, who had conquered the kingdom of Sicily by force of arms. With the help of these two princes, Eugenius brought Piccinino over to his side and won most of the Marches back from Francesco, though the latter enjoyed strong support from the Venetians and Florentines (to whom he

Philippo iam dudum defecerat, et oppida, quae nomine alieno pervaserat, in proprietatem suam receperat.

- 3 Multa Franciscus in Piceno rei militaris facinora egregia edidit, Picininumque proelio fudit, tandem Alfonsi armis invasus per pauca retinuit, Venetis adversus Philippum in Gallia militans socerum magnis afflixit cladibus, coniugem extorsit Blancam Mariam et dotalem Cremonam, invitoque pacem suasit. Sed cum denuo bellum suscitaretur, vocatus in auxilium periclitanti socero non potuit opem negare.

: 17 :

*Franciscus Mediolanum in deditionem recipit  
caeso legato Venetorum.*

- 1 Laborabat Philippus et aegre admodum defendebatur, ac modo Alfonsi regis, modo Federici imperatoris et aliquando Gallorum implorabat auxilia, nesciens, quid potissimum ageret. Nam Veneti ad duodecimum lapidem prope Mediolanum castra locaverant, praedabundique adeo prope urbem excurrerant ut clangor tubarum intra moenia exaudiretur. Festinabat Franciscus ex Piceno suppetias afferre, sed Philippus morbo simul ac maerore confectus prius obiit quam ille veniret, Alfonso haerede instituto. Mediolanenses vero, tanquam tyranno privati, in libertatem se vendicant, venientique cum copiis Francisco stipem dedere, atque adversus Venetos arma ceperunt, qui tum Placentiam per deditionem acceperant.

had long since defected after deserting Filippo, appropriating for himself the towns which he had taken in the name of another).

- 3 Francesco had many military successes in the Marches and routed Piccinino in battle, but in the end, following an attack by Alfonso's forces, he had to relinquish all but a few of his conquests. He then went to fight for the Venetians against Filippo in northern Italy, where he inflicted heavy losses on his prospective father-in-law. He forced him to hand over Bianca Maria as his wife and Cremona as her dowry and then talked him into a reluctant truce. Later, however, when war broke out again and Filippo appealed to him for aid, Francesco could not refuse to help his wife's father in his hour of need.

: 17 :

*The Milanese murder the Venetian legate  
and surrender the city to Francesco.*

- 1 Filippo was now in desperate straits and had great difficulty defending himself. He begged for help—now from King Alfonso, now from Emperor Frederick, and sometimes from the French. He had no idea what to do. The Venetians had encamped twelve miles from Milan. They sent out raiding parties that came so close to the city that the blare of the trumpets<sup>56</sup> could be heard inside the walls. Francesco hurried from the Marches with reinforcements, but Filippo was worn out by sickness and grief and died before he could arrive.<sup>57</sup> He named Alfonso his heir but the Milanese, now freed from their tyrant, declared their independence. When Francesco appeared with his troops, they engaged his services and took up arms against the Venetians, who had just forced the surrender of Piacenza.

2 Comani, Laudenses, Novarienses, Terdonenses in fide Mediolanensium mansere, plerique ad Sabaudienses, plerique ad Francos defecere; Papienses Francisco se dediderunt, qui benigne eos complexus est Mediolanensibus etiam invitis. Deinde Placentiam magno Venetorum praesidio munitam vi cepit, in qua expugnatione ictu lapidis tormentalis equus sub eo interfectus est. Franci, qui audita morte Philippi manum militarem in Italiam miserant Mediolanum atque omnem Insubriam invasuri, virtute Bartholomei Pergamensis apud Alexandriam deleti sunt.

3 Veneti, quibus fortuna Mediolanensium suspecta esset, Francisco suadent: rem suam potius quam alienam agat, Mediolanum sibi acquirat, ad quam rem inito foedere auxilia pollicentur. Franciscus occasionibus longe quaesitis adversus Mediolanenses arma convertit, eosque dura cingit obsidione. Illi ad Venetos confugiunt, qui, ut est populorum proprium, mutato consilio tanquam Italiae<sup>45</sup> pacis arbitri huiusmodi leges dicunt:

4 Mediolanenses liberi sunt ac suis legibus utuntur; civitatesque quibus imperant retinento; Franciscus Pavia, Cremona Placentiaque contentus esto; Florentini, Mediolanenses Franciscusque praescriptas equitum peditumque copias non excedunto.

5 Verum neque Franciscus neque Florentini ratas leges habuere. Franciscus, etsi grave duceret cum Venetis simul ac Mediolanensibus contendere, dubium tamen belli eventum experiri maluit, quam eam complecti pacem, quae manifestam sibi perniciem pararet. Florentini clam eum adiuvere pecunia omni exutum, veriti ne Venetus Mediolano potitus Italiam omnem invaderet—qui dum simulat Mediolanensibus adversus Franciscum opem afferre, eos

Como, Lodi, Novara, and Tortona remained loyal to Milan; 2 but quite a few towns went over to Savoy and others again to France. Pavia surrendered to Francesco, who gladly accepted it despite Milanese protests. Next he stormed Piacenza, which was defended by a large Venetian garrison. During this assault his horse was killed from under him by a rock launched by a siege engine. The French, on learning of Filippo's death, had sent an expeditionary force into Italy with the intention of invading Milan and all of Lombardy, but they were wiped out near Alessandria thanks to the courage of Bartolomeo of Bergamo.<sup>58</sup>

The Venetians, troubled by the successes of the Milanese, urged 3 Francesco to work for his own benefit rather than others' and to take Milan for himself. To this end they struck an agreement with him promising their support. Francesco seized the opportunity he had longed for and turned on the Milanese, subjecting the city to a brutal siege. The Milanese appealed to the Venetians for help, at which point the latter changed their policy, as states are wont to do. Acting as if they were the arbiters of peace in Italy, they laid down the following terms:

The Milanese should govern themselves independently; they 4 should keep the cities they already ruled; Francesco should be content with Pavia, Cremona, and Piacenza; the Florentines, the Milanese, and Francesco should all keep the size of their cavalry and infantry within certain set limits.

Neither Francesco nor the Florentines kept to the terms, how- 5 ever. Francesco, though he considered fighting the Venetians and the Milanese at the same time a risky proposition, still preferred to gamble on the outcome of war than to embrace a peace which would clearly mean his destruction. He had run through his fortune, but the Florentines secretly came to his aid. They feared that the Venetians, once they got possession of Milan, would invade the rest of Italy—for while they appeared to be helping the Milanese against Francesco, in reality they were trying to subject

suae ditioni subiicere quaerit. Sed deceptus est. Nam dum Mediolanensi populo frumentum parce ministrat, impatiens ieiunii plebs Leonardum Venerium legatum Venetum per indignationem obtruncat, ac Franciscum intra urbem recipiens dominum ac ducem (ut ante diximus)<sup>46</sup> appellat. Magna haec Francisci laus, qui relictus a Venetis tantam belli molem sustinuit, atque illis contra nitentibus nobilissimae urbis imperio potitus est.

: 18 :

*Bellum Alfonsi et Venetorum contra Franciscum et Florentinos,  
et eorum concordia.*

- 1 Exin Veneti cum rege Alfonso societatem inierunt ut ille Florentinos adoriretur, ipsi Franciscum opprimerent Braccianis in militiam receptis. Indicto bello leves<sup>47</sup> saepe congressus habiti sunt, nunquam totis viribus certatum. Franciscus suae virtuti innixus castra contulit castris, neque unquam hosti cessit, Rhenato rege in auxilium accersito, et Mantuano principe suas partes tuente.
- 2 Alfonsus, quamvis in Tusciam duxisset et in agro Volaterrano castella quaedam expugnasset, parum tamen Florentinis nocuit a Sigismundo Malatesta (ut dictum est) deceptus. Obsedit Populimum in litore maris Inferi; quod cum expugnare non posset, non sine dedecore domum abiit. Deinde remisso filio suo more morando bellum trahebat.
- 3 Quibus ex rebus Veneti, cum inde a Turchis, hinc a Francisco premerentur, pacem cum illis (quam supra rettulimus) et cum

them to their own authority. But the Venetians were disappointed. When they failed to supply the Milanese with enough grain, the starving citizens angrily murdered the Venetian ambassador, Leonardo Venier, opened the gates to Francesco and hailed him as their lord and duke, as we explained above.<sup>59</sup> For Francesco this was a great triumph: abandoned by the Venetians, he had undertaken a daunting campaign and, despite their vigorous opposition, made himself master of a great state.

: 18 :

*Alfonso and Venice make war on Francesco and Florence.  
Peace among the various parties.*

The Venetians next entered into an agreement with King Alfonso: 1 he would attack the Florentines while they engaged the services of the Bracceschi and overthrew Francesco. Once war was declared, there were numerous minor skirmishes but neither side engaged at full strength. Drawing on all his boldness, Francesco shadowed the enemy's positions camp for camp, never yielding ground before them. He summoned King René to his aid, and the marquis of Mantua also came over to their side.

Alfonso had invaded Tuscan territory and captured several castles 2 around Volterra, but he did the Florentines little harm thanks to the trickery of Sigismondo Malatesta, as we have described.<sup>60</sup> He besieged Piombino on the Tyrrhenian Sea but was unable to take it and returned home in disgrace. Then he sent his son back there,<sup>61</sup> and employing his usual delaying tactics, prolonged the course of the war.

And so it happened that the Venetians, beset by Turks on 3 one side and Francesco on the other, struck the truce with Turkey

Francisco eodem fere tempore neglecto rege constituerunt. Pax Lauda clam tractata est arbitro Simonetto, boni nominis monacho, atque ita confirmatum<sup>48</sup> Francisco regnum, cum paulo post et Alfonsus et omnis Italia foedus cum eo percusserit, et ipse affinitatem cum Alfonso inierit Hippolyta, filia eius nepoti desponsata.

4 Sic mortalia vertuntur: Lombardia olim potens regnum et dives opum terra ad Sforciadas delata<sup>49</sup> est, quorum maiores patrum nostrorum memoria vix terram possederunt quantam arare possent. Infima summis et summa infimis mutare sors humana gaudet. Verum raro absque virtute ex paupere domo ad regnum quisquam ascendit: diligentia, fortitudine, providentia quaeruntur imperia; inertia, ignavia,<sup>50</sup> negligentia<sup>51</sup> perduntur.

: 19 :

*De Francisci fortuna et dotibus, et quae ei acciderunt.*

1 Franciscus et suis et patris meritis ducale solium est adeptus. Is Mantuam cum peteret, sexagesimum agebat annum, matre adhuc vivente, quae biennio postea decessit, atque in modum iuvenis equitabat. Statura eminens, maiestate corporis eximia, vultu gravis, sermone placidus, conversatione benignus; mores universi principe digni. Unus nostra aetate visus quem Fortuna diligeret: corporis et animi dotibus excellens, bello invictus ad regnum ex humili genere pervenit; uxorem duxit forma, genere, virtute praestantem, ex qua sobolem pulcherrimam sustulit. Valitudine raro pulsatus adversa: nihil non potitus quod magnopere desideraverit,

which we mentioned above,<sup>62</sup> and at almost the same time abandoned the king and came to terms with Francesco. The truce with him was arranged secretly at Lodi through the mediation of Simonetto, a monk of good reputation.<sup>63</sup> Thus Francesco's conquest was confirmed. Soon after, Alfonso and all Italy joined him in alliance and he himself formed a bond with Alfonso by betrothing his daughter Ippolita to Alfonso's nephew.

How human fortunes change! The once rich and powerful 4 duchy of Lombardy fell to the Sforzas, a family that within recent memory owned scarcely enough land to plough. Human destiny delights to lay the mighty low and place the humble on high.<sup>64</sup> But rarely indeed does anyone climb from cottage to castle without some talent. Empires are won by perseverance, courage, and prudence; by idleness, cowardice, and carelessness they are lost.

: 19 :

*Francesco's fortunes, his gifts, and his fate.*

1 Francesco had won the dukedom thanks to his own merits as well as his father's exploits. When he arrived in Mantua he was 60 years old.<sup>65</sup> His mother was still alive, but was to die two years later. He rode his horse like a young man; he was very tall and bore himself with great dignity, a grave expression, mild speech, and a gracious manner. In short, his bearing was that of a prince. He seemed the only man of our age whom Fortune favored. Blessed with great physical and intellectual gifts, and unconquered in war, he had risen from humble origins to rule a great realm. He married a lady renowned for her beauty, lineage, and character, by whom he had strikingly handsome children. He was rarely ill.



nec mentiri astra perpressus, quae nascens (ut aiunt) perbenigna offendit.

- 2 Adversa tamen nonnulla ei acciderunt: Perpetuam concubinam quam perditae amavit coniunx zelotipia extuans interfecit; Troilus et Brunorius, commilitones et amici veteres ad Alfonso eo relicto defecere; Ciarpellonem, item amicum et commilitonem proditoris reum laqueo suspendit; Alexandri fratris insidias pertulit, qui profectus in Galliam ulteriorem Francos in eum provocare conatus est; Sforciam filium novas res molientem coniecit in carcerem; Picensem agrum armis quaesitum armis amisit. Nemo tam compositae felicitatis existit qui non aliqua ex parte cum sui status varietate rixetur. Ille felix est quem pauca urgent incommoda.

: 20 :

*De Francisci magnifico ingressu magnifice excepto,  
et Philephi oratione Piique responso.*

- 1 Venienti Mantuam Francisco duo cardinales occurrerunt. Iter illi ex Cremona per Padum et Mincium navigio fuit: stagnum, quo Mantua cingitur, ubique lembi et alia navigiorum genera venientium et occurrentium operuere. Egressa multitudo ad visendum ducem fama clarum nec intueri satis nec collaudare satis potuit, aut formam eius aut gestus imperio dignum cuncti censebant. Comitatus illi permagnus fuit, admodum nobilis, in quo nemo visus est cuius vestimenta non auro fulgerent, aut argento splendida essent. In eius ingressu multa de Sedis Apostolicae dignitate ac gloria vulgata sunt; audiebantur passim dicentes: 'En, quam sublimis

Anything that he really wanted, he got. They say he was born under a lucky star, and he proved that star no liar.

He suffered some misfortunes, nonetheless: his mistress Perpetua,<sup>66</sup> whom he loved passionately, was murdered by his wife in a jealous rage; his comrades in arms and old friends, Troilo and Brunoro, deserted him for Alfonso; he sentenced another friend and comrade, Ciarpellone, to hang for treason; he suffered the treachery of his brother, Alessandro, who went to France and tried to rouse the French against him; he threw his son Sforza Secondo into jail for plotting against him; the territory in the Marches that he won in war, he lost in war again. No man enjoys such perfect happiness that he is never troubled by some vicissitude of fortune. Happy is he who has only a few troubles.

: 20 :

*Francesco makes a magnificent entrance and receives a magnificent welcome. Filelfo declaims and is answered by Pius.*

1 Two cardinals went out to meet Francesco as he arrived in Mantua. He had come by boat from Cremona along the Po and the Mincio. The lake surrounding Mantua was filled with light skiffs and other sorts of boats, all coming and going as a great crowd poured out from the city to see the famous duke. They could not take their eyes off him and kept admiring his looks and comportment. He was every inch a ruler, as they all agreed. He was accompanied by a large, noble retinue, every last one of them clothed in garments of glittering gold or shining silver. As the duke entered the city, the crowds murmured praise for the dignity and glory of the Apostolic See; everywhere people could be heard to say, "Look how important the bishop of Rome is! What surpassingly grand

et excellentissima est Romani praesulis auctoritas ac maiestas, ad cuius deosculandos pedes tantus princeps advenit!

2 Postera die pontifex in publico consistorio Franciscum ad se admisit; qui postquam sacros pedes deosculatus est, et aliqua verba per se fecit, sedere iussus in loco qui diaconibus cardinalibus designatus erat, Franciscum Philelphum, satyrarum scriptorem, insignem poetam Latinis ac Graecis litteris ornatum, qui suam causam oraret, interposuit. Is aliqua de Francisci deque pontificis laude locutus multa de Turchis, plura de Graecis dixit, et quam necessaria esset in Turchos expeditio, et quantum Franciscus eam probaret, et quanta promitteret Christianis auxilia, exposuit.

3 Quo audito laudavit pontifex magnificis verbis orationem Philelphi, eumque Musam Atticam appellavit; deinde Franciscum intuens satisfecisse eum suo nomini et omni expectationi respondit, vestigia sui clarissimi genitoris secutum, qui pro Romana Ecclesia, fidelium Matre olim magnis se periculis obiecisset; egregium illum fuisse virum et omnium qui suo tempore arma induissent, excellentissimum, alterum in proeliis Aiacem, alterum in consilio Nestorem, neminem metuentem, metuendum omnibus; res ab eo gestas mortales, qui viverent, cunctos celebrare; se illas ex Iohanne Ptolomaeo, patruo suo, qui sub ipso militasset et ordines duxisset, adolescentem didicisse, et admiratum tanti viri virtutem ac gloriam fuisse; superasse filium insuperabilem patrem, victorem omnium quibuscum aliquando contendisset, idque nomen consecutum quod fortissimis Romanorum veteres attribuerunt et quod apud Italos maximi esset honoris; Insubriae gentis ducatum non successionem paternam, quod fortunae, sed electione populi, quod esset virtutis, adeptum; in una re tantum a patre superatum, nam ille

authority and majesty he must possess for such a great prince to come and kiss his feet!"

The next day the pope admitted Francesco to his presence at a public consistory. After kissing the pope's holy feet and personally delivering a short address, he was told to take his seat in the place reserved for cardinal deacons. The duke then presented Francesco Filelfo, the distinguished satirist and poet, a man learned in Latin and Greek, to speak on his behalf. Filelfo began by praising both Francesco and the pope. He then spoke at length about the Turks — and at still greater length about the Greeks — stressing the necessity of a crusade, the duke's support for the venture, and the extent of the aid he was pledging to the Christian cause.<sup>67</sup>

When he had finished, the pope praised his speech in glowing terms and dubbed him "the Attic Muse." Then he turned to Francesco Sforza and told him he had lived up to his reputation and satisfied every expectation. He had followed in the footsteps of his illustrious father, who had exposed himself to great risks on behalf of the mother of the faithful, the Church of Rome. He had been an outstanding figure, the most accomplished soldier of his day, a second Ajax in battle, a second Nestor in counsel. He had feared no man but inspired fear in all. His exploits were celebrated by every man who drew breath. Pius himself as a youth had heard of them from his uncle Giovanni Tolomei, who had served under Sforza as a captain of his troops, and he had marveled at the courage and the glory of such a hero. The son had surpassed his unsurpassable father. He had triumphed over all those he had ever fought. He had won a title which the ancients bestowed on the very bravest Romans, and which was held in the highest esteem among the Italians of our day. The dukedom of Milan had come to him not by succession from his father, which would have been an accident of fortune, but by popular election, a response to his qualities. In one respect alone had his father surpassed him: the father had always defended the cause of the Church, while the

causam Ecclesiae semper defendisset, ipse aliquando impugnasset; verum neque in hac re patri omnino cessisse, qui e Saule factus Paulus Callisto praedecessori adversus Picininum auxilio fuisset, et sub praesulatu suo multa Ecclesiae adiumenta praebuisset, et modo ad concilium profectus non solum Romanam Ecclesiam, sed ipsam religionem, ipsam fidem catholicam, ipsum Christi nomen adversus impios Turchos magno et excellenti animo pro suis facultatibus tueri promitteret; facere ipsum, quod Christianum deceret principem; quod si reliqui eius similes invenirentur, non modo Turchorum arma Christiani non timerent, sed ultro eos invadentes et Graeciam et Asiam maiorum negligentia perditam facile recuperarent; sperare se Francisci exemplo multos ex principibus Christianis, qui dormire viderentur, excitatum iri, et tandem cognito periculo in quo res Christiana versetur, adversus hostes arma sumpturos; quod si fieret, ut spes esset, Franciscum inter primos futurum cui et Romana Ecclesia et omnis Christiana religio praecipuas gratias referre deberet.

4 Atque his dictis summo omnium applausu soluta eius diei contio est.

: 21 :

*De Borsii instabilitate insulsa atque mendaci.*

1 Promiserat, ut retulimus,<sup>52</sup> Borsius Mutinensium dux, qui pro Romana Ecclesia Ferrariam gubernabat, iturum se Mantuam cum Pius vocaret. Vocatus rescripsit paucos intra dies venturum. Ite-

son had sometimes attacked it. Yet not even in this respect did he altogether yield to his father, for he had lately undergone a conversion from Saul to Paul. He had aided Pius's predecessor Calixtus against Piccinino, and during Pius's own pontificate he had often lent his support to the Church. Now he had come to this congress and was nobly promising to use all his resources to defend not only the Church of Rome but religion itself, the Catholic faith, and the very name of Christ against the godless Turks. Truly he was acting as a Christian prince ought; if the rest turned out to be like him, not only would there be no reason for Christians to fear Turkish arms, but they might actually take the offensive and recover without difficulty Greece and Asia, which had been lost by the negligence of their forefathers. He hoped that Francesco's example would rouse the several Christian princes who seemed to be sleeping through the crisis, and that when they at last realized the danger that threatened the Christian faith, they would take up arms against the foe. If this happened, as he hoped, Francesco would stand in the first rank of those to whom the Church of Rome and all of Christendom would owe the profoundest debt of gratitude.

With these words the pope adjourned the meeting for the day 4 to universal applause.

: 21 :

*Borso d'Este's foolish and mendacious unpredictability.*

As mentioned earlier,<sup>68</sup> Borso, duke of Modena, the Roman Church's 1 vicar in Ferrara, had promised that he would come to Mantua when Pius summoned him. When the summons came, he replied that he would arrive in a few days. When summoned yet again, he

rum vocatus mutato consilio renuit, astronomorum iudicia causatus, qui sibi mortem portendere astra confirmarent Mantuam peti-  
turo.

2 Increpavit eum pontifex, qui gentilium sequeretur ineptias, et per astrorum inspectionem futuri se conscium diceret; excogitata haec ne conventum accederet; vereri inter bonos viros apparere, malle cum bestiis quam cum hominibus vivere, ingratum Deo atque indignum qui tot bonis afflueret, quando in causa fidei nollet unius diei navigatione fatigari; nec religiosum nec Christianum esse, qui conventum pro tuendo Christi nomine indictum effugeret; astrologorum iudicia mense Martio edita prius sibi nota fuisse quam pontifici promisisset adventum; nihil principem minus decere quam promissa rescindere.

3 Respondit multa Borsius, verum iuvenilia et indigna quibus pontificis aures obtunderentur; cumque rationibus vinceretur, vinci noluit. Febri se tandem laborare affirmavit, et egere quiete, verum egressus Ferraria per Aemiliam profectus medios inter aestus venaticas sequebatur aves non sine irrisione omnium qui eam fabulam novere.

4 Sic mores nonnullos principes urgent: sequuntur desideria sua, perire potius rem publicam sinunt, quam minimam partem, detrahi suarum voluptatum patiantur, et adulatoribus credentes, quorum plenae sunt aulae, quae faciunt, sicut in praesentia, sic et in absentia laudari putant. Contra multo evenit: raro absens colitur, qui coram celebratur. Borsius quacun-  
que iter fecit inter subditos, voces applauserunt populi; in aliena terra nomen eius infame fuit, quamvis dicere consueverit Ferrariam scholam esse in qua dis-  
ceretur quicquid Itali nossent, seque magistrum ei praesidere.

changed his mind and refused. His excuse was that his astrologers had examined the stars and determined that if he went to Mantua he would die.

The pope rebuked the duke for paying attention to such pagan nonsense and for claiming to know the future by examining the stars. He also accused him of inventing the story to avoid coming to the congress. Borso was afraid to show his face among men of good will; he would rather spend his time with beasts than human beings. If he could not put up with a single day of sailing in order to do good for the faith, then he was ungrateful to God and did not deserve the many blessings he had received. Anyone who stayed away from a congress called to defend the name of Christ was neither devout nor a true Christian. The astrologers had made their prediction in March, well before he had promised the pope that he would come; nothing was less becoming to a prince than to go back on his word.

Borso said much in reply, but his excuses were puerile and beneath the pope's contempt. And yet, even though he had lost the argument, he would not give in. In the end, he claimed he was sick with fever and needed rest, but then he left Ferrara for Emilia, where he went hawking at the height of the summer heat. Everyone who heard the story laughed at him.

Some princes are simply driven by their passions. They follow their own desires and will let the state go to ruin before they give up the smallest slice of their own happiness. They believe the flatterers who fill their courts; they suppose that people will praise whatever they do, whether they are present or not. But the opposite is true: only rarely is a man praised to his face and honored behind his back. Wherever Borso went among his own subjects he enjoyed popular acclaim, but outside his realm his reputation was dreadful — even though he liked to say that Ferrara was the school where the Italians learned whatever they knew and that he was the master who presided over it. He believed he possessed great wis-

Sapiebat multum suo iudicio, alieno parum; statum eius non tam prudentia sua quam fortuna gubernavit: felicem Ferrariam vicinorum inter se conflictationes praestitere, non industria principum.

5 Ceterum Borsius crebris nuntiis ac litteris ex venatione ad conventum accersitus, confusus tandem venturum se Augusto exacto rescripsit, quod is esset fatalis mensis, non minus quam antea mentitus. Leve est assueto fallere, nec claudi mendacio facile possunt ora, qui mentiendi usum induerunt. Misit tamen oratorem unum ex nepotibus<sup>53</sup> suis, nomine Gurrone, cui duos adiunxit iure consultos, hisque mandatum dedit, pro necessitate rei publicae auri ut trecenta milia nummum pollicerentur, tamquam magnificis verbis turpia facta compensari possent.

: 22 :

*De variis legationibus, et missa adversus Turchos pecunia,  
et perfidia principis Tarentini.*

1 Aderant iam Florentinorum legati et Senensium et Lucensium et Bononiensium, viri suarum urbium primarii, suas partes ad tuendam rem publicam oblaturi. Genuenses episcopum quendam ex Corsica virum bonum clam miserant, qui pontificem certiolem redderet<sup>54</sup> non defuturum illius urbis senatum, si quid pro tutela fidei decerneretur; publice se offerre non audebant iniussu regis Franciae, cuius paulo ante dominatum subierant. Ferdinandus rex Siciliae archiepiscopum Beneventanum, qui postea propter sua scelera depositus est, et Andriae ducem transmiserat, qui suam vicem implerent. Archiepiscopus pro consistorio publice auditus acriter in Genuenses invecus est perfidiam et insolentiam eorum

dom, but others thought he had very little. That he was lord of the city was a matter of luck rather than skill. Ferrara had grown prosperous because her neighbors would not stop quarreling, not through the ability of her princes.

After several more letters and heralds were sent asking Borso to 5 stop hunting and come to the congress, he at last wrote in some confusion that he would come at the end of August, as that was supposed to be the fatal month. But he proved as false as before. Deceit is easy when a man has had practice, and it is difficult for lips to stop lying once they have acquired the habit. He did send one of his nephews to speak for him, Gurrone, along with two lawyers with instructions to pledge some 300,000 ducats to the cause — as if fine words could make up for shoddy behavior.

: 22 :

*Various embassies arrive. Funds are sent to combat the Turks.  
The treachery of the prince of Taranto.*

Florence, Siena, Lucca, and Bologna had by now sent ambassa- 1 dors — prominent men from each state — to pledge their contributions to the common cause. The Genoese sent a clandestine envoy, a bishop from Corsica and an excellent fellow,<sup>69</sup> to assure the pope that his government would participate in any plan agreed for the defense of the faith, but dared not come forward publicly without the permission of the king of France, to whom the state had recently sworn obedience. King Ferrante of Sicily sent the archbishop of Benevento (later deposed for misconduct) and the duke of Andria to represent him.<sup>70</sup> The archbishop appeared before the pope at a public consistory and inveighed bitterly against the Genoese, calling them treacherous and insolent for having at-

accusans, qui Ferdinando regi contra foedus molesti essent. Pontifex graviter eum correxerat, qui privatas inimicitias eo in loco commemoraret, ubi de publica Christianorum pace ac<sup>55</sup> salute agendum esset.

2 Litterae Ferdinandi multo meliores quam verba legatorum fuere: illi pauca de tuenda religione locuti sunt, haec praeclarum et magnum regis animum ad tutelam fidei ostenderunt. Cum recitarentur pro contione legatorum omnium qui aderant mandata, nullum plenius visum est eo quod Ferdinandus misit. Id enim votum et iuramentum continebat de gerendo in Turchos bello; ad quod cum se accingere statuisset, Tarentini principis agitatus insidiis in magnas incidit calamitates, de quibus suo loco dicemus.

3 Misit et ille legatum ad concilium, Pyrrhum quendam Ordinis Minorum professorem, non indoctum virum, verum non tam oratorem quam exploratorem; qui cum aliquando praesuli de suo domino verba faceret, eumque fidelem Ecclesiae filium diceret et singulari virtute praeditum: 'Quid tibi dicam?' inquit pontifex, 'Dominus tuus periurus est et proditor, qui adversus dominum suum arma suscepit, et simoniacus, qui sacerdotia vendit, et haereticus, qui Hebraicam perfidiam confovet, et inimicus Crucis Christi, qui missa legatione Turchos adversus Christianos provocat! His dotibus pollere tuum dominum vero testimonio didicimus! An virtutibus aliis praeditus sit, ignoramus.' Haec de principe Tarentinorum effatus pontifex.

4 Sequenti die laborantibus Turchonico bello Hungaris et opem obnixè petentibus auri viginti milia nummum transmisit, quae numerata Venetiis Stephanus Croatiae comes domum rediens apportavit.

tacked King Ferrante in violation of their pact. The pope rebuked him severely for bringing up a private quarrel in a place where the general peace and safety of all Christians was the subject under discussion.

Ferrante's letter was much more impressive than his envoys' 2 speeches. While they said little about defending religion, the text of the letter revealed the king's noble and generous plans for safeguarding the faith. When the ambassadors all read out their instructions before the assembly, it emerged that none was more comprehensive than the one sent by Ferrante, which included his sworn oath to wage war against the Turks. But, though the king was resolved to take the field, he was distracted by a plot of the prince of Taranto. Great disasters were to befall him, as we shall describe in their proper place.

This same prince of Taranto sent his own ambassador to the 3 congress, a certain Minorite named Pirro, a man of some learning. But he came not so much as a spokesman as a spy. One day when he was talking to the pope about his master, he called him a loyal son of the Church who was endowed with extraordinary virtues. The pope replied, "Oh really? Your master is a faithless traitor who has taken arms against his Lord, a simoniac who sells benefices, a heretic who promotes the errors of the Jews, an enemy of the cross of Christ, who has sent an embassy to incite the Turks against the Christians. I have it on good authority that he is blessed with such talents—whether he is endowed with others I do not know." So spoke the pope about the prince of Taranto.

The next day Pius sent 20,000 ducats to the Hungarians, who 4 were hard pressed in their war with the Turks and desperately asking for aid. The money was paid out in Venice to Stephen, the count of Croatia,<sup>71</sup> who delivered it to Hungary on his way home.

*De Sigismundi pace diu agitata et tandem a Pio confecta.*

- 1 Dum haec agerentur, Sigismundus Malatesta, cum magis ac magis Picinini armis premeretur, pacem petens causam suam modo Francisco Mediolanensium duci, modo Pio pontifici commendabat. Aderant ob eam causam missi a Ferdinando episcopus Bituntinus, non minus callidus homo quam festivus, et Antonius Cincinellus, unus ex purpuratis, qui Pium magnopere urgebant ut pacem inter partes componeret. Pius nil se facturum aiebat nisi statuendae pacis libera sibi facultas concederetur; nam primum compromissum iam pridem spiraverat, eratque pontificis animus ex bono et aequo litem dirimere. Ferdinandus et Federicus Urbinas et Iacobus Picininus praescriptis quibusdam legibus concordiae annuebant, quae duriores videbantur. Multos dies agitata res est; postremo consensere omnes pro suo arbitrio pacem ut pontifex statueret.
- 2 Dubia res fuit, pax ne pontifici an bellum magis conduceret. Constat Picininum, quamvis Sigismundo reconciliaretur, copias tamen retenturum, resque novas moliturum, neque alios quam Ecclesiae subditos aut Senenses invasurum, nam Venetis, Florentinis, duci Mediolanensi aut regi Siciliae, qui potentiores essent, non auderet bellum inferre, neque duci Mutinae, quem diligeret; in agro Ecclesiae multas esse factiones, quae absente pontifice Picininum accersere<sup>56</sup> possent. Contra, si bellum sineret, alterum e duobus eventurum: aut scilicet Malatestam Venetorum auxilio rem suam defensurum, aut bello victum Picinino cuncta dimissurum. Utrunque perniciosum: si Veneti pro Sigismundo arma capiant, futurum ut omnis rursus Italia dissensionibus agitetur, et

*Peace with Sigismondo, long sought, achieved at last by Pius.*

While this was happening, Piccinino's forces continued to press ever more closely against Sigismondo Malatesta. Sigismondo appealed now to Duke Francesco of Milan and now to Pope Pius for peace. With the same thought in mind, Ferrante had sent both the bishop of Bitonto,<sup>72</sup> a man as shrewd as he was charming, and Antonio Cincinello, one of his court officials, to Mantua, where they strongly urged Pius to make peace between the warring parties. Pius said that he would do nothing unless given free rein to fix the terms of peace, for the previous truce had long since expired and the pope now intended to settle the quarrel according to the principles of fairness and justice. Ferrante, Federico of Urbino, and Jacopo Piccinino all consented to make peace, though the conditions seemed rather harsh. The matter was debated for many days until finally, all agreed that the pope should use his own discretion to arrange the terms.

It was not clear whether peace or war would be more to the pope's advantage. Everyone knew that even if Piccinino were reconciled to Malatesta, he would keep his army in the field and take it on new campaigns, and he would certainly attack either the territories of the Church or Siena. He would not dare attack Venice, Florence, Milan, or Naples, since they were stronger than he, nor the duke of Modena with whom he was on friendly terms. In the papal states there were many factions which might call Piccinino in while the pope was away. On the other hand, if the pope allowed the war to continue, one of two things would happen: either Malatesta would, with the help of the Venetians, successfully defend his cause, or he would be defeated and leave Piccinino in possession of the field. Either result would be disastrous. If the Venetians took up arms for Malatesta, all Italy would again split

adversus Turchos expeditio negligatur; si succumbat Malatesta, ventura omnia in Picinini potestatem; vicinum Ecclesiae perniciosum parari, murem in pera nutriri aut in sinu serpentem. Posse quoque et tertium emergere: Picininum scilicet et Sigismundum simul coire, et iunctis armis agros Ecclesiae vastare, atque inter se partiri provincias, ut sunt arma tenentium varia et alta ingenia, mutabiles voluntates et regni cupidae.

3 Anxius inter haec praesul honestatem praetulit utilitati: pacem statuere pulchrius et acceptius Deo censuit, neque timenda esse incommoda vadenti recta: agrum in quo bellum grassaretur ad Ecclesiam spectare; subditis quietem dandam, miserendum inopum agricolarum, qui domo pulsus bobus, uxoribus ac liberis amissis panem in alienis laribus mendicarent, illudque pensitandum, quod non auctorem incentoremque malorum, sed innoxios poena sequeretur: pueri atque puellae indigna suis moribus ferrent, fana diriperentur, caedes atque incendia passim committerentur, divina atque humana iura perirent; iam annum belli furore provinciam agitatum: nisi mox pace donetur, funditus perituram; attribuendum aliquid Sigismundi maioribus, quorum virtus militiae quondam ac domi spectata fuisset.

4 Statuit igitur pontifex, quamvis rei suae nonnihil timeret, in praesenti rebus afflictis consulere, de futuro magni Dei benignitatem sperare, cuius est in optimum finem cuncta dirigere. Iudicii ergo suscepto in se arbitrio iussit quam primum partes arma depone; captivos dimittere Pergulam et alia pleraque loca Federico Urbinati cedere, Senegalliam, Mundavium cum vicariatu et Mon-

into factions and forget about the crusade against the Turks. If Malatesta were defeated, Piccinino would be the undisputed master and the Church would find herself confronting a most dangerous neighbor—like rearing a mouse in her pocket or a serpent at her breast. There was also a third possibility: Piccinino and Malatesta might combine forces and send their two armies rampaging together through the lands of the Church and thus divide the provinces—so ambitious and unreliable are men in arms, so inconstant in their aims, so desperate for power.

Faced with this dilemma, the pope chose honor over expediency. He decided that making peace was the nobler choice and the one more acceptable to God; he who walks on the straight path need fear no evil. Lands consumed by war were looking to the Church for help; her subjects needed peace; he must take pity on those poor peasants who had been driven from their homes, who had lost their cattle, their wives, and their children, and were begging for bread at the doors of strangers. He must remember that the man responsible for these crimes was not the one paying the price: rather, it was the innocent bystanders. Boys and girls would be exposed to undeserved suffering, churches plundered, fire and slaughter spread everywhere: the laws of God and man alike would be destroyed. Unless peace came soon, the country—already racked by the fury of war for over a year—would be utterly ruined. And Sigismondo's family did deserve some credit, for his ancestors had once been renowned for their conduct both in war and in peace.

The pope, though he worried how this would affect his own affairs, decided to take action now on behalf of the losing side, trusting his hopes for the future to the grace of God, who brings all things to their proper conclusion. And so he assumed responsibility for the decision and ordered the two sides to lay down their arms at once and release their prisoners. He ordered that Pergola and numerous other places should surrender to Federico



tem Martianum nomine pignoris in manu sua manere, donec sententiae, quae ferenda esset, satisfaceret. De reliquis intra duos menses iudicaturum sese promisit potestate retenta, si sibi videretur, quotiens vellet, prorogandi terminum, ac declaratione adiecta, quod Sigismundum neque<sup>57</sup> supra sexaginta milia aureos, neque infra quinquaginta milia pro erratis damnaret dissolvenda priusquam annus efflueret; alioquin pignora in solutum regi cederent, neque Sigismundo fas esse intra biennium adversus regem militare.

- 5 Missi qui sententiam exequerentur aegre sunt auditi; dura utrique parti mandata videbantur, Picinino maxime, qui se victoriae praemiis spoliatum iri non ignorabat. Deposuerunt tamen paulo post ex decreto pontificis arma, et oppida tradita sunt excepta Petra Rubra, in qua per dolum Sigismundi rebellionem incolae simularunt; et Picininus pleraque loca vi capta militi diripienda concessit. In reliquis paritum est, et Sigismundus Italici foederis commoditate donatus (cuius antea fuerat expers) ut otio frui posset, quamvis inquietus animus et iniqua mens bellum paci semper anteposuerit.

: 24 :

*Viturvium ab Everso occupatur et a Ravennati  
praesule recuperatur.*

- 1 Eversus Anguillariae comes, dum haec aguntur, Viturvium per traditionem paucorum civium occupat misso Antonello Foroliviensi, genero suo. Bartholomeus archiepiscopus Ravennas, qui postea

of Urbino. Senigallia, Mondavio and its vicariate, and Montemarciano were to remain in his own possession as pledges until Sigismundo fulfilled the terms he was going to impose.<sup>73</sup> He promised he would pronounce judgment on the remaining matters within two months, reserving the right, if he saw fit, to extend the time limit as often as he liked. And he added that Sigismundo for his sins must pay out a sum between 50,000 and 60,000 ducats before a year had passed; otherwise the towns held as pledges would be given to the king as payment. And he was not to engage in hostilities against the king for the next two years.

The legates sent to implement this decision were given a poor 5 reception, for the terms seemed harsh to both sides, and especially to Piccinino, who saw clearly that he was going to be stripped of the spoils of victory. Nonetheless they soon laid down their arms according to the pope's decree and surrendered their cities — all except Pietrarubbia, where by a trick of Sigismundo's the inhabitants pretended to rebel. Piccinino handed over a number of his captured towns to his men to loot. In other respects, the terms of the agreement were followed. Sigismundo now had the advantage of membership in a league from which he had been excluded before, which allowed him to relax — though his restless spirit and perverse heart in fact preferred war to peace.

: 24 :

*Viterbo occupied by Everso. Ravenna recaptured  
by the pope.*

- 1 Meanwhile, Everso, count of Anguillara, sent his son-in-law Antonello of Forlì to Viterbo where, with the help of a few treacherous citizens, he took possession of the city. Bartolomeo, arch-

cardinalis effectus est, coactis subito copiis captae iam civitati subvenit. Antonellus, ubi auxilium appropinquare cognovit, urbe direpta et multis civibus in captivitatem abductis praeda onustus recessit. Arx recuperandae civitatis causa fuit, quam Martinus olim a fundamentis diruit, Callistus restaurare coepit, Pius ad summum aedificavit: per hanc auxilia intromissa civitatem Ecclesiae reddiderunt, quae alioquin in potestate hostium diu perseverasset.

2 Pius accepto pervasae urbis nuntio: 'Hoc,' inquit, 'est quod Eversus comminabatur, cum Roma recessimus. Verum neque hoc pacto defensionem fidei negligemus. Adiuvabit Deus causam suam, neque superiorem esse patietur iniquitatem!'

3 Effluxere deinde quattuor circiter dies, et ecce nuntius, qui fugisse hostes asserit, et supplicium de proditoribus sumptum esse. Gubernator eius urbis pro Romana Ecclesia Oddo quidam Perusinus erat, Apostolicae Sedis notarius, sed aberat cum Antonellus ingressus est; qui audita rei novitate circumvicinos populos in arma coegit, iunctusque Ravennati ad victoriam consequendam non parum adiumenti praebuit. Verum cum se causam recuperationis fuisse multis verbis gloriabundus assereret, memor illius quod de Fabio apud Livium legitur, Ravennas: 'Probe,' inquit, 'nunquam enim Vitervium recuperassem, nisi tu prior amisisses!'

bishop of Ravenna, who was afterward made cardinal,<sup>74</sup> threw together an army and marched to the city's aid. When Antonello learned that a relief force was approaching, he withdrew, loaded with plunder and captives, leaving the city despoiled. It was the fortress that made recovery of the city possible. Pope Martin had once razed it to its foundations, but Calixtus started the work of reconstruction and Pius brought it to completion. The reinforcements entered through the fortress and thus returned to the Church a city which otherwise would have remained in enemy hands for a long time.

When Pius heard that the city had been captured he declared, 2  
 "This is what Everso warned us would happen when we left Rome.<sup>75</sup> But it will not stop us from defending the faith. God will help His cause; He will never allow evil to gain the upper hand!"

Some four days passed and then, lo and behold, a courier arrived 3  
 with news that the enemy was in retreat and the traitors had been punished. One Oddo of Perugia, an apostolic notary, was the governor of the city for the Church of Rome. He had been out of the city when Antonello entered it. When he heard the surprising news, he mustered the people of the surrounding district and, joining forces with the archbishop of Ravenna, played no small part in the victory. Later, though, when he boasted loudly that he had engineered the city's recovery, the archbishop recalled the words Livy attributes to Fabius and replied, "True enough. I could never have recovered Viterbo if you had not lost it first!"<sup>76</sup>

*Legatio Polonorum et Sabaudiensium,  
et negligentia Venetorum.*

- 1 Inter haec legatus Casimiri Poloniae regis cum splendido comitatu Mantuam ingreditur, vir doctus, Sbignei quondam Cracoviensis episcopi et cardinalis nepos. Multi ei fuerunt famuli unius vestis more gentis pennatos pileos et pharetram et balistam gestantes, equis praepinguibus insidentes. Venerunt et Ludovici Sabaudiae ducis oratores: episcopus Thaurinensis, marescallus Sabaudiae,<sup>58</sup> et alii domi nobiles ac disertii viri.
- 2 Soli ex Italia Veneti aberant, qui etsi praesuli, antequam Roma discederet, pluribus et nuntiis et epistolis affirmaverant se inter primos legationem missuros, vocati tamen minime parebant. Duae hos causae tenebant: altera, quod ecclesiam Patavinam pro suo desiderio non fuerant assecuti, altera, quod magnopere verebantur ne soli cum Turchis in bello remanerent, si Mantuam petentes Christianos reges non satis voluntarios ad tuendam religionem invenissent. Multa praeterea Veneti qui Curiam sequebantur ad amicos suos domi scribebant, quae populares animos a bono proposito retrahebant. Maledica est enim et perversa curialium plerumque natura. Nam cum avaritiae et ambitioni omnes ferme inserviant, pontifex vero ex multis paucos extollere ditareque possit: qui neglecti sunt, tanquam iniuriam passi praesulem oderunt, dictis scriptisque damnant, mordent, laniant, nec minus quispiam laudatur quam Romanus pontifex dum vivit; mortuus aliquando probatur: successoris opera antecessorem commendant. Quicumque igitur ex Venetis Curiam sequentibus optata non impetravere, ad

*An embassy from Poland and one from Savoy.  
The Venetians ignore the congress.*

1 Meanwhile an ambassador from King Casimir of Poland arrived in Mantua with a splendid train—a learned man, nephew of that Zbigniew who was at one time the cardinal bishop of Cracow.<sup>77</sup> He came with a great crowd of attendants, all mounted on stout horses and dressed alike in their national costume, with plumed hats, quivers, and slings. Envoys from Louis, duke of Savoy, arrived as well. These included the bishop of Turin, the marshal of Savoy, and other nobles and eloquent men of the country.<sup>78</sup>

2 From all Italy, only the Venetians were missing. Though they had sent several messengers and letters to the pope before he left Rome, assuring him that they would be among the first to send delegates, when the summons came they failed to comply. Two factors deterred them: first, they had not secured the church of Padua as they wanted;<sup>79</sup> and second, they worried that if they arrived in Mantua and found the other Christian princes unwilling to defend the faith, they would be left to fight the Turks on their own. What is more, the Venetians in the Curia kept sending messages home to their friends which turned popular opinion against this noble endeavor. For the members of the Curia are as a rule vicious and inclined to slander. They are almost all slaves to greed and ambition. From such a crowd, the pope naturally can advance and enrich only a few, and those who are passed over imagine they have been unjustly treated and despise him and whisper against him and use their pens to attack him. Backbiters and libelers, they praise no man less than the pope so long as he lives, though when he is dead they sometimes speak well of him, for whatever his successor goes on to do casts him in a better light.<sup>80</sup> And so any Venetian in the Curia who had not realized his ambitions wrote in

amicos epistolas dedere quas praesulis desiderio contrarias putavere. Civitas vero, ut est popularitas obnoxia suspicionibus, omnia in peiorem partem trahebat, mercatores praesertim, quibus in lucro erat cum Turchis pacem habere.

: 26 :

*De Venetiarum origine et finitimis locis, et qui primum habitarent, cognitu dignissima.*

- 1 Libet de Venetis altius hoc loco disserere, quando terra marique potentissimi sunt, et ad imperium maius, quo aspirant, ut sunt hodie mores,<sup>59</sup> non inepti videntur.
- 2 Venetia et urbis et provinciae nomen est. Apud veteres Veneti omnes appellati qui eas paludes incoluerunt quae mediae sunt inter Aquas Gradatas et ostium Padi, quod Ad Fornaces vocitant. Id spatium octuaginta milibus passuum continetur, et rursus ab Adriatico mari quatenus infra terram salsae fluunt ac refluent aquae.
- 3 Quidam etiam Ravennam addidere Venetiae; Strabo eius sententiae videtur, qui de paludibus et magno portu<sup>60</sup> quem Brinta fluvius efficit loquens: 'Intra paludes,' inquit, 'urbs maxima Ravenna posita est, tota ligneis compacta aedificiis, aquis diffusa, pontibus et<sup>61</sup> lembis peragrata; cum a mari fiunt inundationes, non mediocrem recipit maris partem, adeo ut universa caenositas hinc fluctu marino, illinc fluminibus abluentibus eiecta taetrum medicetur odorem.' Verum sicut Adria, quae olim in continenti fuit, nunc mari ac paludibus immersa est, ita et Ravenna, quae fuit in

letters to his friends whatever he thought would work against the pope's designs. The Venetian state (being a republic and thus prone to suspicion) put the worst interpretation on everything. The merchants were especially skeptical, for it was in their interest to maintain peace with the Turks.

: 26 :

*Noteworthy facts about the origins of Venice, its territory, and earliest inhabitants.*

At this point we wish to say something more about the Venetians, 1 as they are a formidable land and sea power and seem quite capable (as things are today, at least) of getting the larger empire to which they aspire.

"Venetia" is the name of both the city and the province. The 2 ancients called by the name "Veneti" those who dwelt in the marshes between Grado and the mouth of the Po known as Alle Fornaci. This region extends some eighty miles north and south along the Adriatic coast and as far inland as the ebb and flow of the saltwater tide.

Some authorities include Ravenna in the territory of Venetia. 3 Strabo seems to be of this opinion, for in speaking of the marshes and the great harbor made by the river Brenta he says, "The great city of Ravenna stands in the marshes; it is built entirely of wood and intersected by canals, and the people must use bridges or boats to get about. During floods it is completely inundated; the slimy mud left by the sea on one side and the rivers on the other produces a foul stench."<sup>81</sup> But just as Hadria, which used to stand on dry ground, is now sunk in marsh and sea, so Ravenna, which once stood in the water, now stands high and dry. Strabo does not

aqua, remansit in arida. Aquileiam vero, quamvis idem maris sinus per Natisonem fluvium salsa contingat aqua, extra Venetiam nihilominus Strabo ponit. Nonnulli ab Abdua fluvio omnem regionem, quae Pado, mari et Alpibus clauditur ad Brintam usque, Venetiae tradiderunt; nonnulli Vicentinum et Veronensem agrum huic descriptioni ademerunt.

4 Venetorum originem alii ex Gallis ducunt, qui extremas ad Oceanum oras incolunt, ubi nunc civitas est Venetensis non ignobilis, quam Pius Secundus liberalium artium et omnium litterarum, quae mortales honestant, schola donavit; alii Enetorum gentem esse affirmant, qui post bellum Troianum cum Antenore salutem assecuti cursum huc e Paphlagonia tenuere. Haec de provincia.

5 Urbem non auctor unus, sed plurium populorum concursus aedificavit post Christi Salvatoris ortum sexto et quinquagesimo anno supra quadringentesimum. Nam cum Attila rex Hunorum Aquileiam armis captam excidisset, attonitae civitates finitimae relictis antiquis sedibus in eas paludes populariter migravere quibus a priscis Venetiae, ut<sup>62</sup> diximus, nomen inditum; ii fuerunt Altini, Concordienses, Patavini et qui Montem Silicis incolebant, Opitergini, Heracliani, Equilini, Gradenses, Caprulenses, Lauretini et ipsae Aquilegiensis excidii reliquiae. Ferunt ex Vicentia, Verona, Mantua, Brixia, Mediolano ac Pavia opulentissimos huc cives confugisse, cum Attila eorum urbes affligeret. Nec tamen ab his mox una urbs cohaerentibus aedificiis, sed divisa in plures insulas erecta est civitas. Nomina insularum, quae veluti Cyclades quaedam palustribus aquis abluuntur: Torcellum, Maiorbum, Burianum, Amoriacum, Constantiacum, Aimanum, Rivus Altus, Dorsum Durum, Metamaucum, Albiola, Pelestrina et Fossa Clodia, quae nunc civitas Clugia nomen habet.

6 Narses eunuchus, Iustiniani Primi copiarum dux auxiliario Ravennatum Patavium<sup>63</sup> instauravit; Arnolphus Longobardorum rex paulo post ferro et igni absumpsit.<sup>64</sup> Patavini secundo migrare

include Aquileia in the territory of Venetia, even though it is washed by the same Adriatic tides coming up the river Natissa. Some authorities include the entire region from the Adda to the Brenta in Venetia—a tract of land bounded by the Po, the sea, and the Alps; others exclude the territory of Vicenza and Verona from the boundaries of Venetia.

Some say the Venetians can trace their origins back to the 4 Gauls who dwell on the distant ocean shore,<sup>82</sup> where the renowned city of Vannes now stands (and where Pius established a university of all the liberal arts and letters which ennoble mankind).<sup>83</sup> Others maintain that they are descended from the Eneti who fled Troy with Antenore and sailed here from Paphlagonia.<sup>84</sup> So much for the region.

The city was not built by a single founder, but rather by many 5 peoples gathering together in the year 456.<sup>85</sup> After Attila king of the Huns captured and sacked Aquileia, the inhabitants of the surrounding towns left their old homes in panic, entire communities moving together into the marshes which the ancients called Venetia, as we mentioned. They included the people of Altino, Concordia, Padua, Monselice, Oderzo, Heraclea, Jesolo, Grado, Caorle, Loreo, and survivors from the fall of Aquileia itself. It is said that the richest citizens of Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Brescia, Milan, and Pavia found shelter here when Attila attacked their cities. The settlement that these people soon built was not a single city with houses grouped together, but was spread out over several islands, lying scattered like the Cyclades in a marshy sea.<sup>86</sup> Torcello, Mazzorbo, Burano, Murano, Constantiaco, Amiano, Rialto, Dorsoduro, Malamocco, Altivole, Pellestrina, and Fossa Clodia (the last now called Chioggia).

The eunuch Narses, Justinian the Great's general, rebuilt Padua 6 with help from the people of Ravenna, but soon afterwards the Lombard King Arnulf destroyed the city with fire and sword.<sup>87</sup> The Paduans, forced to flee a second time, took refuge in the Ve-

coacti in stagna Venetorum confugientes Rivum Altum impleverunt, et Olivense Castrum, ubi nunc Castellatum est, episcopium condidere. Diruta Aquileia Gradenses patriarchalem sedem acceperunt, Longobardis vero Iulii Forum obtinentibus dux gentis eius, Gisulphus consentiente Agilulpho rege Aquileiae suam dignitatem restituere aggressus Iohannem quendam abbatem patriarcham appellavit. Lis quinquennio cum Gradensibus ducta est; exin pontifex Romanus consensu partium instituit ut Aquilegensis patriarcha omni continentis regioni<sup>65</sup> moderaretur, Gradensis Venetiarum genti praeset. Diruit et paulo post Opitergium Rotharites Longobardorum rex; urbis episcopus, nomine Magnus, ad stagna confugiens sedem suam annuente Severino pontifice maximo in Heraclea collocavit, et Paulus Altini episcopus eodem pontifice permittente adducto secum populo qui cladibus superfuerat, Torcellum se contulit; episcopus quoque Patavinus ex urbe paene deserta et Arianam haeresim sapiente Metamaucum petiit.

7 Fuerunt inter Longobardos et Venetos plures de finibus controversiae; tandem convenit ut omnis Venetia ab Abdua usque ad aquas salsas mutato nomine Longobardia vocaretur, Venetiae paludibus tantum salsis fluctibus agitatae continerentur. Vicum qui est in Torcello primum Constantius imperator, Heraclii filius, cum Romam peteret eoque transitum faceret, de suo nomine Constantiacum appellavit; Heraclea ex patre suo vocabulum acceperat; quae cum populo aucta multitudinem capere non posset, partem plebis in vicinam iussit insulam commigrare, ubi Aequilium condidit civitatem. Heraclea non longe post destructa rursus a Venetis duce Agnello instaurata Novae Civitatis imbut nomen.

netian marshes and populated Rialto, making the castle of Olivolo, where Castello is now, an episcopal see. When Aquileia fell, the seat of the patriarch was transferred to Grado. When the Lombards occupied Friuli, their chief Gisulf, with King Agilulf's blessing, attempted to restore Aquileia to its former dignity and declared a certain abbot Giovanni its patriarch. He disputed the case with the people of Grado for five years until the pope, with the consent of both sides, declared that the patriarch of Aquileia should have jurisdiction over all mainland territory and the patriarch of Grado over the Venetians. Soon after this, Rothari, king of the Lombards, destroyed Oderzo. The bishop of Oderzo, Magnus by name, fled to the marshes and with the permission of Pope Severinus established his see at Heraclea. The same pope also allowed Paolo, bishop of Altino, to move to Torcello, taking with him all those who had survived the destruction of his city. The bishop of Padua, too, moved to Malamocco, leaving behind a city which was nearly deserted, and tainted with Arian heresy besides.

The Lombards and the Venetians frequently quarreled over 7 borders but in the end it was agreed that all of Venetia from the Adda to the salt water should change its name to Lombardy, and that the name Venetia should be used only for the saltwater marshes along the coast. When Emperor Constantius,<sup>88</sup> the son of Heraclius, passed through here on his way to Rome, he named the chief village on Torcello Constantiacum after himself. Heraclea had been named for his father. Since this latter settlement could no longer sustain its growing population, Constantius ordered one group of citizens to move to a neighboring island, where he founded Jesolo. Heraclea, which was destroyed soon after, was rebuilt by the Venetians under Doge Agnello and was thereafter called Cittanova.

*De forma et modo gubernandi Venetorum et locorum  
mutatione, primisque regibus Italicis, et Adriensibus victis,  
atque Hungarorum incursum.*

- 1 Forma regiminis apud Venetos multiplex fuit. Primo tribunis parueri, postea ducibus, tertio magistris militum; quos cum anti-quassent, rursus ad duces rediere. Tribunitia potestas annis duobus ac triginta duravit supra ducentos; quibus summotis primus ducem gessit apud Heracleam Paulinus, eius urbis civis; in Heraclea enim res Veneta primum gubernata est. Paulino successit Ursus, et ipse Heracleanus, qui civili tumultu interfectus est, et ad magistris militum res publica perducta, quorum primum Dominicum Leonem creaverunt. Quattuor eo defuncto alius post alium rem Venetam gubernarunt; ultimus Iohannes Fabritiacus domestica seditione magistratu depositus et oculis privatus est, moxque anno salutis septingentesimo et quadragesimo secundo sedes imperii Veneti ad Metamaucum translata est, rursusque ducalis dignitas elevata. Filius Ursi, quem supra interfectum rettulimus, nomine Deusdedit ducatum accepit, qui cum ad ostia Brintae amnis, quem Medoacum Strabo vocitat, castellum aedificare coepisset, in suspicionem tyrannidis adductus haud patre felicior magistratu simul et lumine privatus a suis civibus miserrimam egit vitam. Parem fortunam Galla, successor eius invenit.
- 2 Tunc quarta regiminis forma reperta: duci Dominico Monegario Metamaucensi duos annales tribunos ad clavum pari potestate consessuros creaverunt. Nec sic vel audacia ducis vel populi temeritas correcta: Dominicum tumultuans populus et solio et oculis privavit, rursusque ad Heracleanos res Veneta rediit Mauritio duce in locum Dominici suffecto, qui post annum inusitato exemplo

*The Venetian constitution and how the seat of government  
shifted. The first kings of Italy, Venetian conquests in the  
Adriatic, and a Hungarian invasion.*

The Venetians have had many forms of government. At first they were governed by tribunes, then by doges, and then by *maestri della milizia*. When they rejected these, they went back to doges. The rule of the tribunes lasted some 232 years. When they were abolished, Paoluccio became the first doge.<sup>89</sup> He was a native of Heraclea and ruled in that city, for Heraclea was the first seat of the Venetian government. Paoluccio was succeeded by Orso,<sup>90</sup> also of Heraclea, who was killed in a revolt, after which the government was entrusted to a *maestro della milizia*. The first to be chosen was Domenico Leone; after he died, four more governed Venice in succession. The last, Giovanni Fabri, was deposed in a coup and had his eyes put out. Soon after, in 742, the seat of government was transferred to Malamocco and the dogate was restored. Teodato,<sup>91</sup> a son of that Orso whose murder we have just mentioned, was elected doge. When he began constructing a castle at the mouth of the Brenta (the river which Strabo calls the Medoacus),<sup>92</sup> it was thought he meant to make himself a tyrant; he soon suffered a fate as unhappy as his father's. His fellow-citizens deprived him of both his rank and his sight and he lived out his days in misery. A similar fate befell his successor, Galla.<sup>93</sup>

The Venetians then hit upon a fourth form of government, appointing two tribunes each year to preside over the ship of state alongside the doge (at that time, Domenico Monegario of Malamocco),<sup>94</sup> with powers equal to his. But this measure curbed neither the doge's ambitions nor the unruliness of the people. Domenico lost his throne—and his sight—in a popular uprising and the government of Venice again fell into the hands of the

filium sui magistratus consortem assumpsit, aususque est manus in Iohannem patriarcham Gradensem inicere, qui paulo post ex percussione interiit. Fortunatus successor eius vindictam meditatus cum conspirasset in ducem, exorto tumultu pulsus in Franciam se contulit. Nec diu post pater et filius magistratu eiecti sunt, et Obelerius Metamaucensis unicus tribunus creatus qui eodem anno patria pulsus apud Tervisium exulavit, ubi a Venetis simul exulantibus ducis nomen consecutus Beatum fratrem imperii consortem accepit, et venientem in Italiam Pipinum, Caroli Magni filium, quem Adrianus pontifex regem Italiae constituerat, adiuvante patriarcha Fortunato in Venetos arma sumere persuasit. Proelio apud Tervisium commisso Veneti victi fugatique manus dedere. Non tamen Obelerius aut Fortunatus pristinas dignitates vendicavere apud Metamaucum in exilio dimissi.

3 Eo anno Heraclea a Venetis deleta est, et populus Venetias ductus; tuncque rursus ex Aquileia multi eo confluxere, ita ut secunda eius civitatis fundatio videretur, Agnellus autem Partitiacus Heracleanus, qui patriam suam instauravit, primus fuit qui apud insulam Rivi Alti dux eligeretur. Is palatium ducale quod nunc extat erexit, et tunc Olivensis ecclesia Castellana est appellata, pro Veneta Rivus Altus civitas dicta. Idem Agnellus duos filios suos imperii consortes assumpsit, adversus quem conspirantes Iohannes Ternaricus et Bonus Bragadinus capti et appensi patibulo interierunt, eam passi mortem quam victores intulissent victo.

4 Defuncto Agnello Iustinianus Partitiacus solus Venetos duxit; corpus Sancti Marci evangelistae sub eo ex Alexandria Venetias

Heracleans. Maurizio was elected doge in Domenico's place.<sup>95</sup> The next year he made the unprecedented move of appointing his son to rule alongside him;<sup>96</sup> he also dared to launch a physical assault on the patriarch of Grado, Giovanni, who died a short time later from the shock of the blow. When Giovanni's successor, Fortunato, conspired against the doge in an attempt to avenge him, the people rose up and Fortunato was driven to seek refuge with the Franks.<sup>97</sup> Not long after this both father and son were deposed and Obelerio of Malamocco was elected the sole tribune.<sup>98</sup> But the same year he was overthrown and exiled to Treviso, whereupon some other Venetian exiles there elected him doge; he appointed his brother Beato to rule alongside him. When Charlemagne's son Pepin came to Italy (after Pope Hadrian had declared him king), Obelerio and the patriarch, Fortunato, persuaded him to take up arms against the Venetians. The Venetians were defeated in battle near Treviso and surrendered; Obelerio and Fortunato did not regain their former positions, however, but were banished to Malamocco.

That same year, the Venetians destroyed Heraclea and removed 3 the inhabitants to Venice; at the same time, so many people poured into the city from Aquileia that it seemed the city had been founded all over again. Agnello Participazio,<sup>99</sup> who had rebuilt his own city of Heraclea, was the first doge to be elected at the island of Rialto. He built the present ducal palace; at that time, too, the church of Olivolo came to be called the church of Castello, and the state was named Rialto instead of Venetia. This Agnello appointed his two sons to rule alongside him. Giovanni Ternario and Bono Bragadin launched a conspiracy against him but were caught and hanged, suffering the death they intended for their victims had they been victorious.

At Agnello's death Giustiniano Participazio<sup>100</sup> ruled alone as 4 doge. In his time the body of St. Mark the Evangelist was brought from Alexandria to Venice. Giustiniano was succeeded by his



advectum est. Iustiniano successit Iohannes frater eius, qui ecclesiam Sancti Marci aedificavit, et in Metamaucum ducens Obelerium ibi exultantem occidit, urbemque olim Venetae rei caput delavit. Vocatus in Franciam propter necem Obelerii eo profectus est; interea Castellanus episcopus et duo cives Rivi Alti curam civitatis gessere. Reversus civili tumultu magistratu deiectus atque in monasterio clausus moerens obiit. Successor ei datus est Petrus Trundonicus Pola oriundus, qui filium sibi consortem ascivit. Sub eius imperio Sclavi Caprulas Venetorum urbem vi captam destruxerunt. Eo vita functo Iohannes filius solus ducatum obtinuit; quem ab ecclesia Sancti Zachariae redeuntem concitatus populus interfecit et in eadem ecclesia sepelivit, Urso Partitiaco successore delecto. Domestici ducis occisi palatium tamdiu defendere donec Pupiliam insulam magna immunitate colendam obtinuerunt.

5 Ursus filium sibi consortem potestatis accepit, campanas duodecim anno salutis octingentesimo septuagesimo imperatori Constantinopolitano dono misit, quas ferunt primas fuisse in Graecia visas. Huic filios successit in ducatu solus, qui Comaclum civitatem de Ravennatibus vi cepit, et denique Petrum fratrem suum in ducatu socium obtinuit; ambo tamen infra tertium annum magistratu se abdicarunt. His successit Petrus Candianus, qui cum Sclavos uno proelio superasset, in altero ab eis superatus et interfectus est. Iohannes Partitiacus, qui se ducatu abdicaverat, rursus ut fatiscenti patriae consuleret principatum accepit sextoque mense deposuit. Suffectus est ei Petrus cognomento Tribunus. (Tum primum Italia posthabitis Francis duos reges sui generis sibi delegit: Berengarium Foroiuliensem et Guidonem Spoletanum ducem.) Petrus partem urbis muro cinxit a Rivo Castelli usque ad Sanctam Mariam in Iubanico, ibique canale maius ferrea cathena conclusit.

brother Giovanni,<sup>101</sup> who built the church of St. Mark. He attacked Malamocco, put Obelerio, who was living there in exile, to death, and destroyed the city which had once been the capital of the Venetian state. Summoned to the kingdom of the Franks to answer for Obelerio's death, Giovanni left Venice to go there; the bishop of Castello and two citizens of Rialto managed the government in the meantime. On his return the people rose up and threw him out of office; he retired to a monastery where he died of a broken heart. He was succeeded by Pietro Tradonico,<sup>102</sup> a native of Pola, who appointed his son to rule with him. During his reign the Slavs captured and destroyed the Venetian town of Caorle. At Pietro's death, his son Giovanni became doge alone. He was murdered by an unruly mob as he returned from the church of San Zaccaria, and was buried in the same church.<sup>103</sup> His family and retainers refused to hand the palace over to his elected successor, Orso Participazio,<sup>104</sup> until they were granted immunity and the island of Poveglia to live on.

Orso appointed his son to rule alongside him. In the year 870 5 he sent the emperor at Constantinople a present of twelve bells, said to be the first ever seen in Greece. His son succeeded him as doge and ruled alone.<sup>105</sup> He captured the city of Comacchio from the people of Ravenna and later chose his brother Pietro to rule alongside him. But within three years both had abdicated. They were followed by Pietro Candiano,<sup>106</sup> who defeated the Slavs the first time he met them in battle but was himself defeated and killed the second time around. Giovanni Participazio, who earlier had abdicated, took up his post again for the good of his desperate country, but six months later resigned once more. Then Pietro, called Tribuno,<sup>107</sup> was elected in his place. It was then that Italy rejected the Franks and chose two of her own to be kings: Berengar, duke of Friuli, and Guido, duke of Spoleto. Pietro walled the city from Rivo di Castello to Santa Maria Zobenigo, where he also closed off the Grand Canal with an iron chain.

6 Hungari eo anno Italiam ingressi a Tervisio Mediolanum usque caedibus omnia incendiisque vastarunt, et ingressi Venetiarum stagna pelliciatas navibus tumultuarie fabricatis Civitatem Novam Clugiamque et Caput Aggeris populati sunt; quos Berengarius non armis sed pecunia ingenti data retro in Hungariam misit.

7 Petro Tribuno Ursus Partitiacus Secundus successor datus est imperante Corrado Alemanno, ex ea gente primo. Ursum secutus est alter Petrus Candianus, qui potentiam Venetorum in Liburnis ac Dalmatis magnifice auxit, quo tempore Genuam Saraceni ex Africa venientes populati sunt. Hunc cives cum ducali solio vellent eiicere, et is se armis in palatio tueretur, iniecto igni pice ac sulphure mixto palatium ipsum exussere; quo incendio et ecclesiae multae ac civium aedes arserunt, duxque cum filio et complicibus interfectus est. Petrus Urseolus, Candiani successor exusta aedificia reparavit, et Gradum civitatem muro cinxit. (Circa idem tempus, anno salutis millesimo Adrienses apud Lauretum congressi Venetis ad internitionem usque deleti sunt, atque ita memorabilis urbis, quae nomen Adriatico mari dederat, reliquiae funditus defecere.)

8 Post Urseolum Petrus Barbolanus rei Venetae praefuit, quem Dominicus Urseolus per arma deiecit, ac ducatum invasit. Quietum deinde urbis regimen fuit usque ad annum salutis primum et septuagesimum supra millesimum centesimum; quo tempore Michael dux a suis civibus est occisus. Tumultuatum quoque in civitate non multis annis postea invenimus propter vectigal moliturae, inceptoribus novarum rerum captis ac suspensio necatis. Fuit et ingens in urbe motus, cum Baiamons Theupolus regnum affectans Quirinos, Barocios, Doros, Badoarios et Basilios, primarias in urbe familias sibi pellexit, in quos non sine magno labore ac periculo publico consilio animadversum est. Deinceps etsi non paucae seditiones rem Venetam agitavere, non tamen dignae fuerunt quae

In the same year the Hungarians invaded Italy and devastated the entire region from Treviso to Milan with fire and sword. Using makeshift boats, hastily constructed out of skin, they ventured into the Venetian marshes and sacked Cittanova, Chioggia, and Cavarzere. Berengar persuaded them to go back to Hungary, not by force of arms but by paying them an enormous sum of money.

Pietro Tribuno was followed by Orso II Participazio during the reign of Conrad, the first of the German emperors.<sup>108</sup> Next came Pietro II Candiano.<sup>109</sup> Under his rule, Venetian power in Liburnia and Dalmatia increased dramatically. It was then that Genoa was sacked by Saracens sailing over from Africa. When the people tried to drive Orso from office, he used armed force to defend himself in the ducal palace. The crowd threw torches lit with pitch and sulphur at the palace and burned it to the ground. Many churches and private houses also caught fire, and the doge was killed along with his son and his retainers.<sup>110</sup> Pietro Orseolo,<sup>111</sup> who succeeded Candiano, restored the burned buildings and built a wall around the city of Grado. Around this same time, in the year 1000, the people of Hadria met the Venetians in battle at Loreo and were utterly destroyed; and so the remnants of that famous city which gave its name to the Adriatic Sea fell into ruin.<sup>112</sup>

After Orseolo, Pietro Barbolano<sup>113</sup> ruled Venice until Domenico Orseolo seized power in a violent coup.<sup>114</sup> Then the city enjoyed peace until the year 1171, when Doge Michiel was murdered by his fellow citizens.<sup>115</sup> Not long after this we hear of rioting in protest at a tax on flour.<sup>116</sup> The instigators of that unrest were caught and hanged. There was also a panic when Bajamonte Tiepolo, aspiring to make himself prince,<sup>117</sup> won the support of the first families of the city: the Querini, Barozzi, Dori, Badoer, and Basegi. With great effort and some risk, the plotters were exposed and publicly punished. After this the state continued to experience frequent unrest, but it was nothing compared to the

adaequari superioribus possent, etsi Franciscus Foscari non sine iniuria ducali solio fuerit amotus.

- 9 Cur autem civitas liberam sese asserat, paucis referendum est; quae nec semper libera fuit, neque, si ratio vera spectetur, nunc libera dici potest, quae duro et intractabili paucorum civium servitio premitur.

: 28 :

*Quod Veneti non semper liberi fuerint, neque hodie verae sunt libertatis, et duplex Imperium: Graecum et Germanicum. Nova et recondita.*

- 1 Fuerunt Veneti ab initio condicionis suae sub imperio<sup>66</sup> Graecorum, eisque paruerunt usque ad tempora Caroli Magni. At cum imperium orbis terrae, quod apud Graecos erat, Romanus praesul, Iesu Christi, cui dedit Pater omnem potestatem in caelo et in terra, verus vicarius ad Germanos in persona magnifici Caroli transtulisset, neque paruisset Graeci, sed ultro resisterent imperiumque retinere contenderent, scissum est Imperium, et orientales quidem Graecis, occidentales Germanis paruerunt. In Italia vero a Neapoli et Manfredonia quicquid ultra Siciliam versus excurrit, in partibus Graecorum fuit, citeriora ad Germanos pertinere, excepta Venetia et Beneventana urbe; quae quamvis Graeco magis Imperio, quam Germano faverent, nullarum tamen partium habitae sunt, et in foedere, quod olim cum Hyrene imperatrice et demum cum Nicephoro imperatore Graecorum Carolus ipse percussit, cautum esse referunt ut Veneta urbs Italiae maritima

earlier troubles—though force was used to depose Francesco Foscari from office.<sup>118</sup>

Here we must say a little about Venice's claims to independence, for the state has not always been free and even now cannot properly be called free, as it labors under the harsh and oppressive rule of a handful of citizens. 9

: 28 :

*Venetian "liberty" a recent phenomenon: even the modern state is not truly free. The empire divided between east and west. Secrets and news.*

From earliest times the Venetians were part of the Byzantine Empire; they remained subject to the Greeks until the time of Charlemagne. But then the pope of Rome—the true Vicar of Jesus Christ, to whom God the Father gave universal power on heaven and earth<sup>119</sup>—transferred possession of the universal empire from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne. When the Greeks not only refused to submit to this order but actually resisted it in an attempt to retain their authority, the empire was split in two. The eastern world remained subject to the Greeks and the western to the Germans. In Italy, all the territory from Naples and Manfredonia to Sicily fell to the Greeks while the northern parts went to the Germans, with the exception of Venice and Benevento. These, though they favored Greek rule over German, were judged to belong to neither side. It is said that in the treaty which Charlemagne struck first with the Greek Empress Irene and then with the Emperor Nicephorus, it was specified that the Italian maritime city of Venice should respect both empires 1

utrunque reverita Imperium suis legibus uteretur, neque bello neque pace huius aut illius partis censeretur.

2 Fortunatus autem patriarcha Gradensis, cum adversus<sup>67</sup> Iohannem et Mauritium duces, ut ante diximus, conspirasset, ea potissimum ratione Pipino suavit in Venetos ducere, quia cum Graecis contra foedus sentirent. Niceta vero patricius, qui Populonium depopulatus est, Venetorum auxilio adversus Pipinum classem instruxit, et Comaclum, quod tunc Pipini fuit, expugnare adorsus turpiter repulsus est, Obelerio ac Beato rei Venetae ducatum tenentibus; quos cum pacis arbitros Graeci Francique admisissent, Pipinus tandem recusavit, dolos inesse tractatibus arbitratus, redintegratoque bello Venetos tanquam Graecis amicos magnis afflixit cladibus; et sunt qui tum captas Venetias tradant. Illud constat, Pipinum Brondulensibus, qui primi ad orientem solem Venetorum populi sunt, Clugiensibus et Pelestrinensibus subactis in Albiolam duxisse, et priusquam eam caperet, Valentinum ducem sedem rei Venetae ex Metamauco in Rivum Altum transtulisse, moxque Albiolenses et Metamaucenses deditionem fecisse.

3 Expugnatio Rivi Alti incerta est; quidam affirmant pontem ligneum a Metamauco in Altum Rivum a Pipino deductum, quem cum Veneti exussissent, Pipinus abierit; alii territum redeunte classe Pauli Ceffaranae Dalmatarum Venetorumque copias afferente effugisse tradunt. Veritas in obscuro est. Pax tamen inter Nicephorum Graecorum imperatorem et imperatoris filium Pipinum convenit, in cuius foederibus concessit Pipinus ut Veneti immunitatem qua fuerant a Carolo genitore donati retinentes Nicephori partium bello paceque censerentur. Eisdem leges et Michael imperator confirmavit, qui Nicephoro a Bulgaris occiso et Staturatio<sup>68</sup>

but be governed by her own laws; in times of both war and peace the city should be considered neutral.

When Fortunato, the patriarch of Grado, launched his conspiracy against the Doges Giovanni and Maurizio (as described above), he urged Pepin to attack the Venetians on the grounds that they had sided with the Greeks in violation of the treaty. When Obelerio and Beato ruled as doges, the patrician Nicetas sacked Piombino and then, with Venetian support, fitted out a fleet against Pepin; but in an attempt to storm Comacchio, then in Pepin's hands, he suffered an ignominious rout. Both the Greeks and the Franks agreed to accept the doges as arbiters of peace but in the end Pepin withdrew from the negotiations because he suspected a trick. He renewed the war and punished the Venetians severely for supporting the Greeks. There are some who say that Venice was actually captured then. This much is clear: Pepin subdued Brondolo, the easternmost of the Venetian settlements, along with Chioggia and Pellestrina; he then proceeded to attack Albiola but before he could capture it Doge Valentino transferred the seat of government from Malamocco to Rialto; Albiola and Malamocco then quickly surrendered.

It is unclear whether Rialto itself fell to the enemy. Some say that Pepin built a wooden bridge from Malamocco to Rialto but retreated when the Venetians burned it down. Others say he fled in terror when the fleet returned carrying Dalmatian and Venetian troops and a party of soldiers led by Paolo Ceffarano. What actually happened remains a mystery. But a peace was concluded between the Greek Emperor Nicephorus and Pepin, the son of Charlemagne.<sup>120</sup> Under the terms of this treaty, while the Venetians retained the immunity his father had conferred on them, Pepin allowed that they should be regarded as allies of Nicephorus in war and peace. These same terms were ratified by the Emperor Michael, who succeeded to power after Nicephorus was killed by the Bulgarians and his son Stauracius dispossessed. But Michael

eius filio deiecto Graecam rem tenuit, verum immunitatem a Carolo concessam Venetis extra Italiam extendi noluit.

4 Invenimus Michaellem, qui secundus huius nominis apud Graecos imperavit, Venetis tanquam subiectis inhibuisse ne merces Occidentis in Orientem veherent, et ut adversus Saracenos Siciliam vastantes classem ducerent, imperasse, illosque paruisse; imperante quoque Basilio cum Saracenis navali proelio decertasse, idemque fecisse contra Bohemundum Nortmannum Dirachium obsidentem, iubente Nicephoro Batamaco<sup>69</sup> Graecorum imperatore.

5 Constat itaque Venetos Imperio Graeco subiectos fuisse, verum illo deficiente descivisse, et multa de Graecis ad se traxisse. Hinc libertas Veneta! Nam cum orientales imperatores, quibus ex consensu occidentalium suberant, prorsus elanguissent, erigentes cornua Veneti in libertatem se facile vendicarunt, cum neque Graeci possent eos compescere, nec Latini curarent.

: 29 :

*Alexandri Tertii Senensis beneficia in Venetos, bellaque varia cum Genuensibus et Pisanis fortuna diversa, et Italica eorum bella.*

1 Auxit maxime dignitatem Venetorum<sup>70</sup> Alexander Tertius Romanus pontifex, natione Senensis, qui Venetorum armis adversus Federicum imperatorem adiutus praeclearis eos rarisque privilegiis honestavit. Ipsi vero qui Graecorum imperium expilaverant, etiam Germanorum et Hungarorum regnum opprimere conati sunt,

refused to let the Venetians enjoy the immunity Charlemagne had granted them beyond the boundaries of Italy.

We read that Michael, the second Byzantine emperor of that name, forbade the Venetians — as though they were his subjects — to carry Western merchandise to the East; and that he ordered them to lead a fleet against the Saracens then plundering Sicily, and that they complied. During the reign of Basil they again engaged the Saracens in a battle at sea; and they also attacked Bohemund the Norman, who was besieging Durazzo, on the orders of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus Botaniates.<sup>121</sup>

5 There is no question, then, but that the Venetians were once subjects of the Byzantine Empire; but when that empire began to falter they seceded from it, taking with them much land from the Greeks. So this is Venetian liberty! As the Eastern empire declined — the empire to which Venice, with the consent of the Western emperors, was subject — the Venetians reared their horns and asserted their independence. This was not a difficult task: the Greeks no longer had the strength to stop them, nor did the Latins care to do so.

: 29 :

*Favors bestowed on Venice by Alexander III of Siena. Venetian campaigns against Genoa and Pisa, fought with varying success. Their wars in Italy.*

1 Venice's standing in the world grew enormously thanks to Pope Alexander III, a Sieneese by birth, who after receiving support from Venetian troops in a battle against Emperor Frederick, granted the Venetians some remarkable privileges. They had plundered the Byzantine Empire and now tried to subdue the Ger-

atque utinam intactam Romanam Ecclesiam reliquissent! Sed in populari dominatu nihil religiosum, nihil sanctum: res publica inanimis est, neque Gehennae veretur ignem. Duces suos Veneti complures exilio damnavere, alios oculis alios vita privarunt, nec tribunis nec magistris militum mitiores fuere. Praerigidum genus hominum et suarum legum observantissimum.

2 Pro religione saepe classes armavere, cum Saracenis diu variante fortuna contenderunt, illosque cum oram Dalmatiae diripuissent et Gradum usque infestis classibus excurrissent, navali proelio superatos Adriaticum sinum relinquere penitus coegerunt.

3 Christianis Hierosolymam obtinentibus saepe auxilia praestiterunt, cum Francis societate inita bis Constantinopolim vi ceperrunt, Aegaeique maris insulas omnes<sup>71</sup> armis obtinuerunt. Cretam, quae nunc Candia dicitur, pecunia coemerunt a Bonifacio marchione Montis Ferrati, ad quem Cretenses deleto Graecorum imperio inclinaverant. Adversus Hungaros propter Iaderam et alias Dalmatiae civitates crebro dimicavere. Andreas Hungarorum rex cupiens Christianis apud Syriam laborantibus opem ferre, ut navigia, quibus veheretur, a Venetis obtineret, eis Dalmatiam cessit, non tamen successores potiri quiete Venetos permiserunt; Ludovicus enim Genuensibus et Austrialibus iunctus adversus eos auxilia misit, et Sigismundus aetate nostra misso Pippone Florentino cum magnis copiis in Italiam rem Venetam ingentibus affecit cladibus, quamvis ad extremum victus non sine ignominia retrocesserit.

4 Romanos pontifices, Alexandrum Tertium et Gregorium Nonum, adversus Federicum Primum magnifice adjuverunt. Mathildi comitissae adversus Henricum Tertium Romanorum imperatorem opem tulere, qua Ferrariam egregia mulier vendicavit. Verum Fer-

mans and Hungarians too. If only they had kept their hands off the Church of Rome! But in a republican regime nothing is sacred or holy. A republic is a soulless thing and does not fear the fires of hell.<sup>122</sup> The Venetians exiled many of their doges, blinded some, and put others to death; nor did they treat their tribunes and *maestri della milizia* with any greater clemency; they are an uncompromising nation and enforce their laws with stringency.

They have often fitted out fleets in defense of the faith. They engaged the Saracens in endless skirmishes, with varying results, but after the Saracens ravaged the Dalmatian coast and sent their enemy fleets as far as Grado, the Venetians defeated them in a battle at sea and forced them to withdraw from the Adriatic entirely.

During the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, they frequently sent reinforcements to the crusaders. In alliance with the French they captured Constantinople twice; they also gained possession of the entire Aegean archipelago. They purchased Crete (now called Candia) from Bonifazio, the marquis of Monferrato, on whose protection the Cretans had relied after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>123</sup> They often fought Hungary for possession of Zara and the cities of Dalmatia. When King Andrew of Hungary wanted to send aid to the Christian armies then struggling in Syria, he ceded Dalmatia to the Venetians in return for transport ships. But his successors did not let the Venetians enjoy peaceful possession of the territory, for Lewis joined the Genoese and Austrians in sending troops against them.<sup>124</sup> In our own day Sigismund sent the Florentine Pippo into Italy with a great army.<sup>125</sup> There he inflicted heavy losses on the Venetian state until he was at last overcome and forced to beat an ignominious retreat.

The Venetians lent glorious aid to Popes Alexander III and Gregory IX against Frederick I. They supported Countess Matilda against the Roman Emperor Henry III<sup>126</sup> and enabled that extraordinary woman to take Ferrara. Later, however, the Ferrarese became subjects of the Church. When they rebelled

rariensibus, qui postea ad ius Ecclesiae pervenerant, Romano pontifici rebellantibus auxilia non negaverunt, ac Ferrariam ipsam in potestatem acceperunt. Propter quam rem facti extra Ecclesiam, et in servitum dati his, qui eos caperent, diu Christianis fere omnibus fuere contemptui, nec prius gratiam meruere quam dicto pontificis paruerunt. Cum Bohemundo Nortmanno, qui regnum in Italia obtinuit,<sup>72</sup> apud Dyrachium iubentibus imperatoribus Graecis navali proelio ter congressi priori certamine superiores fuerunt, in aliis succubere; deinde terram eius in Italiam invadentes, ut pacem Graecis redderet, compulerunt.

5 Sedente Clemente Tertio cum Pisanis societate inita triennio pro religione in Asia classem habuere, neque dignum laude quicquam fecere, cum sociorum emulatione impedirentur. Reversi domum cum Pisanis, qui Polam in Istria ceperant, bellum gessere, et Pola recuperata murisque urbis ad mare deiectis Pisanos complures<sup>73</sup> occiderunt; apud Metonem duas eorum naves onustas mercibus intercepere; exin pax composita est. Imperante deinde Federico Secundo cum Pisani triremes centum contra Genuenses armassent, requisiti ex foedere sexaginta triremes Genuensibus auxilio misere. Classis praefectus cum appulisset Dyrachium, accepto nuntio, quod Pisana classis apud Corsicam fugara fuisset, reversus Polam, quae medio tempore rebellaverat, ferro atque igne vastavit. Deinceps Veneti simul et Pisani contra Genuenses foedera percusserunt; saepe enim inter Genuenses et Venetos decertatum est, saepe pax facta, saepe interrupta, et Pisani modo istorum modo illorum socii fuere.

6 Cum Henricus Piscator Maleae comes classe Genuensium fretus Cretam auferre Venetis conaretur, bellum inter Genuenses et Venetos primum coepit, duobusque proeliis non admodum

against the pope, the Venetians did not refuse them support and actually took possession of Ferrara itself, an act for which they were excommunicated. It was decreed that anyone who captured a Venetian could keep him as a slave, and practically all of Christendom held the Venetians in contempt. They were not restored to favor until they agreed to obey the pope's commands. On the orders of the Byzantine emperors they engaged in three naval battles off Durazzo with Bohemund the Norman, who had occupied the kingdom of Italy. They won the first engagement but were beaten in the others. They then invaded Bohemund's Italian domains and compelled him to accept peace with the Greeks.

5 During the pontificate of Clement III, Venice entered into an alliance with Pisa. For three years they maintained a fleet in Asia Minor for the defense of the faith, but they accomplished little of note because they were hampered by rivalries with their allies. After the fleet returned, Venice declared war on Pisa because the latter had seized Pola in Istria; they recovered Pola, razed its walls to sea level, slew many Pisans, and caught two of their ships off Modon loaded with merchandise. Then they made peace. Later, in the reign of Frederick II, when Pisa had outfitted a hundred galleys against Genoa, the Genoese called on their sworn allies, the Venetians, who sent sixty galleys to aid the Genoese. When the admiral put in at Durazzo and heard the news that the Pisan fleet had been routed off Corsica, he returned to Pola. That city had revolted in the meantime, and the admiral laid waste to it with fire and sword. Then Venice and Pisa made an alliance against Genoa: over and over again, the Genoese and the Venetians waged war, made peace, and then broke it, while the Pisans allied themselves now with one side, now with the other.

6 Genoa and Venice first went to war with each other when Henry Piscator, count of Malta, used the Genoese fleet to try and wrest Crete from Venice. They fought two minor skirmishes in which the Venetians had the advantage. Then in the pontificate of

magnis Veneti superiores fuere. Maior deinde contentio inter hos duos populos emersit sedente Gregorio Nono propter res Graecas, quibus diripiendis uterque inhiabat. Pontifex partibus ad se vocatis ea lege pacem composuit ne alter sine altero Vattarim<sup>74</sup> Graecorum imperatorem vel amicum vel hostem assumeret; si quis contra faceret, excommunicationem et interdicti poenam incurreret. Tertio deinde pro monasterio Sancti Sabae, quod erat apud Ptolomaidam, ubi et Veneti et Genuenses frequentes inhabitabant, inter se contendere coeperunt. Philippus, natione Gallus, qui urbi praeerat, tanquam divisionum incentores Venetos urbe deiecit; illi Tyrum concessere, cuius urbis tertiam partem obtinebant,<sup>75</sup> et Pisanis in foedera tractis Ptolomaidam reversi Philippum et Genuenses expulerunt, eosque rursus congregari audentes inter Ptolomaidam et Tyrum strage magna ceciderunt.

7 Cum Michael Paleologus, tutor filiorum Theodori Vattaris prodicione civium expulso Balduino imperatore Constantinopolim recepisset, et pupillis occisis arrepto imperio adversus Vilhelmum Achaiae dominum arma movisset, Genuenses Graeco, Veneti Latino suppetias tulere, et congressi simul inferior Genuensis fuga salutem quaesivit; Venetus onerariam navim apud Tyrum Genuensi eripuit, apud Lylibeum tres triremes interceptit, apud Drepanum octo et viginti triremium classem superavit, rursusque inter Ptolomaidam et Tyrum Genuensium classis a Veneto superata est.

8 Ludovicus denique rex Franciae, qui Philippo in Asia defuncto successerat, Cremonam veniens vocatis ad se Venetis, Genuensibus ac Pisanis pacem inter eos quinque annorum constituit; qua finita Nicolaus Pisanus praefectus Venetae classis congressus Genuensi in Aegaeo pelago victor evasit. Philippus Auria interea,

Gregory IX, a more serious conflict arose between the two republics over the lands of the Greek empire, which both were keen to plunder. The pope summoned both sides and arranged a peace on the following terms: neither state should treat the Greek Emperor Vataztes as either friend or foe independently of the other; if they did, they would be excommunicated and an interdict would be declared against them.<sup>127</sup> Hostilities broke out a third time over the monastery of San Saba in Ptolemais,<sup>128</sup> where numerous Venetians and Genoese had settled. The French governor, Philippe, expelled the Venetians from the city on the grounds that they were stirring up trouble. The Venetians went off to Tyre (a third of that city belonged to them) and after entering into an alliance with the Pisans they returned to Ptolemais and drove Philippe and the Genoese out of the city. When their enemies dared to challenge them again, they defeated them in a bloody massacre between Ptolemais and Tyre.

7 Later, Michael Palaeologus, guardian of the sons of Theodore Vataztes,<sup>129</sup> drove Baldwin the emperor out of Constantinople and seized control of the city with the collusion of its citizens.<sup>130</sup> Then, after murdering his wards and usurping the throne for himself, he took the field against Guillaume, lord of Achaia.<sup>131</sup> The Genoese supported the Greeks and the Venetians the Latins. In the ensuing battle the Genoese were defeated and took flight to save themselves. The Venetians seized a Genoese transport off Tyre and intercepted three galleys off Lilibeo. They routed a fleet of twenty-eight galleys off Trapani; a second Genoese squadron was defeated by the Venetians between Ptolemais and Tyre.

8 Then Louis, king of France, who had succeeded to the throne after Philippe died in the East, arrived in Cremona and convened a conference with Venice, Genoa, and Pisa; he arranged a five year truce among them.<sup>132</sup> When it expired, the admiral of the Venetian fleet, Niccolò Pisani, attacked the Genoese in the Aegean and emerged victorious. In the meantime Filippo Doria, admiral of the



praefectus alterius classis Genuensium Euboeam multis cladibus affecit, et Choum insulam in eodem mari vi coepit.

9 Cum Genuensium onerosa potentia Venetis videretur, regem Aragonum et imperatorem Graecorum in societatem vocare, classemque octuaginta quattuor triremium simul instruxere, quam Genuenses praefectus, Paganus Auria circa Bosforum Thracium ingenti pugna superatam disiecit. Nec diu postea Aragonenses et Veneti simul iuncti duce Nicolao Pisano conserto cum Genuensibus apud Corsicam proelio unam et quadraginta triremes hostium captas cum hominibus in profundum demersere. Genuenses eo affecti detrimento Iohanni archiepiscopo Mediolanensi se dedidere, cuius auspiciis apud Sapientiam Peloponnesi promontorium Nicolaum Pisanum Venetorum praefectum cum quinque milibus hominum captum abduxere, et secundum hanc victoriam pax mortuo archiepiscopo aequis conditionibus recepta est.

10 Nec diu postea memorata apud veteres insula Tenedos novum bellum excitavit, quam Kaloiohannes Graecorum imperator Venetis tradiderat, filius eius Andronicus Genuensibus promiserat. Pugnatum est apud Antium, et Genuenses conflicti sunt, et rursus sex eorum triremes ex Cypro redeuntes captae, quae Barnabovis filiam insulae regi nuptam eo vexerant. Versa deinde fortuna Lucianus Auria Genuensium classis praefectus Victorem Pisanum apud Polam aggressus duodeviginti triremes ei abstulit. Elati ea victoria Genuenses mare Superum duabus classibus Venetis clausere, quarum altera in Piceno stationem habuit, altera apud Iaderam, nec terra patebat Venetis Francisco Carraria Romanum oppidum de Tarvisinis obsidente. Ceperunt Genuenses Bebas, Caput Aggeris et Sancti Lazari vicum et Clugiam, Metamaucum cremavere, Lauretum vi expugnare. Deinde ad capiendam urbem animos intendere; sed conclusi paludibus et brevibus aquis a leviori-

other half of the Genoese fleet, inflicted heavy losses on Negroponte and took Cos, another Aegean island, by storm.

9 Feeling threatened by this show of Genoese strength, Venice now struck an alliance with the king of Aragon and the Greek emperor. Together they fitted out a fleet of eighty-four galleys, which the Genoese admiral Pagano Doria routed and scattered in a great battle in the Bosphorus in Thrace.<sup>133</sup> Not long after this, Niccolò Pisani led a joint force of Aragonese and Venetian ships into battle against the Genoese off Corsica; he captured forty-one of the enemy's ships and sank them, crews and all. Discouraged by their losses, the Genoese put themselves under the command of Giovanni, archbishop of Milan, and under his auspices captured the Venetian admiral Niccolò Pisani off a promontory of the Peloponnese called Sapientza, and carried him away along with 5,000 of his men. After this victory, and with the archbishop now dead, the two states agreed to peace on equal terms.

10 Not long after this a new round of hostilities broke out over the fabled island of Tenedos. The Greek Emperor Caloiohannes had consigned the island to Venice, but his son Andronicus promised it to Genoa. The two sides met in battle off Anzio.<sup>134</sup> The Genoese were crushed, and Venice captured another six of their galleys on their way back from Cyprus, where they had taken the daughter of Bernabò to marry that island's king.<sup>135</sup> Then, in a sudden reversal of fortune, the Genoese admiral Luciano Doria attacked Vettor Pisani off Pola and captured eighteen of his ships. The Genoese were emboldened by this victory and closed off the Adriatic to the two Venetian fleets, one of which was based in the Marches and the other at Zara. Venice had no access to the mainland, either, for Francesco da Carrara was then besieging Treviso. The Genoese took Bebe, Cavarzere, San Lazzaro, and Chioggia, burned Malamocco, and took Loreo by storm. They then set their sights on capturing Venice, but they got bogged down in the marshes and amidst the shoals and suffered serious damage at the

bus Venetorum navigiis magnum detrimentum accepere, et paulo post Clugia obsessi, multis affecti cladibus, fame laborantes dedicationem fecere.

11 Decimo Kalendas Iunii anno salutis M° CCC° LXXX° ingens ea Venetorum victoria fuit; Andreas Contareus dux civitatis, Victor Pisanus, Dominicus Michael, Carolus Zenus et Thadeus Iustinianus eius praecipui auctores habiti sunt; hostium quattuor milia trecenti quadraginta vivi in potestatem venire. Nec tamen pacem petivere Genuenses, sed classe in Istriam missa Tergestinos ad rebellionem compulere, Iustinopolim incendio absumpsere, ad portum Venetum per contemptum venire, Polam et Signiam vi cepere, a Parentio aegre repulsi sunt. Tandem arbitro Sabaudiae duce sequenti anno pax conclusa est, ea lege adiecta ut castellum in insula Tenedos demoliretur quod fuerat discordiae causa; idque factum est.

Postremo sub Philippo Mediolanensium duce rursum Genuenses navali proelio cum Venetis contenderunt victique sunt, et Franciscus Spinola classis praefectus in captivitatem ductus.

12 Deinceps Veneti domini maris habiti, qui diu in continenti Italiae nihil obtinuerunt. Prima eorum possessio Tarvisium fuit, quae civitas cum modo Austrialibus modo Patavinis paruisset, tandem sese Venetis dedit anno salutis quarto et XXX° supra M CCC<sup>tos</sup>. Contenderunt et Veneti cum Bononiensibus annis tribus. Quadraginta milia militum Bononienses in armis aliquando coegerunt, et castellum in ostio Padi erexerunt; vicerunt tamen eos Veneti, et castellum destruere compulerunt.

13 Anconitanos saepe armis afflixerunt, Carrarios subacto Patavio<sup>76</sup> eiecerunt, Scaligeris, quorum potentia olim in Italia ingens fuit, Veronam et Vicentiam ademerunt; cum Vicecomitibus Mediolani dominis varia saepe fortuna terra marique decertarunt, Io-

hands of the lighter Venetian ships. Soon they were holed up in Chioggia where, after many further reverses and with supplies running low, they finally made their surrender.

This great Venetian victory took place on May 22, 1380.<sup>136</sup> Primary credit for the triumph went to the doge, Andrea Contarini, and to Vettor Pisani, Domenico Michiel, Carlo Zeno, and Taddeo Giustiniani. Of the Genoese, 4,340 were taken prisoner. But the Genoese refused to sue for peace; instead, they sent a fleet to Istria where they incited the citizens of Trieste to revolt, burned Capo d'Istria, and then brazenly advanced as far as the lagoon of Venice itself. They also captured Pola and Segni, and it was only with great difficulty that they were driven back from Parenzo. Finally, with the duke of Savoy acting as mediator,<sup>137</sup> a peace was concluded the following year. The agreement stipulated that the fort on the island of Tenedos, the original cause of the dispute, should be demolished, and this was done. Under Duke Filippo of Milan, the Genoese met the Venetians in one last naval battle, which they lost, and in which their admiral Francesco Spinola was taken prisoner.

From that day on the Venetians have been hailed as lords of the sea. But they went for years without making any gains on Italian soil. Their first acquisition on the mainland was Treviso, a city which had alternated between Austrian and Paduan rule before finally submitting to Venice in 1334.<sup>138</sup> Venice also fought a war with Bologna which lasted for three years. At one point the Bolognese had an army of 40,000 men in the field and built a fortress at the mouth of the Po but the Venetians defeated them and forced them to destroy it.

The Venetians frequently clashed with Ancona. They annexed Padua and deposed the Carrara. They deprived the Scaligeri, once a formidable Italian dynasty, of Verona and Vicenza. They maintained a running feud with the Visconti lords of Milan, whom they attacked on land and sea with varying results. Archbishop

hannem archiepiscopum et Barnabovem et Iohannem Galeazium admodum timuere, Philippum Mariam Florentinis iuncti bello attrivere, Brixiam, Bergamum et insignia pleraque oppida ei abstulerunt, Abduaque transmissa ad Mediolani usque moenia praedabundi excurrerunt. Illo mortuo cum Placentiam et Laudam occupassent, a Francisco Sforzia, qui Philippo successit, eiecti sunt, et cum eo demum aequis conditionibus, ut ante diximus, pacem fecere. Regi Alfonso adversus Franciscum et Florentinos socii fuere, deinde hostes, tandem in amicitiam rediere, cum pariter timerent et timori essent.

- 14 Apposuerunt et in rebus Ecclesiae manus: patriarcham e Foro Iulii deiecerunt, Ravennam occupaverunt, Eugenium Quartum, quamvis suae urbis civem, aliquandiu persecuti sunt. Postremo cum tota Italia exceptis Genuensibus et Romandiolae tyrannis, qui sprete fuerunt, in foedera coisset, priores Veneti reperti sunt suae fidei violatores, qui Ferdinando Siciliae regi adversus Francos ex foedere auxilia petenti denegaverunt.

: 30 :

*De situ Venetiarum et navali maximo ac templo Divi Marci, aliisque aedificiis et viris claris.*

- 1 Venetia, ut diximus, ab initio insulas, quae sunt inter Aquas Gradatas et Lauretum, fere omnes occupavit, uno civitatis corpore ex pluribus oppidulis constituto; hodie continua sunt aedificia, quae unam urbem efficiunt canalibus tantum, in quibus aquae salsae decurrunt, tanquam viis quibusdam inter se divisas. Latitudo cana-

Giovanni, Bernabò, and Giangaleazzo rather intimidated them, but in concert with the Florentines they broke Filippo Maria in war. They took Brescia, Bergamo, and a number of other important towns from him; they crossed the Adda and carried their raids to the very walls of Milan. But when Filippo died his successor, Francesco Sforza, drove them out of Piacenza and Lodi, which they were occupying; only then did they make peace on fair terms, as we have described. They allied with King Alfonso against Francesco and the Florentines; then they turned on the king; but at last they became friends again, for each side both feared and frightened the other in equal measure.

They even laid hands on the patrimony of the Church. They 14 expelled the patriarch from Friuli, seized Ravenna, and for a while waged war against Eugenius IV, even though he was one of their compatriots. Finally, after a league was established of all the Italian powers with the exception of Genoa and the lords of the Romagna (who were left out of account), the Venetians were the first to break their word: they refused to support King Ferrante of Sicily when, in accordance with the agreement, he asked for help against the French.

: 30 :

*Venice: the city, the Arsenal, San Marco, other buildings, and famous men.*

1 From its origins, as we have said, Venice occupied nearly all the islands from Grado to Loreo; several small settlements together constituted a single civic entity. Today the entire area has been built over, creating one city intersected by saltwater canals which

lium maiorum triremem capit remigio vadentem. Sunt et viae lateribus stratae, quas pedibus ambulant.

- 2 Mercēs huc ex toto fere orbe convehuntur, neque aliud est Europa tota nobilium emporium. Negotiatores totius occidentis huc res deferunt, et orientales accipiunt mercēs. Armamentarium et navale, quod 'Arzanal'<sup>77</sup> vocitant, ditissimum habent omni machinarum genere refertum, in quo triremes et alia navigia absque intermissione aedificant. Opinio est eos, cum velint, brevissimo tempore centum triremes armare posse; quod aliquando fecerunt.
- 3 Urbs tota lateritia; verum si stabit imperium, brevi marmorea fiet, et iam nobilium aedes marmore incrustatae plurimo fulgent auro. Beato Marcho evangelistae nobilissima aedes constructa est ex orientali marmore; testudines artificio quod 'musaicum' vocant undique deauratae. Hic thesaurum esse asserunt regales opes excedentem, carbunculis, adamantibus et omni gemmarum genere adornatum, quem nostra aetate Graeculus quidam subtili furatus ingenio, tandem captus et ultimo supplicio affectus est, dissuadente duce Francisco Foscari, qui ausum talia servandum esse dicebat. Turris campanariae pinnaculum sexaginta milibus aureis inauratum ferunt. Ducale palatium amplissimum est, quod supra incensum et deinde instauratum diximus, super columnas marmoreas aedificatum, omnibus ornamentis illustre. Sunt et alia templa per urbem sumptu et opere admiranda et religiosorum cenobia. Crescit in dies civitas nullis circumdata moenibus; aqua pro muro est; continens ubi propius accedit passuum tribus milibus distat.
- 4 Viros habuit nostra aetate litterarum doctrina illustres: Paulum Ordinis Sancti Augustini professorem, cuius dialecticos libros hodie sequuntur; Franciscum Barbarum, Graecis ac Latinis litteris eruditum et qui ex Graecis multa in Latinum vertit.

serve as streets. The larger canals are wide enough to row a galley through; there are also pavements of brick for pedestrians.

Goods are shipped here from all over the world; in all of Europe there is no finer emporium. Merchants from every country in the West bring their wares to Venice to sell and then buy up goods from the East. There is also a magnificent naval armory (the "Arsenal") filled with all sorts of machinery; here galleys and other craft are assembled around the clock. It is said that the Venetians can, if they need to, fit out a hundred galleys at a moment's notice—and indeed they have done so on occasion.

The entire city is built of brick, but if their empire continues to flourish it will soon be made of marble; the palaces of the patricians are even now faced with marble and glitter with gold. The famous church of St. Mark the Evangelist is constructed of marbles from the East, its vaults gilded with what they call "mosaic" work. They say the treasury in this church is filled with rubies, diamonds, and all kinds of precious stones—a hoard greater than any king's. Not long ago the treasury was robbed by some Greek fellow who used a most ingenious method.<sup>139</sup> In the end he was caught and put to death, though Doge Francesco Foscari advised against it on the grounds that a man as bold as that deserved to live. The gilding on the top of the campanile is said to have cost 60,000 ducats. The enormous palace of the doge was burned and then rebuilt, as we said above;<sup>140</sup> it is built on marble columns and splendidly decorated. There are other sumptuous and beautiful churches and convents scattered throughout the city, which grows larger with every passing day. There are no walls to the city—the water serves as its defense, the mainland at its nearest point being some three miles away.

Modern men of letters from Venice include the Augustinian friar Paolo, a preacher whose books on logic remain highly respected, and Francesco Barbaro, an accomplished classical scholar who made many translations from Greek into Latin.<sup>141</sup>

*Adventus et oratio legatorum Venetorum  
et Pii responsum.*

- 1 Haec de Venetis paulo altius repetivimus, qui etsi diu legatos suos ad Mantuanum conventum mittere recusarunt, postremo tamen, cum accepissent ducem Clivensem adventasse, oratores Francos propediem venturos, ipsumque Franciscum Sforciam Mediolanensium principem adesse, neque alios ex tota Italia quam se ipsos desiderari, infamiam veriti publicam duos oratores cum delecta nobilium iuventute Mantuam misere adiunctis equitibus circiter quingentis, qui honoris causa itineris essent comites.
- 2 Franciscus Sforzia ob reverentiam urbis Venetae his extra moenia obviam processit, mediusque inter duos oratores introivit. Ludovicus, alter ex legatis in consistorio publico luculentam orationem habuit; erat enim non iure consultus modo verum etiam eloquentiae studiosus. Orationis huc sententia fuit: detestari Venetos Turchorum audaciam, qui aliena invaderent; Christianorum ignaviam accusare, qui sua non tuerentur neque arma pro religione capere auderent; laudare pontificem, qui de communi salute anxius non sine labore et sumptu Mantuam petivisset; bellum contra Turchos suscipiendum suadere, si uniti Christianorum viribus geri posset, atque in eum eventum sese magna facturos promissere.
- 3 Pius de origine Venetorum deque gloriosis eorum gestis nonnulla praefatus oblata eorum pro tuenda religione collaudavit, quamvis eam conditionem haberent quae difficillime posset impleri. Tarditatem legatorum accusavit, qui cum essent conventui

*Arrival of the Venetian ambassadors. Their speech  
and Pius's response.*

So we end a fairly detailed description of Venice. The Venetians had long refused to send ambassadors to the Congress of Mantua, but after they heard that the duke of Clèves had arrived, that the French envoys were expected soon, that Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, was attending in person, and that they alone of the Italian powers were not represented there, then — mindful of the damage this might do their public reputation — they dispatched two envoys together with an elite company of young patricians and an honor guard of some 500 mounted riders.<sup>142</sup>

As a mark of respect for the republic, Francesco Sforza met the embassy outside the city walls, placed himself between the two envoys, and escorted them into the city. One of these ambassadors, Luigi, then delivered a brilliant speech at a public consistory, for he was not only an accomplished jurist but also an eloquent public speaker. The gist of his oration was this: Venice condemned the aggression of the Turks in invading foreign lands; the Christian states had acted in a cowardly fashion, for they had neither defended their property nor dared to take up arms for the defense of their faith. The pope was to be praised: out of concern for the common good he had spared neither toil nor expense to come to Mantua. A crusade against the Turks was desirable, if it could be mounted by the united forces of Christendom. The Venetians promised to bend all their efforts to that end.

Pius then said a few words about the origins of Venice and its glorious history. He praised the Venetians for offering to defend the faith, even though they had set a condition that would be most difficult to meet. He rebuked the ambassadors for being late: they who lived nearest the meeting had been the last to arrive. He re-

propinquissimi, ultimi tamen omnium venissent. Commemoravit et Alexandri III Romani pontificis quanta fuisset<sup>78</sup> in Venetos caritas, nec se minus erga eos dilectionis habiturum affirmavit, si ad tutelam religionis, ut par esset, suam operam<sup>79</sup> navarent.

: 32 :

*Progressus concilii et Pii oratio luculentissima,  
Bessarionisque responsum, et Francisci Sforciae  
vulgaris oratio.*

- 1 Cum plenum iam concilium esset, quamvis nondum Franci venissent, placuit Romano pontifici, priusquam Franciscus dux Mediolani abiret, qui diu retineri non poterat, simul omnes adloqui qui praesentes aderant atque ad belli susceptionem cohortari. Facta igitur re divina in ecclesia cathedrali principes ac legati omnes in contionem accersiti sunt.
- 2 Multae ibi de sessione contentiones fuere, sed nulla maior quam Venetorum et Sabaudiensium: illi potentiam et antiquitatem sui imperii<sup>80</sup> praeferabant, isti nobilitatem sanguinis et consuetudinem. Pontifex, cum alio modo sopiri controversia nequiret, crescentque paulatim iurgia, et iam Ursatius non tam prudens quam arrogans accinctus ad rixam videretur, Venetis post oratores ducis Burgundiae collocatis Sabaudienses ad scabellum sui solii sedere iussit, atque imperato silentio horis circiter tribus peroravit tanta auditorum attentione ut nullum exciderit non intellectum verbum; et quamvis tussi per eos dies gravissime laborasset, divina tamen ope adiutus inter orandum neque tussivit unquam neque vel minimum ostendit impedimentum. De bello in Turchos gerendo multa

minded them of the great affection Pope Alexander III had had for Venice and he assured them that he would hold them in no less regard so long as they played their due part in the defense of the faith.

: 32 :

*The congress gets underway. A brilliant oration by Pius,  
Bessarion's response, and Francesco Sforza's  
speech in the vernacular.*

The congress was now in full session. Though the French had not yet arrived, the duke of Milan could not be kept waiting long, and so the pope decided that before the duke left he would address the general assembly and urge them to join the crusade. And so, after hearing mass in the cathedral, the princes and envoys were called to order.

At this point a number of disputes broke out over the order of seating; worst of all was the quarrel between Venice and Savoy. The former argued that their empire was ancient and powerful; the latter maintained they had noble lineage and the force of tradition on their side. The argument grew steadily more heated and Orsatto, a man more arrogant than wise, seemed on the point of coming to blows. Since there seemed no other way to settle the question, the pope seated the Venetians behind the ambassadors from Burgundy and told the Savoyards to sit on a stool by his throne. Then he commanded silence and spoke for three hours amid such rapt attention that not a single word went unremarked. The pope had been suffering a severe cough for several days, but Divine Mercy came to his aid and he did not cough once during his speech nor betray the slightest sign of hesitation. He spoke at

copiose locutus id non modo utile verum etiam iustum, facillimum ac necessarium demonstravit. (Eius oratio postmodum edita est, et inter alias eius continetur.)

3 Cum finem fecisset, Bessarion cardinalis Graecus pro Collegio locutus non pauciora quam pontifex, verba fecit ostendens quantum passi iacturam Christiani essent perdita Constantinopoli, et quae instarent mala, nisi Turchorum conatibus obviam iretur. Docuit facilem esse audentibus victoriam, suasitque multis rationibus bellum esse capessendum. Laudare probareque omnia Sacrum Collegium affirmavit quae pontifex maximus orando dixisset. Laudata est eius oratio, etsi Graecam facundiam quantum Latina praeiret ostenderit.

4 Aderat ab imperatore missus Antonius episcopus Tergestinus, qui nihil ausus est in tanto conventu proloqui; collega eius, Iohannes Inderbachius aegrotabat. Ceteri oratores regum, principum, civitatum concordibus votis verba pontificis probavere. Franciscus Sforzia militari eloquentia et verbis patriis suscipiendum in hostes fidei bellum magnopere suasit, seque et sua in eam rem obtulit.

: 33 :

*Oratio Hungarorum et Pii responsum.*

1 Aderant et oratores Hungariae, qui suo loco dicendi copiam adepti — ultimi enim fuere qui loquerentur, cum petitori opem venissent — pontifice laudato, qui de communi salute sollicitus esset,

length about the crusade against the Turks, demonstrating not only the utility but also the justness, ease, and necessity of the project. This oration later circulated with his collected speeches.<sup>143</sup>

When the pope was finished, the Greek Cardinal Bessarion 3 made a reply on behalf of the college of cardinals which was every bit as long as the pope's. In this he described the loss Christendom had suffered at the fall of Constantinople and what further evils awaited them if they did not fight back against Turkish aggression. He reminded them that victory comes easily to the bold and employed various other devices to argue for a declaration of war. He confirmed that the sacred college both admired and approved of everything the pope had said in his speech. His oration received compliments, though it did reveal the extent to which Latin eloquence surpasses Greek.

Antonio, bishop of Trieste,<sup>144</sup> was present as an imperial ambassador but he was nervous about speaking before such a large 4 gathering and his colleague Johann Hinderbach was ill. The spokesmen for all the other kings, princes, and states voted unanimously to approve what the pope had said. Francesco Sforza, speaking Italian with a soldier's eloquence, argued forcefully for a declaration of war against the enemies of the faith and pledged himself and his resources to that end.

: 33 :

*The Hungarians' speech and Pius's response.*

There were also some ambassadors from Hungary, who were then 1 given a chance to speak to the congress — they came last because they had come to ask for help. After applauding the pope for his

imperatorem pluribus verbis criminati sunt, qui laborantibus Turchorum bello Hungaris molestias addidisset, novis tumultibus regnum involvens. Fremebat his auditis adversus imperatorem tota contio, nec orator eius in tanto consessu obiecta diluere audebat, ut qui contiones non esset adloqui solitus.

2 Tum pontifex: 'Praeter rem et contra rem,' inquit, 'Hungari, locuti estis. De bello contra Turchos gerendo nunc agimus, et causae vestrae consulentes imperatorem et Christianos reliquos in auxilium vestrum armare conamur. Vos opem quaeritis, et qui possunt optulari verbis lacessitis? Non est hoc quod regno vestro conducatur, neque hic locus est in quo iurgia iactare conveniat. Male miseria et arrogantia simul habitant. Nos imperatorem iusti amantem novimus, nec regem vestrum ab honesto discedere arbitramur. Quamvis de regno dissentiant, nemo tamen iniustam habere se causam arbitratur. Cum veritatem noverint, oboedient veritati. Danda est opera ut in amicitiam redeant. Misimus ad eos legatum unum; mitemus et alium, si opus fuerit, ne quid ad reconciliandos inter se principes desit. Interea quod in manibus est absolvamus! Facessantque prorsus hoc in loco dissensiones, nec maledictum aliquid audiatur!'

3 Siluere his auditis Hungari. Reliqui omnes pontificis verba probavere, et unitis animis bellum esse gerendum adversus Turchos decreverunt. Et contio eius diei soluta est.

concern for the common good, they launched into a lengthy diatribe against the emperor. He had added to Hungary's troubles, they said, by attacking them when they were already under threat from the Turks and had thus plunged their kingdom into further disarray. Hearing this, the entire assembly began to murmur against the emperor, but his envoy, who had no experience of public speaking, was afraid to stand up before such a large crowd to refute the accusations.

Then the pope intervened: "Men of Hungary, what you say is 2 both irrelevant to our cause and damaging to it. We are here to discuss a crusade against the Turks! We have taken your cause to heart and we are trying to rouse the emperor—and every other Christian, for that matter—to arms in order to help you. You came here to ask for support; will you insult those who can assist you? This is no way to help your kingdom, nor is this the place to throw accusations about. Arrogance sits ill with your neediness. We know the emperor loves justice, nor do we think your king is not an honorable man. True, they are at odds over your kingdom, but neither thinks his cause is unjust. When each of them comes to see the truth of the matter, he will acknowledge it. We must try to restore good relations between them. We have already sent them one ambassador; we will send another if need be; we will do everything we can to reconcile these princes. In the meantime, let us turn our attention to the matter at hand. We shall have no quarreling here, nor any word of abuse."

The Hungarians were struck dumb on hearing this. Everyone 3 else applauded the pope's words and unanimously voted in favor of a crusade against the Turks. The congress then adjourned for the day.



*De belli consultatione, quo milite quibusque modis esset  
ineundum, cum Italicis habita.*

- 1 Postridie cuncti qui aderant Italici nominis oratores ac principes ad praesentiam pontificis accersiti sunt. Convenere in palatio Franciscus Mediolanensium dux, Ludovicus Mantuanus et Vilhelmus Montis Ferrati marchio ac Sigismundus Malatesta; et quoniam rex Aragonum Siciliam, Corsicam ac Sardiniam Italici iuris insulas possideret, oratores eius interfuere. Tum regis Ferdinandi legati, archiepiscopus Beneventanus et Andriae dux, deinde Veneti, Florentini, Senenses, Ferrarienses, Lucenses ac Bononienses. Sabaudienses, quamvis cis Alpes late dominantur,<sup>81</sup> ad Francos inclinantes cum Italicis adnumerari noluerunt. Genuenses nondum publice aderant, clam tamen auxilia pollicebantur.
- 2 Cardinales sinistrum dextrumque latus pontificis obtinebant, principes ac legati e regione sedebant; quibus audire paratis: 'Decrevimus,' inquit pontifex, 'vestro consilio, filii, bellum Turchis inferre, nec dubitamus quin arma, equi, homines, naves, pecuniae abunde suppetant, si Christiani suae salutis affuerint. Nunc cogitandum est mari an terra, an utrobique aggrediendus sit hostis, et quae classis quisve terrestris exercitus sit necessarius, et quibus ex populis legendi sint milites; utrum pecunia Hungari an milite sint adiuvandi. Consulite in medium, et quae promittitis auxilia palam proponite!'
- 3 Primus ad haec Franciscus respondit, et quae pridie promiserat, confirmavit, deinde hoc consilium dedit: videri sibi necessarium esse mari terraque Turchos summis viribus invasum iri; de quanti-

*The Italian powers discuss plans for war, the number of troops  
required, and the tactics to be used.*

The next day, all the Italian princes and ambassadors present were 1  
summoned to appear before the pope. Francesco, duke of Milan, Ludovico, marquis of Mantua, Guglielmo, marquis of Monferrato, and Sigismundo Malatesta all came to the palace; since the king of Aragon held the Italian islands of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, his spokesmen were also invited. Then came the ambassadors of King Ferrante—the archbishop of Benevento and the duke of Andria—followed by legates from Venice, Florence, Siena, Ferrara, Lucca, and Bologna. The Savoyards, though they rule large stretches of territory south of the Alps, tended to side with the French and did not want to be counted among the Italians. The Genoese had not officially joined the congress, though they had secretly promised their support.

The cardinals took their seats on either side of the pope, while 2  
the princes and ambassadors from each state sat opposite. When all were ready to listen the pope began, "My sons, we have decided on your advice to declare war on the Turks. There is no doubt that if Christendom cares to save itself, there will be arms, horses, men, ships, and money in abundance. Now we need to consider the details: should we attack the enemy by land or sea, or both? How large a fleet do we need? How great an army? Where should we go to levy troops? Do we want to support Hungary with money or men? We open the floor: speak frankly, and state what support you will provide."

Francesco was the first to reply. He reaffirmed the promises he 3  
had made the day before and then expressed himself as follows: it was imperative, he said, to go after the Turks on both land and sea and to use the maximum force possible. Exactly how large the

tate exercitus se, qui vires hostium nesciret, loqui non posse; milites autem ex his regionibus deligendos fore quae Turchis essent proxime, nossentque mores hostium et insidias callerent; ex Italia ceterisque remotioribus provinciis pecunias corradendas, quibus Hungarorum et aliorum exercitus alerentur; incognitas Hungaris gentes haudquaquam mittendas quae facile cum illis tumultuarentur, nec sine gravissimo sumptu aut mitti eo possent aut retineri.

4 Aragonenses, quorum princeps erat Elnensis episcopus, multa et magna sui regis nomine promiserunt, et Francisci consilium laudarunt. Veneti, qui nihil polliceri auderent, consilium tanquam privati homines dedere: mari terraque hostem esse premendum; classem triginta triremium et octo navium cetearum in mari sufficere, quae in Hellespontum traiciens litora hinc Graeciae inde Asiae infestaret; sic fieri ut multi Turchorum ad custodienda maritima loca distinerentur; terrestres copias ex Hungaria vicinisque locis cogendas esse; equitum quadraginta milium, peditum viginti milium, nec minores esse oportere; argentum bello necessarium ex reliquis Christianorum provinciis hauriendum.

5 Qui postea locuti sunt, omnes fere in hanc sententiam pedibus iverunt praeter Sigismundum Malatestam, qui ubi ad eum ventum est, assurgens militari quadam et praecipiti facundia: 'Ego,' inquit, 'pater sanctissime, rem nauticam praetereo, cuius me fateor ignarum; Venetis hanc provinciam relinquo in bello campestri exercitatus. Qui ante me locuti sunt, omnes eas gentes armandas dixerunt quae Turchis cohaerent et mores illorum norunt. Mihi longe alia sententia est. Nam qui Turchis proximi habitant — Hungari, Valachi, Rasciani, Bulgari, Epirotae, Graeci — saepe ante illorum ora ceciderunt, neque vultum possunt Turchorum ferre. Ego, si hoc bellum sim gesturus, Italici generis equites ac pedites armaverim eo numero qui satis fuerit, nec de victoria dubitaverim. Praestant

army should be he could not say, since he did not know the enemy's strength. But troops should be raised from areas nearest the Turks, where the people knew the enemy's habits and understood their tactics. Italy and the other more distant countries should raise money to support the armies of the Hungarians and other nations. They certainly should not send foreign troops to the Hungarians, for it would cost a fortune to get them there and keep them in the field, and tensions could easily arise between them and their hosts.

The ambassadors from Aragon, headed by the bishop of Elne, 4 expressed their approval of Francesco's plan and made many fine promises in the name of their king. The Venetians, who did not dare promise a thing, could only give their personal opinions. They thought the enemy should be attacked by land and sea; a fleet of thirty galleys and eight cutters<sup>145</sup> would be sufficient to do the job. The fleet should sail to the Hellespont and attack both the Greek and Asian shores, forcing the Turks to deploy a substantial number of soldiers to defend the coasts. The land army should be raised from Hungary and the neighboring regions and should number no less than 40,000 horse and 20,000 foot. The money needed to fund the war should be contributed by the other Christian states.

The remaining speakers all endorsed essentially the same plan 5 except Sigismundo Malatesta, who when his turn came, rose to speak in his abrupt military manner, "Most Holy Father, I will say nothing about naval operations, about which I confess I know not a thing. I leave that to Venice. My own experience has been on the battlefield. Everyone so far has said we should arm the countries that border on the Turks and know their ways. I say otherwise. The countries nearest Turkey — Hungary, Wallachia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Epirus, and Greece — have gone down in battle before them. They can't look them in the eye. If I were to wage this war I would mobilize a sufficient force of Italian cavalry and infantry. Then vic-

enim nostri milites ac duces longe alios, equos praeterea et armaturas meliores habemus; neque illud obstat quod genus pugnae nescimus quo illi utuntur, quando neque illi nostrum novere, et facilius nos illorum insidias, quam illi nostras, vitabimus, ut sunt Italarum dexterrima ingenia. Quare suadeo ut reliqui pecunias contribuant, Itali bellum gerant.'

6 Laudata est Sigismundi oratio, quamvis hominem nemo laudaret. Postquam vero cuncti finire, Pius in hunc modum locutus est: 'Et nos quidem, si fieri posset, o filii, hoc bellum Italico milite gereremus, quando nulla est alia gens quae sit praestantior armis. Sed hoc difficillimum est atque propemodum impossibile. Quis enim tantum auri subministret, quantum hae copiae consumant quae ab Italia in Graeciam proficiscantur? Nec duces nostri sunt qui militare extra Italiam velint: inter nos sine vitae discrimine et magno cum emolumento belligerant; cum Turchis cruenta fiunt proelia, nec lucra magna quaeruntur, nisi animarum, quae nostris militibus in corpore carissimae sunt, extra corpus vilissimae. Rursus Theutones atque Hungaros sive Bohemos pecunia conducere qui bellum gerant, arduum est; nisi Italia pecuniam dederit, nulla provincia dabit.

7 'Avari et suspiciosi sunt barbari, semperque falli circa pecuniam existimant; fortasse armatum militem dabunt, aurum non dabunt, etsi eo pacto plus conferant. Pecunia Italica vix classi sufficiet. Quod possumus, non quod volumus, necesse est facere. Eo milite gerendum est bellum qui haberi potest. Galli et Angli et Theutones et Bohemi et Poloni copias pollicentur,<sup>82</sup> hisque terrestre bellum instruemus; ex Hispanis, qui Castellani vocantur, propter Mauritanos, quibuscum certamen habent, excusatum se mittent; Cathelani et Aragonenses et Portugallenses, si quid obtulerint, ad rem nauticam pertinebit. Labor erit, non imus inficias, tot diversissimas gentes in unis castris continere; licebit tamen et plures duces et plura castra constituere ea moderatione adhibita ut altera subveniant alteris, cum necessitas ingruerit. Unum tamen ducem

tory would not be in doubt. Our soldiers and officers are the best in the world; what is more, we have superior horses and kit. The fact that we are unfamiliar with Turkish tactics is not a problem, since they don't know ours either, and we can dodge their traps more easily than they can dodge ours, because we are cleverer. So I say let others find the money and let Italians fight the war."

Sigismondo's speech won praise, though no one praised the man himself. When everyone had had his turn, Pius said, "My 6 sons, were it possible, we too would fight this war with Italian troops, for there is no nation more distinguished in arms. But this would be difficult if not impossible. For who would supply enough money to send an army from Italy to Greece? Nor are our generals willing to campaign outside Italy. Here they fight battles without risk and win great profit in doing so; a war against the Turks will be bloody. The only prizes to be won are souls, and the only souls our soldiers care about are their own. Hiring Germans, Hungarians, or Bohemians to do the fighting is no easy thing, moreover. Unless Italy sends money, no one will.

"Barbarians are greedy and suspicious and always think they are 7 being cheated when it comes to money. They may send men in arms, but money they will not give, even if their contribution is greater that way. Italian money will barely pay for a fleet. We must do what we can, not what we wish. We have to go to war with the army we can get. The French, English, Germans, Bohemians, and Poles promise to send troops, and with these we will organize the war on land. Of the Spanish, the Castilians will try to excuse themselves on account of their war with the Moors. If the Catalans, Aragonese, and Portuguese offer anything, it will be naval forces. There is no denying it will be hard to bring so many different nations into a single camp; but we can organize several divisions, each under its own commander, on the understanding that each will come to another's aid if the situation demands it. But all will acknowledge one leader, the legate of the Apostolic

cuncti respicient: Apostolicae Sedis legatum, et unum signum sequentur: vivificae Crucis. Verum haec praematura est cura.'

: 35 :

*Quanto milite opus et unde pecunia exigenda sit.  
Venetorumque insatiabilis avaritia,  
tergiversatio atque superbia.*

I 'Nunc unde copias habeamus in consultationem venit, et quam multas cogere oporteat; his habitis et de ducibus et de concordia gentium transigemus. Multa de potentia Turchorum in medium adducta sunt. Nobis compertum est plus quam ducenta hominum milia eos ad bellum educere non posse, et in his rusticos inermes atque imbellem turbam contineri; robur sui exercitus in Genizeris consistere, qui quadraginta milia non excedant; nec dubitandum esse de victoria Christianorum, si vel quinquaginta milia ad pugnam ierint, quando et armis multo ac virtute praestant. Verum equites esse oportet maiori ex parte qui bellum gerant; loca enim campestria sunt in quibus pugnandum erit, et Turchorum equitatus est magnus, et maiores copiae neque regi facile neque ali possunt. Bello maritimo triginta triremes et octo ceteas naves affirmant Veneti victoriam tradituras. Id est ferme omnium qui Turchos novere iudicium. Quod si decem triremes adiiciantur, non est dubium quin nostri mare possideant, neque sinant ex Asia transire Turchos, quorum maxima pars ad tuenda quae circa mare sunt, oppida distinebitur, et multo minores erunt copiae ad campestre bellum iturae. Sic rerum gnari loquuntur.

See, and will follow one standard, that of the life-giving Cross. But these are problems for another day.

: 35 :

*Questions about troop strength and possible sources of funding.  
The insatiable greed of the Venetians,  
their hesitancy and arrogance.*

"At this point we ought to talk about how many troops we need<sup>1</sup> and where we are going to find them. That dealt with, we should discuss the leadership of our coalition and how we will ensure consensus among its members. We have heard a lot about Turkish strength. But we know for a fact they cannot put more than 200,000 men into the field, and many of these are unarmed peasants, a rabble that knows nothing of war. The strength of their army lies in the janissaries, who number no more than 40,000. If we send as few as 50,000 Christian troops into battle there is no reason to doubt they will win, for they are far better and braver soldiers. Of these, the preponderance must be cavalry, as the fighting has to be done on level ground and the Turks can deploy great numbers of mounted troops; moreover, we cannot organize or feed an army much larger than that. The Venetians assure us that thirty galleys and eight cutters will give us victory at sea, and just about everyone who is familiar with Turkish affairs agrees. If we send ten galleys more, our forces are guaranteed to control the sea and keep the Turks from crossing over from Asia. The Turks will have to deploy most of their troops to protect the coastal towns and will have far fewer soldiers to send onto the field of battle. This is what the experts say.

- 2 'Diximus, unde legendi sint milites, et quantas terra marique copias haberi oporteat; nunc de pecuniis transigamus. Nostra sententia est, si consulitis, ut clerici suorum proventuum in hunc usum triennio decimam afferant, laici trigesimam, Iudaei omnium quae possident vigesimam: hinc pecunias abunde corrademus huic bello necessarias; si qui plus conferre voluerint, in lucro erit. Vos, si melius aliquid cogitastis, proponite in medium; nos consilia vestra sequemur.'
- 3 Placuit omnibus sententia pontificis, et secundum eam decretum ediderunt, cui praeter oratores Venetos ac Florentinos ceteri omnes subscripserunt. Florentini admodum reprehensi, quod ad concilium missi tantum verba dedissent, semotis arbitris pontificis colloquium petiere; quod cum obtinuissent, tandem duobus intromissis cardinalibus, Bessarione Niceno et Iohanne Sancti Sixti, Florentinum populum ad observationem decreti obligaverunt, petentes id occultum esse, donec navigia mercibus onusta ex Constantinopoli redissent, quod ante natalem Salvatoris diem futurum esse confidebant. De qua re solemnitas stipulatio intercessit, et nihilominus, ne Florentinorum negligentia res Christiana impediri videretur, Franciscus Mediolanensium dux publice pro Florentinis se vadem constituit.
- 4 Post haec multa cum legatis Venetis agitata sunt, quorum verba longe ab animo dissentiebant: bellum in Turchos ore laudabant, corde damnabant. Non sunt populi qui res magnificas amplectantur; mercatores plerumque, quorum natura lucris intenta res clarae, quae sine impensa fieri non possunt, mente abhorret. Existimabant Veneti inito cum Turchis bello futurum ut omnis negotiatio, ex qua victitant, in Oriente cessaret, nec passuros Occidentis principes vindicata Graecia ut plebs Veneta Dalmaticum et

"We have discussed where we will levy troops and how large a land and sea force we need. Now let us turn to the subject of money. Our own view, and we hope you concur, is that if you impose a crusade tax for the next three years (a tenth on the income of the clergy, a thirtieth on income of the laity, and a twentieth on the total goods of every Jew), we shall scrape together enough money for the war. If anyone wants to contribute more, so much the better. And if anyone has any better ideas, speak up and we will follow your advice."

The pope's plan was greeted with unanimous approval, so a resolution was passed which all the participants signed except the envoys from Venice and Florence. When the Florentine ambassadors were harshly criticized for offering the congress nothing more than talk, they requested a private audience with the pope. Then, after two cardinals, Bessarion of Nicea and Juan of San Sisto, were called in as witnesses, they pledged that the Florentine people would abide by the resolution but asked that this should be kept secret until their merchant ships returned from Constantinople, which they were confident would happen by Christmas. A solemn accord was made to this effect; still, Duke Francesco also made a public statement vouchsafing for Florence, in case the Christian cause should appear to have been undermined by Florentine indifference.

A lengthy dispute with the Venetian ambassadors then followed. Their words did not reflect their true opinions at all. With their lips, they favored a crusade against the Turks but in their hearts they condemned it. The Venetians are never ones to embrace a grand project. They are merchants by and large who care only for profit. The very idea of a glorious deed that can only be achieved at a cost repels them. They feared that if war were declared against the Turks, their Eastern trade, the very basis of their livelihood, would dry up, and that once Greece was liberated the princes of the West would not allow the common people of Venice

Oriente imperium obtineret. Verebantur quoque ne occupatis Turchorum bello Mediolanensis inferret arma, ut semper de alio suspicantur homines quod in se sentiunt. Mandaverunt igitur oratoribus ut rem verbis traherent, spem bonam facerent, solidi certique nihil promitterent.

5 Cum pressius urgerentur, dixerunt Venetos ita demum socios belli futuros, si rem nauticam soli administrare permitterentur, si sua facerent ex hoste rapienda, si classis impensa levarentur, si exercitus ex Hungaria contra Turchos quinquaginta milium equitum et viginti milium peditum proficisceretur. Classem autem sexaginta trirremium et navium viginti cetearum necessariam esse aiebant, et in his ultra remiges et reliquos nautas octo milia militum requirebant, quamvis antea multo minorem sufficere affirmassent; corpora navium et armamenta tantum se gratis exhibituros promittentes, pro ceteris rebus pecuniam exquirebant, atque in hunc usum decimas, vigesimas ac trigesimas suae ditionis, quas centum quinquaginta milia auri nummum conferre arbitrabantur. Neque his contenti amplius auri quindicies centena milia ex publico postulabant.

6 Huiuscemodi Venetorum liberalitas fuit; quibus pontifex ita respondit: 'Non est, ut videmus, in anima vestro, Veneti, religionem tueri, qui mercedem impossibilem quaeritis. Dolendum est adeo civitatem vestram degenerasse ut quae olim maximas classes pro tutela fidei libenter armavit, nunc ne unam quidem navim, si omnia pensamus, armare velit. Contra Pisanos, contra Genuenses, contra reges et imperatores pro sociis aut subditis ingentia saepe bella vestro aere gessistis; nunc pro Christo pugnaturi adversus impios Turchos pretium poscitis, nec, si detur, arma sumetis! Heu gens Veneta, quantum de priscis moribus perdidisti! Nimia

to rule Dalmatia and the East. They also worried that the duke of Milan would attack them while they were tied up in a war with the Turks, for people always suspect others of their own designs. And so they had instructed their ambassadors to drag the discussions out, keeping hopes up but promising nothing definite or binding.

When pressed for an answer, however, they said that Venice 5 would only join in the war on these conditions: they should be given complete authority over the conduct of naval affairs; they should keep any spoils taken from the enemy; they should be exempted from the running expenses of the fleet; and an army of 50,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry should march from Hungary against the Turks. They said they needed a fleet of sixty galleys, twenty cutters and 8,000 soldiers (not including sailors and oarsmen) even though they had said earlier that a much smaller number would suffice. They were willing to supply and fit out the ships; for everything else they expected to be paid. To this end they demanded the tenths, twentieths, and thirtieths raised within their jurisdiction, which taken together they thought would generate some 150,000 ducats. Even this was not enough: they then demanded 1,500,000 more from general funds.

Such generosity on the part of Venice! The pope replied, "Ambassadors of Venice, we can tell you have no interest in defending 6 the faith, since you ask an impossible price. In the past your republic equipped great fleets for the defense of religion. It is a cause for some regret that your state has now declined to the point where you will not commit yourselves (if we add everything up) to arming a single ship. Against Pisa and Genoa, against kings and emperors, even, you have undertaken many great campaigns on behalf of your allies and subjects — and at your own expense. Now you demand a price to fight the impious Turks on behalf of Christ. And even if you got it you would not take up arms! Alas, poor Venetians, how much you have lost of your old spirit! Too

conversatio tua cum Turchis amicam te Mahumetis fecit, nec amplius tibi cura religionis est!

7 'Nos tui procuratores sumus, tuam rem agimus, dum bellum Turchis inferre quaerimus. Hostem tuis cervicibus imminentem studemus avertere, et tu surdis auribus verba nostra repellis! Veniet, veniet aliquando tempus, cum petes a nobis quod abs te petimus, et fortasse non audieris! Quis regum unquam tantum auri in apparatu alicuius belli promptum habuit quantum ex nobis quaeritur? Sufficit tantum adesse quantum principia requirunt: reliquum bella ipsa ministrant, si modo homines sunt, non feminae duces. Vos insuper, oratores, sexaginta triremes et viginti naves exigitis, nuper dimidiatam classem satis esse dixistis. Septuaginta milia pugnantium ad bellum campestre deposcitis; qui res Turchorum inspexere quadraginta milibus confici bellum posse diiudicant. Difficultates ingeritis ne bellum fiat. Agite, non fiat: vos primi dabitur poenas!'

8 Multa in hunc modum et saepe durius dicta sunt. Oratores, ut erant cauti, artificiose magis quam vere respondebant. Nihil erat in ore quod animo consonaret; nunc istam nunc illam viam aperiebant, et hostium vires augentes, nostras attenuantes tempus trahere conabantur donec solveretur conventus, nec veniebant ad Palatium nisi praedicta die. Incessus eorum pompa et fastu plenus; pontifice coram inviti flectebant genua; et quamvis oratores regum atque ipsius Caesaris et magnos principes osculatis pedibus summi praesulis diu iacere prostratos viderent, ipsi tamen sive pro innata superbia, sive pro piscatoria illa ruditate, quam de suis traxere maioribus, mox assurgebant. Si detinebantur paulo ante cubile pontificis, mox quasi contempti murmurabant, scripseruntque senatui non aliter se a Romano pontifice honoratos fuisse

many dealings with the Turks have made you friends of Mahomet and you care no more for religion.

"We are acting on your behalf. In trying to launch a crusade 7 against the Turks, it is your battle we are fighting. We seek to repel an enemy who threatens you directly, and yet our proposals fall on deaf ears. The day will come when you ask us for what we now ask of you, and perhaps your pleas, too, will be ignored. Did any king ever have such a war chest for any campaign as you now demand of us? We need only so much, now, as is necessary to get this war started. The rest will be provided in the course of the war itself, if the commanders will only act like men and not girls. And then you ask for sixty galleys and twenty other ships. Only a little while ago you said a fleet half that size would be enough. You say you need 70,000 soldiers for the land war. But those who have studied the strength of Turkish arms estimate we can win the war with 40,000. You are creating problems to keep this crusade from going ahead. Very well, then! We'll call it off. You'll be the first to pay the price!"

The debate continued in this vein and often grew even more 8 heated. The envoys, always ones to play it safe, gave replies which had more artifice than truth. Nothing on their lips reflected what was in their hearts. They tried one line of argument after another, exaggerating the strength of the enemy and belittling ours and trying to waste time until the congress was dissolved. They would only come to the palace with an appointment. They walked about puffed up with pomp and display. They knelt before the pope with ill grace, and even though they saw the ambassadors of kings and of the emperor himself, and mighty princes, too, all prostrate themselves for some time after kissing the pope's feet, they themselves, either out of innate arrogance or with the boorishness of a race of fishermen, would rise at once. If they were kept waiting in the pope's anteroom for even a little while, they complained as if insulted and wrote to tell their senate that the pope treated them

quam si Anconitanorum legati venissent. Quae res populum Venetum magis ac magis adversus pontificem concitavit, qui alioquin propter ecclesiam Patavinam amarulento erant in eum animo. Verum pontifex in honorandis Venetis non tam remissus, quam profusus ac nimius fuit. Illi, ut mala malis adderent, et haec et alia complurima ementiti sunt.

: 36 :

*Legatio Francorum, Britannorum, Genuensium et Rhenati.*

- 1 Interea de legatis Francorum rumor oboritur, quod amici Venetis, infesti papae propter regnum Siciliae veniant,<sup>83</sup> nec deerant qui pontificem in illorum adventu confundendum assererent. (Dux Mediolani subscripto decreto promissionis domum repetiit.)
- 2 Ex oratoribus regis Franciae qui nominati erant unus praecessit: decanus Carnotensis, cuius supra meminimus. Is cum esset electus suae pontifex ecclesiae, et secundum Pragmaticam Sanctionem a suo metropolitano confirmatus, non tamen satis tutus se iudice videbatur nisi a Romano praesule approbaretur. Accepto itaque legati titulo ut causam suam melius ageret, ante alios oratores iter arripuit. Cumque Mantuae proximus esset, significavit se tanquam electum episcopum cum veste linea sub pallio ingressurum, idque licere sibi ex venia pontificis arroganter petebat, nec arbitrabatur ob dignitatem legationis id posse negari. Sed iussus est aut id vestis deponere aut retro in Franciam reverti. Ille humiliatus pontifici obaedivit, et obtenta demum confirmatione prius domum rediit

no better than an embassy from Ancona. This turned Venetian popular opinion (already bitter over the affair of the see of Padua)<sup>146</sup> more and more against the pope. But in truth Pius was not so much remiss in his treatment of the Venetians as excessively generous. He lavished favors on them. But to add to the stock of troubles, the ambassadors made these and countless other misrepresentations.

: 36 :

*Legations from France, Brittany, Genoa, and King René.*

Meanwhile a rumor spread that the French ambassadors were coming as friends of Venice and opponents of the pope because of the Sicilian question.<sup>147</sup> Some said the pope would be undone by their arrival. The duke of Milan signed the resolution and went home.

Of the envoys appointed by the king of France one, the dean of Chartres (whom we mentioned above), had already arrived.<sup>148</sup> Though he had been elected bishop of his church and confirmed by his archbishop according to the Pragmatic Sanction, still he did not think himself perfectly secure in his post without papal confirmation. It was for this reason that he accepted the post of ambassador and had set out in haste before the others, the better to plead his case. When he was almost at Mantua he sent word that he would make his entrance wearing a linen garment under his robes, as though he was a duly appointed bishop of his church. Arrogantly he requested the pope's permission to do so, never doubting it would be granted on account of his ambassadorial rank. But the reply came that he must take the garment off or else go back to France. Deeply humiliated, he obeyed the pope. When



quam ceteri legati adessent, usus arte Gallica, cuius est longe quae sitis titulis mendicare<sup>84</sup> favores ac nulla in re non immiscere mendacia.

3 Secuti sunt paulo post oratores alii minori admiratione quam fuerant expectati. Nominaverat rex plerosque sui sanguinis proceres iactantiae causa, qui postea domi mansere, cum viatici sumptus non tam facile quam nuntii reperirentur. Legationis principes fuere Turonensis archiepiscopus, venerabilis senex, episcopus Parisiensis, disputator acutus, Thomas Corcellus, insignis theologus, et bailivius Rothomagensis. Rhenatus Siciliae rex oratores suos his adiunxit episcopum Massiliensem, quem supra nominavimus, et militiae suae magistrum. Sequebantur et ducis Britanniae legati: nepos eius et Macloviensis episcopus et alii complures viri praestantes. Affuit et legatio Genuensium, qui Francis tanquam dominis adulabantur.

4 Britannia hodie Galliae portio est ad Oceanum sita; olim insula fuit, quae apud Ptolomaeum cosmographum Albion appellatur; Angli, Germanicum genus Britannis insula pulsus a se Angliam vocavere. Illi in continentem navigantes inter Guascones ac Nortmannos sedes sortiti sunt, in quis nomen et linguam retinuerunt multis civitatibus occupatis, quarum una est Venetensis appellata, cuius ante meminimus cum de Venetis Italicis ageremus. Dux Britanniae, etsi minor est Francorum rege, eiusque terra circundatur, suis tamen legibus vivit, neque recognoscit in temporali ditio<sup>85</sup> superiorem. Ea propter cum Franci Pragmaticam quandam Sanctionem edidissent, quae Apostolicae Sedis eminentiam gloriamque circumscribere videbatur, non obtemperavit illi, neque Gallicas

he had at last been confirmed in his office, he went home before the other ambassadors had even arrived, having employed the characteristic French trick of begging favors on improbable grounds and muddling everything up with his lies.

The others arrived a little later and were received with less enthusiasm than they had been awaited. In order to make a big impression, the king had appointed several of his noble kinsmen to the mission but in the end, as it was easier to name envoys than to pay for them, they stayed at home. The heads of the embassy were the venerable old archbishop of Tours, the bishop of Paris (a very keen debater), the distinguished theologian Thomas de Courcelles, and the bailli of Rouen. René, king of Sicily, sent his ambassadors with them: the bishop of Marseilles (mentioned earlier) and his master of horse. They were accompanied by ambassadors from the duke of Brittany: his nephew; the bishop of St. Malo; and several other distinguished men.<sup>149</sup> An embassy from Genoa also arrived at this time, fawning on the French as though they were their lords.

The name Brittany is nowadays applied to a region on the Atlantic coast of France. The name was once used for the island which the geographer Ptolemy calls Albion.<sup>150</sup> The Angles, a German tribe, drove the Bretons off this island and named it Anglia after themselves. The Bretons sailed to the continent and settled between the Gascons and the Normans. There, retaining their own name and language, they captured many cities, one of which is Vannes, which we mentioned in our discussion of the Venetians of Italy.<sup>151</sup> The duke of Brittany, though lower in rank than the French king and surrounded by his territory, nevertheless lives under his own laws and recognizes no superior in temporal authority. When the French proclaimed the Pragmatic Sanction, which appeared to circumscribe the supremacy and honor of the Apostolic See, the duke refused to obey it. He paid no attention to the blus-

ineptias secutus est, in oboedientia Primae Sedis more maiorum perseverans.

5 Legati sui Mantuam profecti cum animadverterent cunctari Francos in exhibenda pontifici oboedientia, non expectatis illis consistorium petiere in quo sui principis mandata referrent, impetratoque, 'Adsumus,' inquit Macloviensis episcopus, 'Britanniae ducis legati, filii tui obsequentissimi; oboedientiam tibi et reverentiam more maiorum exhibemus. Te Christi vicarium profiteremur, verum Beati Petri successorem, militantis Ecclesiae caput ac magistrum. Christiani sumus, et te ducem sequimur Christiani exercitus.

6 'Maiores nostri post accepta semel Christi sacra nunquam apostatarunt: vixere Romanis legibus neque unquam Primae Sedis mandatis adversati sunt; Pragmaticam Sanctionem Gallicae gentis inventum respuere. Praecessoribus tuis constanti animo adhaeserunt. Sequitur princeps noster suorum vestigia progenitorum; te iubente nos hunc adire conventum voluit auditurus facturusque mandata tua. Accepit te velle in Turchos expeditionem ducere. Laudat propositum tuum, et necessarium sanctumque opus esse affirmat quod meditaris. Non deerit tibi. Cupit esse particeps praelari huius operis: arma, equos, naves, viros apparabit, cum iusseris, pro suis facultatibus, teque sequetur. Tantum curato ut adversus potentissimum hostem potenter proficiscaris!'

ter of the French but remained obedient to the Highest See as his ancestors had done.

When Brittany's ambassadors arrived in Mantua and heard 5 that the French were putting off making their submission to the pope, they decided not to wait for them and asked for a consistory so they could deliver a message from their prince. When this was granted, the bishop of St. Malo spoke as follows: "We come as envoys from the duke of Brittany, your most dutiful son. We offer you obedience and reverence as our ancestors have always done. We acknowledge you as the Vicar of Christ, the true successor of St. Peter, the head of the Church Militant and its master. We are Christians and we follow you as the captain of the army of Christ.

"Since our ancestors embraced the Christian religion, they have 6 never fallen away from it. They have abided by the laws of Rome and have never rebelled against the orders of the Holy See. They reject the Pragmatic Sanction of the French. They have remained loyal to your predecessors. Our prince follows in the steps of his fathers. At your command he sent us to this congress. He is ready to hear and to do your bidding. He knows you wish to lead a crusade against the Turks. He applauds your purpose and declares the undertaking you propose is both necessary and sacred. He will not fail you. He is eager to share in this glorious work. He can send arms, horses, ships, and men (to the extent of his resources) whenever you direct. He will follow you. His only advice is that you make a strong start against a strong foe."

*Pollicitationes legatorum et Pii responsa.*

- 1 Laetatus est pontifex legatione Britannica, et amplissimis verbis ducem et gentem collaudavit. Inter legatos Francos dies aliquot disceptatum est, oboedientiam prius praestarent an res Siculas aggrederentur. Sed cum Pius inoboedientibus audientiam negaret, coacti sunt oboedientiam praemittere.
- 2 Verba fecit Parisiensis episcopus, qui Daviticum illud pro thēmate, ut aiunt, praetulit: 'Secundum nomen tuum, ita et laus tua in fines terrae; iustitiae plena est dextera tua.' Deinde orationem suam partitus de laude pontificis, de Sedis Apostolicae eminentia, de gloria sui regis ac regni multa locutus, tandem oboedientiam regis nomine praestitit, filialemque illam appellavit, ut 'servilem' excluderet. De Turchis pauca libavit, paucioraque adversus eos auxilia promisit. Massiliensis deinde Rhenatum regem oboedientem obtulit. Et Brocchardus Genuensis orator pro sua civitate orationem habuit, ornata quidem, sed quae superbam olim urbem iam servam ostenderet, Francorum arrogantiae ac tumori ancillantem.
- 3 Pontifex omnibus auditis indignum se esse respondit, qui tantis praeconiis extolleretur, vilem se vermiculum, pulverem ac cinerem vocitans, nec suis meritis, sed occulto quodam divinitatis iudicio ad Beati Petri cathedram accersitum; optare ut ministerium iniunctum pro divina gloria possit explere; attributas Apostolicae Sedi laudes veras esse, quamvis re ipsa minores, quae caelestis regni claves accepisset divinitatemque referret in terris, cuius iudicium qui sperneret anathema esset; regnum Franciae inter cetera

*The ambassadors offer promises to which Pius responds.*

The pope was delighted with the embassy from Brittany and 1  
praised their duke and their nation to the skies. The French ambassadors debated for several days as to whether they should make their submission or raise the question of Sicily first. But when Pius refused to grant them an audience until they made their submission, they were forced to do this first.

Their spokesman was the bishop of Paris, who took as his 2  
theme the words of the Psalmist, "According to Thy name, so is Thy praise unto the ends of the earth, Thy right hand is full of righteousness."<sup>152</sup> He divided his speech into sections and spoke at length on each: in praise of the pope; the eminence of the Apostolic See; the glory of his own king and kingdom. At last he made what he called a "filial" submission in the name of the king, using this term to make clear it was not "servile" in character. He said little about the Turks, and still less did he promise support against them. The bishop of Marseilles made his submission for King René, and Broccardo, the spokesman for Genoa, delivered an oration on behalf of his city. This was flowery enough, though it revealed how a once proud city had fallen into servitude and waited now on the puffed-up arrogance of the French.

When everyone had had his say, the pope replied that he was 3  
unworthy of such praise. He was a lowly worm, dust and ashes,<sup>153</sup> who had been called to Peter's throne not on account of his own merits but for some mysterious and divine purpose. He prayed that he would be able to perform his appointed task to the glory of God. The praises that had been showered on the Apostolic See were justified but inadequate, for the See held the keys to the kingdom of heaven and represented God on earth. To reject His judgment was anathema. The kingdom of France was a pre-emi-

excellere armorum gloria, regum illustria fuisse opera et antiquum sanguinem; Carolum, qui regnaret, a suis progenitoribus haudquam degenerare; oboedientiam eius erga Romanam Ecclesiam laudem mereri, quamvis adversus Turchos pauca promissa essent; sperare se magna de illa domo, cuius proprium fuisset et Romanam Ecclesiam et Christianam religionem adversus hostes defendere. Rhenati quoque regis oboedientiam et Genuensis populi devotionem commendavit.

- 4 Admirati sunt omnes, qui aderant, Francorum legatos, qui multa minabantur, tam humiles ac summissos fuisse. Expectabant curiales dura et acerba Francorum audire verba, accusari pontificem de regno Siciliae Aragonensi commisso, negari oboedientiam, generale concilium peti. Spe frustrati in admirationem pontificis rediere.

: 38 :

*Francorum querela de regno Siciliae et Pii confutatio vehementissima, eiusque aegrotatio et animi magnitudo.*

- 1 Post dies aliquot adeuntes Franci pontificem habere se aliqua dixerunt de regno Siciliae, quae praesentibus nonnullorum principum legatis exponere vellent. Pontifex libertatem fecit advocandi quos cuperent. Adventaverat imperatoris nova legatio, cuius principes fuere Iohannes episcopus Estetensis virtute et auctoritate insignis et Georgius Tridentinus, pontifici iam pridem notus, tum Carolus marchio Badensis, cui soror imperatoria nupsit. Aderant et legati Castelle regis: episcopus Ovetensis et monachus quidam Ordinis Minorum, ex Iudaeis ad Christianam religionem conversus, indig-

nent military power; her kings had done illustrious deeds and boasted an ancient lineage. Charles, who now ruled, lived up to his predecessors in every way. His submission to the Church of Rome was praiseworthy, though the aid he promised against the Turks was slight. The pope hoped for great things from that house, whose duty it had always been to defend the Church of Rome and the Christian faith against foreign foes. He likewise commended King René for his obedience and the people of Genoa for their devotion.

Everyone was amazed that the French envoys, who had been so aggressive earlier, now appeared submissive and docile. The Curia was expecting to hear a harsh and bitter speech—condemnation of the pope for giving the kingdom of Sicily to a Spaniard, refusals to submit, demands for a general council. But when these expectations proved false, the Curia was renewed in its admiration for the pope.

: 38 :

*French protests over the Sicilian question. Pius's forceful rebuttal. His illness and resilient spirit.*

Some days later, the French came before Pius, saying they had things to say about the Kingdom of Sicily but were unwilling to reveal them in the presence of the legates of certain princes. The pope told them they could invite whom they pleased. New ambassadors from the emperor had recently arrived, headed by Johann, bishop of Eichstätt, a man of outstanding character and authority, and Georg of Trent,<sup>154</sup> long known to the pope. With them was Karl, margrave of Baden, who was married to the emperor's sister. Ambassadors from the king of Castile had also arrived: the bishop

na tanto principe legatio. Miserat et Alfonsus Portugalliae rex oratores suos non ignobiles. Hos et alios complures<sup>86</sup> accersiverunt Franci, adeuntesque pontificem Rothomagensi bailivio dicendi provinciam mandavere.

2 Qui factio silentio Francorum, quos appellavit 'lilios', egregia pro religione facinora, et quot in Apostolicam Sedem beneficia contulissent, longa oratione narravit; regnum Siciliae quo pacto ad eos pervenisset et quanto sanguine fuisset emptum exposuit; Alfonsum armis, non iure usum, qui eos eiecit; indigne Pium fecisse, qui filium Alfonsi spurium ac corona indignum tanto regno praefecisset, Rhenatum sprevisset verum regem, quod Callistus, quamvis Aragonensis, efficere noluisse; iniuriam passos esse a pontifice Francos; insulso ac temerario fretum consilio Pium, qui nobilissimo liliorum spreto sanguine praetulisset Aragonenses; petere, ut inconsulte facta consulte revocaret, Rhenato regnum decerneret, Ferdinandum reiceret: sic futurum ut contumelia Francis illata compensaretur.

3 Haec orationis sententia fuit; ceterum verba ampullosa et sexquipedalia et minae et iactationes more Gallico non defuere. Quibus auditis cristas cuncti erigere, qui Francis erant amici, et quasi victores exultare, nec ausurum respondere pontificem arbitrari. Ipse vero paucis pro tempore usus: 'Audivimus,' inquit, 'oratores regii, quae pro Rhenati causa dixistis non sine accusatione nostra. Nos quae fecimus in regno Siciliae, consulente cardinalium Senatu gesta sunt; nunc si revocari tanquam iniuste acta petuntur, aequum est ut eorum<sup>87</sup> consilium exquiramus. Quo habito responsum et querelis et petitionibus vestris dabimus.' Atque ita conventum dimisit.

of Oviedo<sup>155</sup> and a Franciscan friar who had converted to Christianity from Judaism. It was an embassy unworthy of so great a prince. King Alfonso of Portugal had also sent representatives, men of no small reputation. The French invited these and many others to their audience with the pope; they appointed the bailli of Rouen to be their spokesman.

When silence fell the bailli launched into a long speech in 2  
praise of the great deeds which the French (whom he called "the People of the Lily") had performed in defense of the faith and the many things they had done for the Apostolic See. He explained how the kingdom of Sicily had come to them and how much blood it had cost. Alfonso, he said, had been entirely unjustified in ejecting them by force of arms. The pope had acted unfairly in putting Alfonso's undeserving bastard son on the throne of such a kingdom and rejecting René, the rightful king. Even Calixtus, Aragonese though he was, would never have done such a thing. The pope had done the French wrong. He had been poorly advised; he had rejected the blue blood of the Lilies and preferred the Aragonese. He would be wise to undo an unwise decision: the bailli asked that he proclaim René king, reject Ferrante, and thus 3  
compensate the French for the insults they had suffered.

This was the gist of the speech. The language was pompous and bombastic,<sup>156</sup> peppered with boasts and threats in the French fashion. As he spoke, the friends of France all shook the crests of their helmets and, thinking the pope would not dare to reply, exulted in their triumph. For the moment, Pius made only a brief response: "Royal ambassadors, we have heard you plead René's case and lay charges against ourselves. What we have done in the matter of Sicily was carried out in consultation with the college of cardinals. If you now demand that it be revoked as unjust, it is only right that we ask their opinion. When we have done so, we will speak to your complaints and requests." Then he dismissed the meeting.

4 Post haec pontifex gravi aegritudine stomachi affectus est, et arida russi adeo vexatus ut de vita eius et ipse et medici dubitarent. Franci vero ea re cognita simulationem esse, non aegritudinem dicere, responsum exigere, properare, instare, victum pontificem suis rationibus existimare, ac propterea responsum effugere. Quod cum Pius cognovisset: 'Etsi me,' inquit, 'media in contione mori oporteat, respondebo stomachanti legationi, nec vincet animum dolor nec faciet aegritudo ut timere videar!'

5 Vocatis igitur cardinalibus et communicato responso quod facturus erat, quamvis nonnulli inter paucos respondendum suaderent, ipse legatos omnes principum accersiri iussit, et qui praestantes erant in Curia viri. Cum frequentes convenissent, pontifex languidus et ingenti dolore oppressus cubiculum exiit, et in aula sublimi sedens solio, indicto silentio, pallidus et admodum anxius vix fari poterat. At ubi calor invaluit ardens, dicendi vi dolore superato, affluentibus verbis sine ullo labore locutus trium horarum habuit orationem, quae maxima omnium attentione audita est.

6 In ea pontifex Francorum laudes longe melius quam bailivius explicavit: confessus est multa illos in Romanam Ecclesiam beneficia contulisse, verum non minora ab ea recepisse; quae in regno Siciliae facta essent, nec iure nec ratione carere; iniustas esse Francorum querelas, quorum iuri non esset derogatum; verum iniurios ipsos negari non posse qui legem in regno suo promulgassent Apostolicae Sedi adversam, quae multas animas in Gehennam raperet.

7 Extat oratio inter alias scripta. Non est cur singulas eius partes huic loco inseramus; in volumine orationum quaerenda est, si quis

4 After this, the pope suffered a serious bout of stomach trouble and was so racked by a dry cough that both he and his physicians had doubts whether he would live. When they heard this, the French claimed it was a sham and that the pope was not truly sick. They required, demanded, insisted on an answer. They imagined their arguments had got the better of the pope and that he was trying to avoid making a reply. When Pius heard of this, he said, "I'll answer that vexatious legation even if I drop dead on the assembly floor doing so. I will not give in to pain, and I won't let illness make me look a coward."

5 He then called the cardinals together and told them the reply he meant to make. Some thought he should communicate this to a small gathering, but he ordered that all the ambassadors should be summoned along with the chief officials of the Curia. When this crowd had gathered, the pope, though weak and in great pain, emerged from his chamber and entered the audience hall. After silence was called, he sat on his lofty throne, pale, in some distress, and barely able to speak. But his spirits soon revived and the words came flooding to his lips. Rising above his pain, he spoke without the slightest difficulty for three hours, a speech that commanded their rapt attention.

6 In his speech, the pope delivered a far better eulogy of the French than the bailli had done. It was true that they had done much good to the Church, but they had received no less in return. The measures taken in regard to the Kingdom of Sicily were neither unjust nor unreasonable. It was French complaints which were unjust, since their rights had been completely respected. There was no denying, in fact, that they themselves were in the wrong, for they had passed a law in their kingdom to the detriment of the Apostolic See, an act that was sending many souls to Hell.

7 This oration is published with the others, so that there is no reason to give the parts of it in detail here. If anyone wants to

quam pulchre Gallorum arrogantia fuerit confutata cognoscere cupit.

- 8 Cum finem dicendi Pius fecisset, Franci suum regem laesum dixere; cupere audiri ne indefensum sui principis honorem relinquere viderentur. Quibus pontifex: 'Vos,' inquit, 'audiam, et quando et quotiens placebit. Verum scitote ultimum verbum in ore nostro remansurum, nec miremini, si puncti estis, qui pupugistis! Non est haec Sedes, quae cuiquam cedat quamvis maximo regi!'
- 9 Illi indignabundi et minarum pleni Palatium exiverunt. Pontifex ex aula in cubiculum rediit omni languore ac dolore liberatus: ita calor orationis frigus omne deiecit a stomacho. Cardinales laetabundi ad eum ingressi pro servato Sedis honore gratias egere. Curiales, qui pontificem contemnere videbantur, in admirationem eius conversi sunt, illud praecipue laudantes quod de Pragmatica Sanctione fuerat dictum, affirmantes memoria patrum nostrorum nunquam fuisse papam qui verba fecisset magis papalia.

: 39 :

*Altera Francorum querela in consistorio secreto alteraque Pii vehementior confutatio.*

- 1 Postridie cardinales Galli pontificem accedentes oratoribus Francis publicam audientiam petiere, ita illos cupere affirmantes. Pontifex concessurum se ait, verum publice dicta publice confutaturum; eligerent, publice an privatim confundi vellent, quia non esset elinguis pontifex, neque partes iniustae causae tueretur. Consideraverunt verba pontificis Franci, privatamque audientiam elegere octo

know how conclusively the arrogant French were refuted, the text can be found in the collected speeches.<sup>157</sup>

When Pius had finished, the French declared that he had insulted the honor of their king. They demanded to be heard so they might not appear to leave their sovereign undefended. The pope replied, "We shall listen whenever and as often as you like, but be assured that we will have the last word. Don't be surprised if after landing a blow you are struck in return. This See is not one to yield to anyone, not even the mightiest king."

The ambassadors left the palace in high dudgeon, muttering threats. The pope left the hall to return to his chamber, entirely free of fatigue and pain, for the heat of speaking had dispelled all the chill from his stomach. The cardinals were delighted and went in to thank him for preserving the honor of the See. Members of the Curia who had seemed to despise the pope now expressed their admiration for him; they especially applauded the things he had said about the Pragmatic Sanction. Never within the memory of our fathers, they said, had there been a pope who had uttered words more truly papal.

: 39 :

*More French complaints in secret consistory, which Pius refutes yet more forcefully.*

The next day, the French cardinals went to Pius and requested a public audience for the French ambassadors, saying this was something the ambassadors wanted. The pope agreed to grant one but warned them that whatever was said in public he would answer in public. They must decide whether they wanted to be humiliated in public or private, since the pope was not short of words, nor was

tantum cardinalibus accersitis, atque horis duabus Rhenati causam oravere, ea locuti quae nullo pacto confutari posse arbitrabantur.

2 Verum pontifex cunctis memoriae commendatis quae pondus habere videbantur, ex tempore nihil moratus adeo efficaciter obiecta diluit, adeo acute sua confirmavit, ut gratissimum Francis fuerit coram paucis fuisse certamen. Quod si publica fuisset audientia, perpetuam infamiam reportassent. Quocunque enim se vertebant, praesto erat inculcatio<sup>88</sup> pontificis, neque vel minimum angulum inveniebant quo confugerent. Parata omnia et ad manum pontificis erant, quippe qui suarum memor actionum, qua ratione hoc aut illud fecisset non ignorabat.

3 Nulla fuit argumentatio Francorum quam non e vestigio dissolverit; qui rubore ac confusione et ipso denique silentio palam se victos reddidere, quorum plurimi, qui antea pontificem blasphemaverant, viri nobiles et legationis principes ad pedes eius prostrati veniam petiverunt; reliqui ad impetrandas gratias se converterunt, neque amplius de regno Siciliae verbum facere praesumpserunt. Quorum fetialis sive, ut nostra aetas vocat, araldus, vir prudens, cum in corona curialium rogaretur, quidnam Franci silerent, quorum minae tanquam tonitrua prius auditae fuissent, facete respondit: 'Daemonio,' inquit, 'vexati ad ecclesiam dum trahuntur, clamoribus omnia complent, blasphemant, spuunt, mordent, calcitrant. At ubi sacerdoti in conspectum venire, et sacris tacti velaminibus stolaque cincti ante aras collocantur, veluti mortui conquiescunt. Idem nobis accidit: viso et audito Pio pontifice cecidit omnis furor. Apage te! Victi sumus!'

the cause he was championing unjust. After thinking over what the pope had said, the French chose a private hearing with only eight cardinals present. For two hours they pleaded King René's case, using arguments that seemed to them quite incontrovertible.

The pope committed to memory anything they said that 2  
seemed to have any weight. Then he immediately—and extemporaneously—rebutted their arguments. He did this so effectively, and supported his own position so shrewdly, that the French were quite grateful that only a few had been present to witness the debate, for if it had been a public audience they would have left it in eternal disgrace. Whatever line they took, the pope had a ready retort. There was no place, however tiny, where they could hide. The pope had all the arguments to hand, for naturally he remembered his own actions and knew perfectly well why he had done this or that.

The French could advance no argument which the pope did not 3  
immediately refute. Blushing and stammering, and at last falling silent, they showed clearly that they had been beaten. Many of the nobles and other leading figures of the embassy, who just before had been cursing the pope, now threw themselves at his feet and begged his pardon. The rest turned their attention to obtaining favors and did not venture another word about the kingdom of Sicily. When their clever "fetial" (or, as we say nowadays, herald) was asked by a group from the Curia why the French were so quiet now, when before they had been thundering threats, he made this bright reply: "When a man possessed by demons is dragged into church he raises a terrible cry, blaspheming, spitting, biting, and kicking, but once he comes before the priest and is touched by the sacred garments and wrapped with the stole and set before the altar, he lies still as a corpse. The same thing happened to us when we saw and heard Pope Pius: all our madness vanished. Be off with you! We are done for!"



*Inutilis legatio Francorum nec quicquam ad rem communem  
afferens, sed suis tantum querelis occupata.*

- 1 Post haec rogati oratores Franci quid auxilii contra Turchos afferent, vanum esse dixerunt cogitare de Turchis, nisi res Gallicae atque Anglicae componerentur, quia nemo vellet indefensam patriam hosti relinquere; quaerendam domi pacem, tum de bello in externos agendum.
- 2 Ad quos pontifex: 'Prius,' inquit, 'quam Franci et Angli concilientur, debebunt Turchi Hungaros; sero deinde auxilium afferetis. Regem vestrum Christianissimum appellatis, neque labenti Christianae religioni subvenire curatis? Licebat si non milite, at saltem pecunia rem Christianam iuvare, quamvis cur militem quoque nequeatis mittere, non videmus, qui et a vobis requiritur et ab Anglis. Quod si pares copias proportionem habita ambo miserint, nil minor erit vestra domi potentia quam nunc est adversus hostes.'
- 3 Vincebantur ubique Franci; cumque rationibus satisfacere non valerent, mandatum sibi fuisse dixerunt, ea de re ut nihil promitterent, nisi venientibus Anglicis et pacem accipientibus; cum illi non venissent, silendum sibi esse; utile tamen illud videri consilium, Anglos citra mare ad locum aliquem accersiri Francis et illis accommodum, eoque legatum apostolicum destinari qui partes componeret. Quod facturum se pontifex non recusavit. Sed rebus deinde mutatis, cum Franci Sedem Apostolicam magis ac magis persequerentur, et Angli magnis inter se odiis laborarent, res ipsa neglecta est, nec plura cum Francis acta.

*The worthless French legation, concerned only with its own  
grievances, offers absolutely nothing for the crusade.*

After this the French were asked what aid they would furnish against the Turks. They replied that it was useless to talk about the Turks until things were settled between the French and the English, since neither side would leave its country defenseless against the enemy. They must first seek peace at home and only then consider going to war against a foreign foe.

To this the pope replied, "By the time the French and English are reconciled, the Turks will have destroyed Hungary. Your help will come too late. You call your king "most Christian," yet you can't be bothered to come the help of the Christian faith? You might at least have supported the Christian cause with money if you could not send troops, though we do not see why you cannot send soldiers too, since the same demand is made of the English. For if you each send the same proportion of men, you will end up no weaker with respect to your opponents than you are now."

The French were beaten on every point. Since they could not answer the pope's arguments, they said they had been instructed to make no promises on the matter unless the English were present and agreed to terms of peace. Since the English had not come, they could say nothing. They thought it advisable, nevertheless, to summon the English from across the sea to meet at some mutually convenient place, and they suggested that an apostolic legate should be sent there to reconcile the parties. The pope did not refuse to do this; but as conditions changed, with the French causing yet more trouble for the Apostolic See and the English involved in bitter feuds at home, the matter was dropped and there were no more negotiations with the French.

*De rebus Angliae, et legati fraude, ac pace composita.*

- 1 Miserat Pius,<sup>89</sup> priusquam Roma recederet, Franciscum Interam-  
nensem episcopum in Angliam, qui regis auxilia adversus Turchos  
exquireret regnique lites componeret. Henricus, eius nominis sex-  
tus per id tempus Anglorum regno praesidebat, vir muliere timi-  
dior, consilii atque animi prorsus inops, et qui uxori cuncta com-  
misisset; erat tamen religionis amans et circa res divinas valde  
attentus, qui iussus legationem mittere ad conventum Mantuanum  
nomine regio et rebus quae ibi tractandae forent non indignam,  
episcopos et proceres regni praeclaros designavit oratores. Sed  
nemo illorum iter ingressus est: contempserunt omnes desidis et  
ignavi regis iussionem.
- 2 Ille duos praesbyteros modici nominis ad Pium transmisit qui  
et oboedientiam offerrent, et cur legati maiores non venissent cau-  
sas redderent. In litteris mandati non fuerunt de more aut testes  
nominati aut subscripti tabelliones, sed adnotata erat regis manu  
huiusmodi subscriptio: 'Henricus teste me ipso', et sigillum reg-  
ni appensum. Contempsit pontifex derisitque tanti regis tam vi-  
lem legationem, nec ultra ad conspectum suum admisit.
- 3 Interea spretus in Anglia Interamnensis episcopus cum legatio-  
nis officium, quo praeditus erat, non permetteretur exercere, indi-  
gnatus ex Anglia recessit, ac transmisso mari Calesium venit. Io-  
hannes Varvici comes, vir strenuus et audax, <ob> indignationem  
regis eo confugerat; qui paucis diebus ante, cum accepisset regiam  
classem adversus se brevi navigaturam esse, quae in portu San-  
duciae instruebatur, cum octingentis viris noctu navigans impar-

*Affairs in England. The legate's subterfuge. Peace is restored.*

Before he left Rome, Pius had sent Francesco, bishop of Terni,<sup>158</sup> 1  
to England to ask for the king's support against the Turks and to  
settle the dissension within the kingdom.<sup>159</sup> At that time Henry  
VI occupied the throne of England, a man of less courage than a  
woman, utterly witless and lacking in spirit, who had left every-  
thing in the hands of his wife.<sup>160</sup> He was, however, a religious man  
and very devout in matters of faith, and so when he was com-  
manded to send an embassy to represent him at the Congress of  
Mantua, one qualified to treat the questions that were to be dis-  
cussed there, he appointed a group of bishops and prominent no-  
blemen to serve as his spokesmen. But not one of them went; all  
disregarded the command of their weak and cowardly king.

The king then sent Pius two priests of modest rank to make his 2  
submission and explain why more distinguished ambassadors had  
not come. Their credentials did not name witnesses in the usual  
manner, nor were they signed by notaries. The letter was signed in  
the king's own hand with the words, "Henry, witnessed by myself,"  
to which was attached the royal seal. The pope mocked and  
scorned this sorry embassy as unworthy to represent so great a  
king, nor did he admit them to his presence again.

Meanwhile the bishop of Terni had been ignored in England 3  
and prevented from discharging his commission. Accordingly, he  
left the country in anger and crossed the Channel to Calais. There  
John, earl of Warwick, a bold and energetic character, had taken  
refuge from the anger of the king.<sup>161</sup> Some days earlier, on learning  
that a royal fleet was being equipped in the port of Sandwich and  
would soon sail against him, Warwick himself set sail by night  
with 800 men; he caught the enemy by surprise, and after killing

tos hostes aggressus, edita non parva caede multisque cum praefecto classis interceptis victor redierat.

4 Is accersito episcopo et cognita sui recessus causa: 'Mane,' inquit, 'noli abire. Ego te in Angliam reducam, et tuae legationi locum faciam. Rex noster stupidus est et mente captus; regitur, non regit; apud uxorem, et qui regis thalamum foedant, imperium est. Ego, cum ferre ista non possem, et aliam regni formam requirem, eiectus sum a facie regis. Breve exilium meum erit. Multi mecum sentiunt, quorum princeps est dux Eboracensis, cuius regnum esset si iura spectarentur. Armatae nobis copiae propediem aderunt, ferro fortunam experiemur. Si dabit victoriam Deus, eiciemus hostes a latere regis, et nos ipsi regnum gubernabimus, rex nudum nomen retinebit. Recipiemus te summi praesulis legatum, et brevi regno composito classem pro religione parabimus.'

5 Acquievit episcopus, et foedere percusso cum illo reversus est in Angliam. Comiti armatorum viginti milia praesto affuere, et paulo post duplicatus exercitus est. In eo episcopus vexilla erexit Ecclesiae Romanae, et quasi adversus hostes fidei proeliandum esset, plenariam peccatorum remissionem indulsit his qui pro parte Varvici comitis pugnarent, adversus hostes eius anathema promulgavit litteris apostolicis pro castris ostensis, quae licet aliud continerent, id ipsum credebantur habere.

6 Commissa pugna ingens occisio<sup>90</sup> facta est, et nonnulli proceres periere. Rex Angliae captus Lundonias ductus,<sup>91</sup> ibique non absque honore regio habitus; regina cum filio et plerisque suae factionis proceribus in Gualiam fugit. Convocati sunt apud Lundonias praelati et proceres regni parlamentum, ut ipsi vocant, de rebus publicis habituri; in quo illud ante omnia placuit ut acta

many men and taking many captives, including the admiral, he returned victorious.

Warwick sent for the bishop, and when he heard why he had 4 left England, said, "Wait. Don't go. I'll take you back to England and give you a chance to discharge your commission. Our king is a mentally unstable fool, who does not rule but is ruled. Power rests in the hands of his wife and those who pollute his marriage bed. Because I could not stand such a state of affairs and wanted to reform the way we governed, I was banished from the king's presence. My time of exile will be short. Many feel as I do, chief among them the duke of York, who ought by rights to be sitting on the throne. We are gathering an army and will soon put our fortunes to the test in battle. If God grants us victory, we'll drive our foes from the king's side and govern the kingdom ourselves — the king will have nothing but the name. We'll receive you as the pope's legate and before long, when the kingdom is again at peace, we'll equip a fleet in defense of the faith."

The bishop agreed and, after entering into a formal compact 5 with Warwick, he accompanied the earl back to England. Twenty thousand armed men were waiting for him, an army which soon doubled in size. Here the bishop raised the standard of the Church of Rome and, because they were going into battle against enemies of the faith, granted plenary remission of sins to those who were to fight on the side of Warwick. He likewise pronounced anathema on their enemies, exhibiting an apostolic letter to the troops which was believed to contain this formula, though its contents in fact were quite different.

The battle that followed was bloody; some of the nobles were 6 killed. The king was captured and taken to London where he was treated with the honor due a king. The queen fled to Wales with her son and many of the leaders of her party. The prelates and peers of the realm (an assembly which they call Parliament) met in London to discuss matters of state. First they voted to rescind the

prioris parliamenti, quod anno praecedenti fuerat habitum, rescinderentur. In eo enim dux Eboracensis, comes Sarem et comes Varvici hostes regni fuerant declarati.

- 7 Rescissione obtenta dux Eboracensis regnum ad se spectare dixit, qui Ricchardo<sup>92</sup> regi quondam occiso propinquior esset, nec ferendum ut ii regnarent qui occisori successissent; impium id genus hominum, qui regnandi causa parricidium commisissent; Henricum Quartum patrum suum occidisse, regnumque per tyrannidem occupasse; illi filium successisse, Henricum Quintum, et Quinto Sextum, qui tum impii et violenti regis haeres esset; parliamenta, quae vi adhibita per metum aliquid decrevissent, non valere; regnum sibi iure deberi qui parricidali excluso genere regii sanguinis primus extaret; coronam petere; Henrico ut privato vendum.
- 8 Iusta petitio videbatur. Obstabat ius iurandum regi praestitum et longa possessio et patris beneficium, qui Gallos, gentem infestam Anglico nomini compressisset. Sed cum pertinaciter Eboracensis instaret, prope ad arma ventum est, neque enim Varvicius, cuius audacia res acta erat, passurus videbatur eum regno deici, qui rex esset receptus. Denique legati providentia discordia in hunc modum composita: Henricus, quoad vixerit, rex esto; cum obierit, Eboracensis aut eius filius succedito; interea ad priora stipendia marcarum auri decem milia quotannis ex regio fisco accipito; reliquis in rebus pacem habeto.
- 9 Sic res gestae sunt ad Kalendas usque Novembris anno salutis M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> LVIII<sup>o</sup>. Legati toto regno magnum est nomen habitum, in quo multum auri corrasisse creditus est. Sed arma vicere: nullum ferrum tam aptum fodiendo auro quam ensis!

acts of the parliament of the preceding year; for it was then that the duke of York, the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Warwick had been declared enemies of the realm.

When these had been rescinded, the duke of York said the throne was his, since he was most closely related to the murdered King Richard; it was intolerable that the heirs of a murderer should reign. Theirs was an impious line that had killed members of their family to win the throne. Henry IV had murdered his uncle and usurped the crown. He had been succeeded by his son Henry V and he by Henry VI, heir to a wicked and violent king. A parliament which had been bullied and intimidated into passing its measures was not valid. The kingdom rightfully belonged to York, for if the murderous line were excluded, he stood first in the order of succession, and thus he demanded the crown. Henry was to live thenceforth as a private citizen.

These demands seemed just. But weighing against them were the oath they had taken to King Henry, the length of his reign, and his father's victories over the French, the ancient enemies of the English nation. When York pressed his case more strongly they nearly resorted to arms, for Warwick, whose bold action had brought about the situation, did not seem ready to let the man he had once acknowledged as king be deposed now. Finally, thanks to the wisdom of the legate, they settled the dispute in this manner: Henry should rule as king for the rest of his life, to be succeeded at his death by York or his son; meanwhile, in addition to the existing revenues from his duchy, York should receive 10,000 marks a year from the royal treasury; in every other regard they would keep the peace.

Such were the events up to the first of November 1459. The legate was hailed as a hero throughout the kingdom. It was thought that he raised a great deal of money there, but in fact his success was due to the war. There is no better tool for digging out gold than a sword!

*Aliud bellum in Anglia, et regis prioris eiectio,  
uxorisque pugna et tandem exilium.*

- 1 Paulo post regina congregatis in Gualia<sup>93</sup> novis exercitibus, quasi virum e manibus hostium ereptura, ducere Lundonias statuit, occurrentemque ducem Eboracensem in proelio superavit, et cum plerisque baronibus interfecit. Re cognita trepidare Lundoniarum populus, reginae deditioem faciendam dicere, minari qui contra sentirent. Legatus, non tam in adversis audax quam cautus in secundis rebus, mortem veritus si remaneret, relicto Varvicio in Flandriam propere navigavit.
- 2 Regina animo et viribus aucta non procul a Lundoniis castra posuit, et fugientem ad se regem in eis recepit; obtinuissetque procul dubio civitatem, nisi muliebri superbia et ulciscendi nimia cupiditate duriores imponere leges civibus voluisset, quorum plerosque ad supplicium exposcebat. Illi enim, postquam implacabilem reginae animum cognovere, spemque solam in armis esse, Eduardum, Eboracensis interfecti filium, ac Varvicium secuti ad pugnam egressi sunt.
- 3 Regina in proelio superata multis suorum amissis cum viro ac filio fugam arripuit. Victores Lundonias reversi novum parlamentum indixere, in quo Henricus cum filio et coniuge hostis regni, Eduardus vero rex Anglorum declaratus est. Nec diu postea alio commisso proelio superatis Henrici partibus Anglia fere tota ad

*War breaks out in England again. The king is deposed.  
The queen marches into battle and then into exile.*

Shortly afterwards the queen raised new troops in Wales and decided to march on London, as if she was going to rescue her husband from enemy hands. The duke of York came out to challenge her but was defeated; he and many of the nobles fell on the field. The people of London panicked at the news; they declared they must surrender to the queen and threatened any who disagreed. The legate, who revealed himself to be rather less brave in adversity than he had been shrewd when things were going well, feared for his life if he stayed. Abandoning Warwick, he sailed off in a hurry to Flanders.

Her spirits encouraged and her troops reinforced, the queen pitched her camp not far from London. There she welcomed the king, who had fled to her for refuge. There is no doubt she would have got possession of the city had she not tried, with a woman's pride and an overwhelming desire for revenge, to impose excessively harsh terms on the citizens, demanding that a good number of them should be handed over for punishment. When the people realized that the queen was implacable and that their only hope lay in arms, they joined Edward, son of the dead duke of York, and the earl of Warwick and went out to fight.

The queen was defeated in the battle; she lost many of her men and took flight with her husband and son. The victors returned to London and convened a new parliament at which Henry, his consort, and his son were declared enemies of the realm and Edward was proclaimed king.<sup>162</sup> Not long after, Henry's supporters were defeated in yet another battle; almost all of England then went over to the victors' side. The losers fled to Scotland. By a twist of

victores defecit. Victi ad Scotos confugere, atque apud eos ludente fortuna miseri salvati sunt, quos saepe felices timuerant.

: 43 :

*Oblata Germanorum, copiarumque numerus et legatus  
apostolicus missus.*

- 1 His motibus laborantibus Anglicis nihil fuit quod ad tuendam fidem Pius pontifex illinc haurire posset, atque ita spei suae magna ex parte cecidit, cum opem religioni afferre Franci nollent, Angli non possent. Convertit se tandem ad Germanos ne quid inexpectum dimitteret.
- 2 Aderant, ut diximus, oratores imperatoris, tum electorum Imperii et multorum ex Germania principum ac civitatum legati. His ad se pontifex accersitis, quid imperator quidve ceteri contra Turchos offerrent, percontatus est; nec facile responsum obtinuit, cum legati principum ab imperatoris sententia dissentirent. Sator maxime discordiarum erat Gregorius Hamburgensis, iuris interpret celebratus et eloquentia Theutonica insignis; oratorem suum Albertus Austriae dux et imperatoris germanus eum miserat, qui per id tempus cum fratre dissidebat.
- 3 Gregorius quoque, cum imperatori dicacitate sua saepe displicisset, et a latronibus captus sex milibus aureis se redemisset, quaecumque sibi acciderant ab imperatore prodiisse arbitrabatur, eamque ob causam singulari eum odio prosequeretur, neque ulli rei consentiebat, in qua putaret aestimationem imperatoris crescere; et quoniam expeditio in Turchos Federici gloriam auctura videbatur, toto ingenio impedimenta suggererat.

fate, in their darkest hour they found their salvation with those they had often feared when their fortunes were bright.

: 43 :

*An offer from the Germans. The number of troops.  
The apostolic legate despatched.*

While the English were mired in civil war, Pope Pius could get 1  
nothing out of them for the defense of the faith. His hopes were  
largely dashed, since the French would not come to the aid of the  
Christian religion and the English could not. In the end he had re-  
course to the Germans, so as to leave no stone unturned.

Spokesmen for the emperor and ambassadors from the imperial 2  
electors and from several German princes and states were all pres-  
ent, as we have said. The pope called these men before him and  
asked what help the emperor and the others intended to provide  
against the Turks. It was not easy to get an answer out of them,  
for the princes' ambassadors disagreed with those representing the  
emperor. The worst sower of discord was Gregor Heimburg, a cel-  
ebrated jurist and a brilliant orator in the German style. He had  
been sent to represent the emperor's brother, Duke Albert of Aus-  
tria, who at that time was quarreling with the emperor.

Gregor too had often angered the emperor with his sharp 3  
tongue. He had also been captured once by brigands and forced to  
pay 6,000 florins in ransom. As a result, he thought that any mis-  
fortune that befell him was Frederick's fault. He nourished a bitter  
hatred for the emperor and would agree to nothing which he  
thought might increase his reputation. Since a crusade against the  
Turks now seemed likely to add to Frederick's glory, he directed all  
his energies to throwing up obstacles to the plan.

- 4 Superavit tamen obstinata Pii praesulis diligentia, cum modo istum modo illum ad se vocitans Ecclesiae ac fidei causam dulcioribus verbis commendaret. Convenerunt tandem omnes in unam sententiam Germanorum legati eumque pontifici exercitum promissere qui pridem Frankfordiae sub Nicolao praeside promissus fuerat, id est pedites duo et triginta milia, equites decem milia. Ad quam rem duos conventus necessarios esse dixerunt: alterum Norembergae in Franconia, alterum apud Caesarem in Austria, legatumque de latere mittendum, qui conventa prosequeretur. Annuit pontifex et Bessarionem cardinalem Nicenum ei provinciae praefecit, ducem vero exercitus Federicum imperatorem dixit data potestate ut si per sese id muneris obire non posset, alium quem vellet principem substitueret.
- 5 Rogati oratores Franci, cum haec agerentur, interesse recusarunt, ut qui aliorum gloriam suam esse ignominiam existimabant.

: 44 :

*De Sigismundo Austriae duce et ingenio eius perverso.*

- 1 Dum haec aguntur, Sigismundus Austriae dux, qui se venturum saepe promiserat, cum quadringentis equitibus multaque nobilitate et splendido apparatu Mantuam venit. Obviam iere duo cardinales et omnis ordo Curiae; exceptus est in auditorio publico. Verba eius nomine fecit Gregorius Hamburgensis, qui multa de domo Austriae commemoravit digna relatu, et principis animum in Turchos accensum dixit, qui nationis oblata, quantum ad se pertinerent, praesens confirmaret.

But the persistence of Pope Pius won the day. Calling first one 4  
legate and then another before him, he argued the case for the  
Church and the faith in his most persuasive style. At last, all the  
German legates came to an agreement; they promised the pope he  
would get the army which had been pledged long ago at Frankfurt,  
during the pontificate of Nicholas—in all, some 32,000 infantry  
and 10,000 horse.<sup>163</sup> They said they would need to call two diets  
to accomplish this, one at Nuremberg in Franconia and the other  
before the emperor in Austria; and a legate *de latere* would have to  
be sent to observe their meetings. The pope agreed and gave that  
duty to Bessarion, cardinal of Nicea. He made Frederick general  
of the army and empowered him to appoint any prince he chose to  
serve in his place if he could not perform his duty himself.

The French ambassadors were invited to attend the discussion 5  
but they refused to take part, believing a moment of glory for others  
meant their own disgrace.

: 44 :

*The evil genius of Sigismund of Austria.*

While this was going on, Sigismund, duke of Austria, having 1  
promised repeatedly that he would come, arrived at Mantua in  
great style, accompanied by 400 knights and many noblemen.<sup>164</sup>  
Two cardinals and the entire Curia went out to meet him. He was  
welcomed at a public audience. His spokesman was Gregor  
Heimburg, who touched on many of the notable points of the  
house of Austria. He declared that his prince was fired with a  
passion to fight the Turks and that he had come to ratify in per-  
son everything that his nation had offered, insofar as it con-  
cerned him.

- 2 Pontifex, qui Sigismundum a teneris novisset unguiculis,<sup>94</sup> pueritiam et adolescentiam eius summa cum laude peractam ostendit, reliquam aetatem praeteriit; laudes familiae a Gregorio explicatas et probavit et auxit; auxilia contra Turchos accepit. Inter cetera dixerat Gregorius Sigismundum Pii, cum in minoribus ageret, fuisse discipulum, qui suas epistolas avide legisset, quarum volumen apud se haberet, et aliquae illarum Sigismundo essent inscriptae; quod verum inveniet, si quis epistolas saeculares legerit quas Pius nondum sacris initiatus scripsit. Verum Sigismundi multo melior pueritia fuit quam adolescentia, cuius ingenii mores cum aetate, ut paulo post dicemus, perierunt.
- 3 Per eos dies Franciscus Sforzia Mediolanum reversus tres boves mirae pinguedinis ad pontificem miserat, quos rapis enutriverat, aquis calidis lavari<sup>95</sup> solitos pectinarique per singulos dies, et strato iacere mundo. Horum Pius unum Sigismundo dedit, alterum inter oratores principum partitus, reliquum sibi et cardinalibus retinuit. Caro ita omnibus placuit ut suaviori cibo nunquam se pastos fuisse dixerint. Sed neque vili pretio empta est, nam qui boves duxere centum aureis donati sunt.
- 4 Vigeabant per idem tempus inter Sigismundum et Nicolaum Sancti Petri cardinalem graves inimicitiae: de feudis et iurisdictione diu contenderant. Tentatum est si quo pacto reconciliari possent. Sed cum frustra diebus aliquot cardinales et ipse pontifex concordiae operam navassent, discessit Sigismundus, ut ipse testatus est, cardinalis inimicus, papae amicus.
- 5 Hic, cum esset puer et deinde adolescens, ad sextum et decimum usque annum sub tutela patris fuit, ut ante diximus, indolis supra quam dici posset egregiae, vultu decoro et gestibus honestis;

The pope, who had known Sigismund from a boy, declared that he had had a most laudable childhood and youth; he passed over his later years in silence. He confirmed and even added to the praise that Gregor had bestowed on his family. He accepted his aid against the Turks. Among other things, Gregor had said that when Pius was in minor orders, Sigismund had been his pupil and had eagerly read his letters, a copy of which he still kept by him. Some of these letters were in fact written to Sigismund himself. This can be verified by anyone who examines Pius's collection of secular correspondence, written before he took holy orders.<sup>165</sup> But Sigismund was much better as a child than as an adolescent. He grew worse and worse as he grew older, as we shall describe in a moment.

During this period Francesco Sforza (who had returned to Milan) sent the pope three marvelously fat bulls which had been raised on a regime of turnips, warm water baths, daily grooming, and beds of clean straw. Pius gave one of these to Sigismund, another he shared out among the ambassadors of princes, and the third he kept for himself and the cardinals. The meat tasted wonderful; everyone swore they had never tasted anything sweeter. But it did not come cheap, for the men who brought the bulls were given a hundred ducats for their trouble.

At about that time Sigismund and Nicholas cardinal of San Pietro<sup>166</sup> were locked in a bitter quarrel; they had long been in dispute over fiefs and areas of jurisdiction. An effort was made to somehow settle their differences, but after several days, when the cardinals and the pope himself had tried their best with no results, Sigismund took his leave, as he himself put it, an enemy of the cardinal but a friend to the pope.

As a boy, Sigismund had lived as the ward of his uncle and remained so until he turned sixteen. As we said before, words cannot describe the brilliance of his mind. His face was handsome, his bearing noble; he loved literature and enjoyed the company of



amavit litteras, viros coluit bonos, nullius rei cupidior quam virtutis apparebat.

6 At dimissus ab imperatore postquam in provinciam evolavit et magno tutore caruit, incredibile est quam brevi mutatus fuerit. Ostendit vita quae secuta est adumbrata prius in eo, non expressa fuisse signa virtutis: coepit rapere et largiri, prolabi in omne scelus, crudelis atque immanis vulnerare necareque sua manu innocentes, loqui sine fine, aliorum verba non audire; vinum magis quam cibum appetere, levitatem in omni actione ostendere, delatoribus credere, adulatores amare, iram non retinere, libidini succumbere, virgines ac nuptas prostituere. Uxorem tandem duxit filiam regis Scotiae, sanctam et prudentem feminam, sed infelicem quae tali viro nupsit. Gnarus enim Sigismundus suorum scelerum, et quot foedasset alienos thalamos, suum foedari timens uxorem arctissima custodia clausit. Cum accepisset aliquando gladium esse in Austria quo duae humanae cervices uno ictu amputatae fuissent, quiescere non potuit, donec adnitente Iohanne imperatoris quaestore eo potitus est.

7 Talis Sigismundus fuit, Austriali familia natus: non dissimilis ei, quem domus Malatestarum fatua et iniqua produxit, cuius mores supra descripsimus.

: 45 :

*Adventus fortissimi ducis, Alberti marchionis Brandenburgensis.*

1 Hoc e concilio discedente Albertus marchio Brandenburgensis ad pontificem venit, vir celsi animi et rei militaris peritissimus, qui et

virtuous men; there was nothing he seemed to want more than to be good.

After the emperor released him, he took himself off to his domains, and there, in the absence of his great guardian, his character changed incredibly quickly. His subsequent career confirms that the signs of virtue had been only dimly outlined in his youth, not clearly formed.<sup>167</sup> He indulged in rapacious and prodigal behavior and fell into every kind of vice. He was cruel and inhuman; with his own hands he wounded and killed innocent men. He talked for hours but would not listen to others; he craved wine more than food; he acted frivolously in every situation; put faith in informers; adored flattery; did not restrain his anger; gave way to lust; violated girls and married women alike. At last he took a wife: the daughter of the king of Scotland, a wise and devout lady but unlucky in having him for a husband.<sup>168</sup> For Sigismund, mindful of his own crimes and knowing how many marriage beds he had polluted, feared pollution in his own and so kept her under close guard. Once, when he heard of a sword in Austria which had cut off two human heads in a single blow, he could not rest until he obtained it, with the help of Johann, the emperor's chamberlain.

Such was Sigismund, scion of the house of Austria. He was not unlike that other Sigismondo, of the foolish and wicked house of Malatesta, whose character we described above.

: 45 :

*A powerful prince arrives: Albert, margrave of Brandenburg.*

As Sigismund was leaving the congress, the pope received a visit from Albert, margrave of Brandenburg. He was a man of noble

in Hungaria et in Bohemia et in Polonia et in omni Germania militavit, ordines duxit, et magnorum exercituum extitit imperator; cuius tot<sup>96</sup> victoriae fuerunt quot proelia. Noremburgenses octo certaminibus superavit, uno tantum succubuit non magno accepto detrimento; octo et decem vicibus clipeo tantum et pileo tectus ad singularem pugnam vocatus victor evasit; torneamenta tot devicit quot adiit: Achillem plerique Theutonicum vocavere.

2 Cum Ludovico Baioariae duce bellum gessit, victorque pacis leges pro suo arbitrio dixit; rursus bello revocato<sup>97</sup> relictus a sociis pacem ab hoste recepit; tertium bello resumpto illatis receptisque damnis, aequis conditionibus interventu archiepiscopi Cretensis, quem Pius in Germaniam miserat, indutias belli sub spe pacis amplexus est.

3 Huic Mantuam venienti cardinalis Sancti Petri extra ordinem occurrit. Pontifex in auditorio publico, eum excepit, laudavitque magnificis verbis, qui sua opera contra Turchos alacri et magno animo promisisset; donavit quoque mille aureis et equis Apulis duobus. In festo vero Epiphaniae ensem, quo pro Natalitio Domini dignior qui adest saecularis princeps ornari solet, et pileum margaritis ornatum dono ei inter solemnia dedit.

spirit, an experienced soldier who had campaigned in Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and all over Germany. He had led troops and commanded great armies, and he won every battle he fought. He got the better of the people of Nuremberg eight times in battle and was defeated only once—and that with but little loss. He had been challenged to single combat eighteen times, and each time, with only a shield and helmet to protect him, he emerged the victor. He won every tournament he entered. Many called him the German Achilles.

2 He went to war with Ludwig, duke of Bavaria, and when he won he was able to dictate peace terms as he pleased. But when war broke out again, his allies deserted him and he had to accept the terms of his enemy. When the war was renewed a third time and he had both inflicted damage and suffered it, the archbishop of Crete whom Pius had sent into Germany intervened, and he entered into a truce on equitable terms with hopes for a lasting peace.

3 When he came to Mantua, the cardinal of San Pietro left the ranks and went out to meet him. The pope received him at a public audience and showered him with praise for his prompt and generous promises of support against the Turks. He also presented him with a thousand ducats and two horses from Puglia. As part of the festivities for Epiphany, he awarded him the sword which was traditionally granted to the most worthy secular prince present at Christmas, as well as a cap adorned with pearls.

*Provocatio ad futurum concilium a Pio sublata,  
ac decretum interpositum.*

- 1 Irrepererat iam pridem in Ecclesia Dei exitialis consuetudo adversus Romani pontificis censuras: victi enim damnatique apostolica sententia ad futurum concilium appellabant, atque ita Primae Sedis iudicium eludebant. Appellabant iudicem, qui non erat, et superiorem Romano praesuli dabant, qui non invenitur in terris; et cum ipsi a suis sententiis appellari non sinerent, a Christi vicario appellandum esse consentiebant.
- 2 Consuluit Pius in ea re patres, qui aderant in conventu, quid censerent. Illi concordi voto responderunt appellationes huiusmodi cum suis auctoribus damnandas esse; atque ita decretum editum est, quod appellantes a Romano praesule ad futurum concilium tanquam haeresis fautores et laesae maiestatis reos plec-tendos statuit.

*Summa rerum in conventu Mantuano confectarum, et Pii  
supplicatio, dissolutioque concilii.*

- 1 Paucis deinde diebus congregatis in templo Beati Petri<sup>98</sup> patribus et universis principum legationibus, re divina peracta pontifex e solio suo indicto silentio:
- ‘Octavum hic agimus mensem,’ inquit, ‘fratres ac filii, eos expectantes qui ad conventum vocati fuerunt. Nostis qui venere; deinceps sperare alicuius adventum qui conferre aliquid ad rem nostram possit, vanum est. Licet iam hinc abire. Peregrinus quae

*Pius publishes a decree abolishing appeals  
to future councils.*

Long ago, a pernicious custom intended to undermine the pope’s 1  
judicial decisions had taken root in the Church. Persons convicted 1  
and condemned by apostolic sentence would appeal to a “future 1  
council” and thus evade the judgment of the Apostolic See. They 1  
would appeal to a non-existent judge and invoke a body superior 1  
to the Roman pope, one which cannot be found in this world. 1  
Though they permitted no appeal against their own decisions, 1  
they agreed that one could appeal against the Vicar of Christ.

Pius consulted the cardinals present at the congress on this 2  
matter. Of one accord they answered that appeals of this sort 1  
should be condemned along with the appellants; and so a decree 1  
was published which stipulated that those who appeal from the 1  
pope to a future council should be punished as guilty of fomenting 2  
heresy and lèse majesté.<sup>169</sup>

*Summary of issues decided at the Congress of Mantua. Pius  
offers prayers and dissolves the assembly.*

A few days later, after mass in the church of San Pietro, the pope 1  
addressed the cardinals and the entire assembly of princely ambas- 1  
sadors. After commanding silence, he spoke from his throne: “My 1  
brothers, my sons, for eight months we have waited for those we 1  
invited to the congress. You know who is here. It is pointless to 1  
imagine that anyone else will come with something to contribute 1  
to our cause; and so we may now disperse. We have done what

hoc in loco facienda fuerunt. Utinam Dei bene acta sit causa, quamvis meliora concepimus quam invenimus. Non tamen nihil omnino peractum est, neque spes omnis cecidit. Dicendum est quo res deductae sint, ut sciant omnes quid adsit spei, et qui reges quique populi ad tuendam fidem vel prompti fuerint vel negligentes.

2 Hungari si adiuventur summo conatu et universis viribus suis Turchos invadent. Germani exercitum pollicentur duorum et quadraginta milium bellatorum, Burgundus sex milia,<sup>99</sup> Itali exceptis Venetis ac Genuensibus cleri decimas, populi trigesimas annuorum reddituum ac vigesimas Iudaicae substantiae, ex quibus navales copiae sustentari queant; idem facit Iohannes rex Aragonum. Ragusei duas triremes offerunt, Rhodii<sup>100</sup> quattuor. Haec tanquam certa solemnī stipulatione per principes ac legatos promissa sunt.

3 Veneti, quamvis publice nihil promiserint, cum tamen expeditionem paratam viderint, haudquaquam deerunt, neque patientur ut suis maioribus deteriores videri possint. Idem de Francis, de Castellanis, de Portugallensibus dicimus; Anglia civilibus agitata motibus spem nullam pollicetur, neque Scotia in intimo abscondita Oceano. Dacia quoque, Suetia ac Norvegia remotiores provinciae sunt quam milites possint mittere, nec solis contentae piscibus pecuniam ministrare possunt. Poloni Turchis per Muldaviā contermini suam causam deserere non audebunt. Bohemos mercede licebit conducere: suo aere extra regnum non militabunt. Sic res Christianae se habent.

4 Classē pecunia Italica parabit, si non Venetiis, at saltem Genuae aut in Aragonia; nec minor erit quam res ipsa deprecatur. Hungari viginti milia equitum armabunt, peditum haud minorem

had to be done here. We pray we have done God's work well. Though we dreamed of more than we actually found, still we cannot let ourselves think that nothing has been accomplished. Nor is all hope lost. Now we must say where matters stand, so that everyone may know what our prospects look like, which kings and countries are ready to protect the faith and which remain indifferent.

If the Hungarians receive support they will make every effort to attack the Turks with all their might. The Germans promise an army of 42,000 fighting men, and 6,000 are pledged from Burgundy. In Italy (with the exception of the Venetians and the Genoese), the clergy will contribute a tenth and the laity a thirtieth of their income, and the Jews a twentieth of their total worth. With these funds we can maintain a fleet. King Juan of Aragon promises to do the same. The Ragusans will furnish two galleys, the Rhodians four. The princes and their ambassadors have solemnly sworn to provide this much for certain.

The Venetians, though they have made no public promises, surely cannot fail us once they see the crusade actually under way; the possibility that they might be judged lesser men than their forebears is something they will never allow. We can say the same of France, Castile, and Portugal. England, now racked with civil war, holds out no hope, nor does Scotland, lying as it does in the farthest reaches of the ocean. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway are also too remote to send soldiers and they have no money to contribute, for they live on fish alone. The Poles, whose Moldavian territories border on the Turks, will not dare to let down their own cause. We can hire the Bohemians; they will not fight beyond their borders unless someone else pays. This is how matters lie in Christendom.

Italian money will get a fleet together, if not at Venice, then in Genoa or Aragon, and as large as the occasion requires. The Hungarians will arm 20,000 cavalry and at least as many infantry. To-

numerum, qui Germanis iuncti ac Burgundis duodenaginta milia militum in castris habebunt. Et quis non his copiis superatum iri Turchos arbitretur? His accedet Georgius Scanderbechius et Albanorum fortissima manus. Et multi per Graeciam ab hoste deficient, et in Asia Caramannus et Armenorum populi Turchos a tergo ferient. Non est cur desperemus, tantum Deus ipse coepta secundet! Ite et narrate domi quae hic gesta sunt, et ut promissa in tempore faciant dominos vestros admonitos reddite, utque propitia nobis sit divina pietas orationibus et operibus piis operam date!

5 His dictis oblationes suas cuncti qui aderant confirmavere; qui nihil obtulerant confusi tacuere. Oratores Borsii, ut plus aliquid fecisse quam reliqui viderentur, aureorum trecenta milia in expeditionem adversus Turchos polliciti sunt, non sine auditorum irrisione, qui vanitatem promittentis norarant,<sup>101</sup> cuius exiguus animus tum minima facturum esset cum promitteret maxima.

6 Postquam omnes finire, iussit pontifex cardinales, episcopos, abbates et sacerdotes cunctos qui aderant sacras induere vestes; et ipse suo solio descendens ad gradus maioris arae se convertit, ibique flexis genibus suspirans atque illacrymans supplici voce delectos e psalmis versiculos, qui ad rem accommodati viderentur, respondentibus praelatis et omni clero longo spatio decantavit, et oratione praemissa populo benedixit, atque in hunc modum Mantuano conventui finem imposuit.

gether with the German and Burgundian contingents, this will put some 88,000 soldiers in the field. Does anyone think the Turks can resist such a force? George Skanderbeg will join them with a mighty troop of Albanians, and many in Greece will desert the enemy. In Asia, the Karaman and the Armenians will attack the Turks in the rear. There is no reason to lose heart so long as God Himself supports our undertaking. Go and tell those at home what has been done here, and make sure your masters are advised to fulfill their pledges promptly; and strive with your words and good works to have God's mercy look with favor on our undertaking."<sup>170</sup>

At this, the entire assembly reaffirmed their promises. Those 5 who had offered nothing were at a loss and had nothing to say. Borso's ambassadors, trying to appear to have done a little more than the rest, promised 300,000 ducats for the crusade—to the derision of the audience, who recognized the hollow promises of a man whose stingy heart would do least precisely when it promised most.

When everyone had finished, the pope ordered every cardinal, 6 bishop, abbot, and priest in attendance to put on his vestments. Then he descended from his throne and knelt on the steps of the high altar. Weeping and sighing, he humbly intoned verses taken from the Psalms appropriate to the occasion, as the prelates and all the clergy made the responses. Then he spoke to the people and blessed them, and in this way he brought the Congress of Mantua to a close.

## LIBER QUARTUS

: I :

*Iohannis Rhenati in belli initio sacrilegium, et principis  
Rossani ingrata perfidia, et Traiectum oppidum.*

- 1 Dum haec aguntur, Iohannes, Rhenati regis filius neque ingenio neque corpore piger, classem in Rhodano paravit ut in regnum Siciliae adversus Ferdinandum proficisceretur.
- 2 Alanus cardinalis Avinionensis a Callisto missus in Galliam de latere legatus ut opem adversus Turchos ex gente Francorum peteret, indulgente Carolo rege decimam clero imposuit, et indulgentias publicavit his qui manus adiutrices pro defensione religionis<sup>1</sup> porrigerent. Corrasit eo pacto vim magnam pecuniae; aureorum sedecim milia Rhodiis<sup>2</sup> misit, triremes quattuor et viginti apud Avinionem construxit; ex auro quod supererat admodum ditatus suppellectilem sibi regiam apparavit, Callisto nihil tradidit.<sup>3</sup>
- 3 Iohannes corpora navium pro salute Christianorum aedificata adversus Christianos armavit, profectusque Genuam, quae tunc Francis parebat, auxilia eius populi obtinuit, Gaeta, Tranio et aliquot aliis maritimis urbibus in Regno promissis, si hostem inde repelleret. Cum navigasset in Campaniam, aliquandiu in ostio Vulturni fluminis delituit inter spem metumque dubius, cum nemo eorum, a quibus fuerat vocatus, occurreret.
- 4 Primus omnium Marinus<sup>4</sup> princeps Rossani ad eum venit Theanumque illi aperuit, se ac sua committens. Hic sororem Ferdinandi uxorem duxerat Alfonso vivente extra matrimonium na-

## BOOK IV

: I :

*René's son Jean and his impiety at the outbreak of war. The  
prince of Rossano's ungrateful treachery. The city of Trajetto.*

In the meantime, King René's son Jean, a man given to haste in thought and action, fitted out a fleet on the Rhône with the intention of invading the Kingdom of Sicily and attacking Ferrante.

Earlier, Calixtus had sent Alain, cardinal of Avignon,<sup>1</sup> as his legate *de latere* to France to seek support against the Turks from the French. With King Charles's backing, Alain imposed a tithe upon the clergy and published indulgences for those who contributed to the defense of the faith, by which device he collected an enormous sum of money. He sent 16,000 gold pieces to Rhodes and had twenty-four galleys built at Avignon. The rest he used to enrich himself. He outfitted himself like a king and sent nothing back to Calixtus.

Jean took ships that had been built to defend Christendom and launched them against a Christian nation. He went to Genoa (then subject to the French) and enlisted the support of the citizens there by promising them Gaeta, Trani, and a number of other maritime cities of the Kingdom if they dislodged the enemy from them. He then sailed to Campania, where he lay at the mouth of the Volturno for some time, caught between hope and fear<sup>2</sup> as none of those who had called him in came out to meet him.

Marino, prince of Rossano, was the first to approach. He opened the gates of Teano to Jean and put himself and his possessions under his protection. During the reign of King Alfonso,

tam, et quamvis esset ingenio rudi et mente hebeti, propter nobilitatem tamen et patris fidem in aula regia inter caros locum obtinuit.

- 5 Vacanti ecclesiae Theanensi Pius pontifex Nicolaum Pistoriensem, qui postea ad cardinalatum ascendit, virum doctum praefecit. Negavit princeps possessionem, propter quod anathema factus est, et Theano sacris interdictum, quamvis contumacia cleri principem magis quam Deum timentis servatum non fuerit. Princeps et a Deo simul et a rege recessit, non aliam ob causam nisi quia Traiectum, nobile oppidum impetrare non potuit, in alto monte non procul a Lyri flumine situm, in quo primi Scipionis Africani sepulchrum ostendunt.

: 2 :

*Rebellio principis Tarentini et aliorum multorum, ac praesertim Herculis Estensis, et qui in fide manserunt.*

- 1 Huius hominis exemplum et princeps Tarentinus, Ursinorum familia natus, cuius supra meminimus, paulo post secutus est, quamvis antea de rebellionem rediisset in gratiam. Poterat grandaeus senex absque virili sobole, dives admodum et longe lateque dominans feliciter aevum, quod supererat, traducere; sed impatiens quietis canos suos sine bello ad inferos deducere noluit. Rebellavit et ipse Ferdinando, ut idem Cathelanos Regno deiceret qui prius introduxerat, sive, quod postea demonstravit eventus, ut arbiter Regni solus et moderator esset.

Marino had married an illegitimate daughter of the king, a sister of Ferrante. He was a boorish and slow-witted character, but his noble rank — and the loyalty his father had once shown — won him a favored place at court.

When the church of Teano fell vacant, Pius had appointed to it the learned Niccolò of Pistoia,<sup>3</sup> who later became a cardinal. But Marino refused to give him possession. For this he was excommunicated and Teano was laid under interdict, though the recalcitrant priests there ignored the decree, for they feared the prince more than God. Marino betrayed both king and God for no other reason than that he had been denied the well-known city of Trajetto, which sits atop a high mountain not far from the river Liri and houses the tomb of Scipio Africanus the Elder.

: 2 :

*The prince of Taranto revolts along with many other lords, notably Ercole d'Este. Others remain loyal.*

The prince of Taranto soon followed Marino's example. The prince, a member of the Orsini family (as we mentioned above),<sup>4</sup> had already renewed his allegiance to the king after a previous rebellion. An old man, without sons, possessing vast wealth and lord of a wide domain, he might happily have lived out the time that was left to him, but he could not abide tranquility and refused to go to his grave in peace. He too rebelled against Ferrante, hoping that the man who first brought in the Catalans would also drive them out of the Kingdom; or rather, as events later revealed, he wished to set himself up as the sole arbiter and governor of the realm.

- 2 Secuti sunt et Caudolae domini Iacobum imitati genitorem, quem sui temporis proditorum<sup>5</sup> fuisse principem constat. Iacobus, cum aliquando sermonem coram se fieri de proditoribus accepisset, idque genus hominum cuncti detestarentur: 'Fateor,' inquit, 'sceleratum esse ac turpissimum hominem qui prodicionibus operam impartitur, nisi illarum gratia eo pervenerit ut in praesentia compelli proditor minime timeat, quemadmodum mihi usu evenit!'<sup>6</sup>
- 3 Accessit et Iosias Aprutinatorum tyrannus, crudelitate atque impietate celebratus; accesserunt et Aquilani Cathelano sanguini nunquam satis placati, et Sorae dux, fatui capitis homo, et nihil prudentior Honoratus Caietanus Sermonetae tyrannus<sup>7</sup> et Campi Bassi comites et marchio Crotoni, non tam boni quam mobilis ingenii, qui semel captus atque minus diligenter custoditus aufugit; defecit et Carolus Sanguinis et Amalfitanus dux. Inter alios et Hercules Estensi gente natus, Nicolai marchionis quondam filius, praeter omnium opinionem proditor est inventus, qui Ferdinandi non venationis solum sed omnium secretorum comes fuerat. Is Luceriam<sup>8</sup> Saracenorum, in qua cum magna equitum manu hibernaverat, hosti aperuit, non sine infamia Borsii, fratris sui, cuius se postea secutum imperia dixit.
- 4 Mira rerum mutatio! Pauci, quos aequus amavit Iuppiter, in fide manserunt! Quorum principes fuere<sup>9</sup> Honoratus<sup>10</sup> Fundorum comes ac Salerni princeps, qui usque ad mortem in fide permansit, quamvis aliquando nutare sit visus; filii eius mortuo patre ad hostes defecere. Familia Sancti Severini aliquamdiu in officio mansit; postea conflictu rege apud Sarnum fortunae manus dedit; postremo, ut est regnicolarum variabilis et infidelis natura, melioribus effectis Ferdinandi rebus ad eum rediit.

Next came the lords of Caldora, following in the footsteps of their father Jacopo, who was generally agreed to have been the most egregious traitor of his age. Jacopo once, after listening to a discussion on traitors in which every speaker expressed his hatred for such men, declared, "I'll grant that the man who engages in treachery is a scoundrel and the basest of men — unless, of course, his treason elevates him to the point where he has no fear of being accused of it! This, at least, has been my experience."

They were joined by Giosia, a lord of the Abruzzi, a man notorious for his godlessness and cruelty; by the people of L'Aquila, who had never truly accepted Catalan rule; by the duke of Sora, who was a fool; by Onorato Caetani, lord of Sermoneta, who was scarcely wiser; by the counts of Campobasso; and by the marquis of Crotona, a man whose character was rather more unreliable than upright. The marquis had already been captured once but had escaped from his careless guards. Also among the deserters were Carlo di Sangro and the duke of Melfi and — to everyone's surprise — Ercole d'Este, son of the late Marquis Niccolò, who had been Ferrante's hunting companion as well as a close confidant.<sup>5</sup> Wintering in Lucera with a large cavalry force, Ercole opened the city gates to the enemy, an act that brought his brother Borso into disrepute, for Ercole later claimed that he had acted on his brother's orders.

How the tables had turned! Only a very few, beloved of kindly Jove,<sup>6</sup> remained loyal. Chief among these were Onorato, count of Fondi, and the prince of Salerno, who stayed true to the end, though at times he too seemed to waver. His sons, however, went over to the enemy when he died. The house of Sanseverino remained loyal for a while, but after the king's defeat at Sarno they threw their lot in with the victors. When Ferrante's prospects finally began to improve, however, they went back over to his side — such is the fickle nature of those who live subject to kings.



*Auxilium Pii et Mediolanensis erga Ferdinandum regem, cum ceteri Italici foederis iura negligerent.*

- 1 Ferdinandus tot malis circumventus cum iam hosti prorsus impar se cognosceret, legatos et ad pontificem maximum et ad reliquos Italiae potentatus oratum misit sibi ut pro foedere opem ferrent. Pontifex ex Mantua Nicolaum electum Theanensem ad Franciscum Mediolani ducem ire iussit sciscitatum quid ei agendum in tanta rei novitate videretur; nam etsi aequum erat foederi satisfacere, solus tamen tantum belli pondus assumere non audebat. Franciscus subveniendum oppresso censuit, Florentinosque ac Venetos ut fidem servarent requirendos Ferdinandi nomine. Quo facto nec Florentini nec Veneti suae fidei fecerunt satis: plus apud eos Francorum amicitia sive metus quam iuris iurandi religio valuit. Borsius, qui et ipse sextum locum in foedere obtinuit, apertus iam non hostis modo sed proditor<sup>11</sup> Ferdinandi effectus erat, quamvis tecta esse opera sua putaret. Inventus nemo est qui Ferdinando ex foedere responderet praeter Pium pontificem et Franciscum Mediolani ducem, qui postea omnem belli sumptum molestiamque subiere.

*Legatio Pii ad Venetos, et discessus e Mantua, profectio in Ferrariam, Borsiique occursus.*

- 1 Pius, qui nondum spem omnem in re fidei de Venetis amiserat, Gregorium Lollium, fratrem suum consobrinum Piccolominea fa-

*Pius and the Milanese support King Ferrante, while other Italian states neglect their treaty obligations.*

In the midst of such woes, Ferrante, realizing he was no match for the enemy, sent embassies to the pope and to the other Italian powers. Invoking the terms of their compact, he requested their support.<sup>7</sup> From Mantua, the pope sent Niccolò, bishop elect of Teano, to Duke Francesco of Milan to ask how he thought he should respond to such a turn of events. Although standing by the compact was the right thing to do, the pope did not dare undertake such a heavy burden of war on his own. Francesco believed they should help an ally in distress and also that Florence and Venice should be charged, in Ferrante's name, to keep their promises. This was done; but neither Florence nor Venice kept faith. Love—or fear—of the French carried more weight with them than regard for their pledges. Borso, the sixth member of the league, had by now not only openly attacked but actually betrayed Ferrante, though he thought his actions remained secret. No one could be found to uphold the terms of the compact with Ferrante except Pope Pius and Duke Francesco of Milan, who between them assumed all the costs and burdens of the war that ensued.

*Pius sends an embassy to Venice and leaves Mantua for a meeting with Borso in Ferrara.*

Pius had not yet given up on Venice in the matter of the crusade. He sent his cousin Gregorio Lolli, an adopted member of the

milia donatum ad eos misit; qui saepe in senatu de classe contra Turchos paranda locutus frustra conatus est, avaritia eius populi honestatem superante. Illud tamen fecit, quod raro in ea re publica est auditum. Persequebantur Veneti acerrimo odio cardinalem Sancti Marci propter ecclesiam Patavinam, de qua supra diximus, eiusque beneficiorum bona ad publicam manum receperant; fratrem e senatu amoverant; ne quis possessionem ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum iniussu rogatorum consequi posset, lege sanxerant. Quae omnia Gregorius abrogari pervicit, apud eam rem publicam eloquentia, gravitate et animi fortitudine magni habitus.

2 Pontifex legationibus per Germaniam et alias provincias absolutis ex Mantua recedens cardinalibus quattuor comitantibus Roverium navigio pervenit; alii terra iter fecere. Cardinalis Sancti Petri ad ecclesiam suam dissuadente pontifice profectus est, atque ibi, sicut postea dicemus, scandalum passus. Columnensis visere Venetias statuit; quo cum venisset, civitate donatus est et inter patricios urbis ascriptus, tanquam pluris esset apud Venetos nobilem quam Romanos inter principem esse. Rhutenus, cum in Graeciam transire decrevisset collectis ad usum belli pluribus armis, quibus in auxilio suae gentis uteretur, tandem apud Anconam remansit.

3 Erat hiems admodum frigida, et omnia gelu niveque Ianuario mense iam inclinante rigeabant. Mirabantur curiales senem papam tam aspera tempestate iter ingredi, sed qui frigas eundo non horruit, nec algorem redeundo pertimuit. Nocte in Roverio peracta sequenti die Borsium occurrentem in Pado habuit navi buccinatoria vectum et magna minorum navigiorum multitudine circumdatum, adeo ut nullam fluminis partem non agitarint pulsarintque remi. Vexilla multi coloris impulsa ventulo aspectum mirabilem

Piccolomini family, to represent him there. But though Gregorio repeatedly called on the Senate to raise a fleet against the Turks, his efforts were in vain, for the Venetians' greed far outstrips their honor. He did, however, accomplish one thing almost unheard of in the Republic. The Venetians had continued bitterly to assail the cardinal of San Marco over the affair of the see of Padua, which we mentioned above.<sup>8</sup> They had confiscated the revenues of his benefices for the public purse, ejected his brother from the Senate, and passed a general law forbidding any person from taking possession of ecclesiastical benefices without the Senate's permission. Gregorio succeeded in getting all these measures rescinded. His eloquence, his dignified bearing, and forcefulness made the Republic think very highly of him.

After dispatching legations to Germany and various other 2 states, the pope left Mantua and sailed to Revere with four of the cardinals. The others made the trip by land. Against the pope's advice, the cardinal of San Pietro set out for his church where, as we shall later explain,<sup>9</sup> he met with a scandalous reception. Colonna decided to visit Venice. On his arrival he was made a citizen and enrolled among the patricians of the city—as if it were a greater honor to be a Venetian noble than a Roman prince! The cardinal of Ruthenia<sup>10</sup> planned to cross over to Greece with a great stock of munitions he had collected for the defense of his people, but he got no further than Ancona.

The weather that winter was freezing; by now, nearly the end of 3 January, the whole world was gripped by ice and snow. The members of the Curia were amazed to see the aged pope traveling in such bitter weather, but he who had not shrunk from the cold when he left was not discouraged by the chill on his return. He spent the night in Revere. The next day Borso came to meet him on the Po in the Bucentaur, surrounded by such a throng of smaller craft that their oars whipped up the whole surface of the river. Flags of many colors fluttered in the breeze, a marvelous

reddere; tubae, tibiae et omnia musicorum genera in altioribus collocata puppibus dulcem praebere concentum; personatus apparere diversi deorum ac dearum et gigantum et virtutum; pueri ac puellae cantare; in aggeribus, qui amnis inundationem cohibent, quasi ad spectaculum viri ac mulieres sedere, illi papae, isti Borsio vitam precari.

4 Ludovicus Mantuanus invento Borsio, cum se papae saepius commendasset, domum rediit. Pius buccinatoria Borsii nave consensa Ferrariam adnavigavit, ubi occurrentibus sacerdotibus sacra ferentibus et magna populi pompa in arce quae supra litus iacet collocatus est; et quamvis magnis precibus rogaretur ut sequenti die maneret, non acquievit. Borsius in navi decretum de decimis, vigesimis ac trigesimis manu sua ultimus subscripsit, et primus deinde post Florentinos violavit.

: 5 :

*De Picinino et Borsii vana petulantia, et Pii e Ferraria  
discessu ac laboribus.*

1 Per idem tempus Iacobus Picininus in agro Cesenatae hiemabat Ferdinando infensus regi, qui Sigismundo pacem dedisset, nec dubium erat quin ad Gallos inclinaret. Ob eam rem accedens intempesta nocte pontificem Borsius: 'Magna,' inquit, 'discrimina Ecclesiae imminent et universae Italiae, nisi sapis, papa. Picininus ad Francos transiturus est, tu Ferdinandi partes adiuvas. Ego illi amicus sum, atque idcirco suaserim ne sinas tantum belli ducem

sight, while the sweet sounds of trumpets, flutes, and all manner of musical instruments drifted from the high decks of the ships. Choirs of boys and girls sang and personifications of various gods and goddesses, giants, and virtues were displayed. Men and women sat on the high banks that stopped the river flooding, like the audience at a show; some wished long life to the pope and some long life to Borso.

After greeting Borso, Ludovico of Mantua<sup>11</sup> took his leave of the pope, commending himself repeatedly to his favor, and returned home. Pius boarded the Bucentaur and was conveyed to Ferrara, where he was met by priests carrying sacred relics and a great crowd of people. He was lodged in the castle on the riverbank. Though they begged him to stay another day, he refused. On board ship, Borso signed the decree mandating contributions of tenths, twentieths, and thirtieths. He was the last to sign the agreement and later the first (after the Florentines) to break it. 4

: 5 :

*Empty bluster from Piccinino and Borso. Pius's departure from  
Ferrara and his difficulties en route.*

Jacopo Piccinino was then wintering in the territory of Cesena. 1 He was furious with Ferrante for making peace with Sigismondo and it seemed beyond doubt that he would support France. Concerned, Borso came to the pope in the dead of night and said, "Your Holiness, the Church and all of Italy will face a grave crisis unless you act wisely. Piccinino is about to defect to the French. You support Ferrante. I do too, and for this reason I urge you to stop such a great military leader defecting to the enemy. If you will

ad hostes deficere. Si mihi hanc provinciam commiseris, reconciliabo illum Ferdinando atque ita res eius in tuto erit.'

2 Pontifex, etsi sciebat Picininum ita Francis obnoxium esse ut absque summo dedecore eos relinquere non posset, Borsiumque fraudulentè agere, percontatus tamen est quo pacto Picininus auferri hostibus posset. Cui Borsius auri certam summam tradendam Iacobo dixit, et filiam ducis Mediolani quae promissa esset uxorem, et oppidorum aliquid<sup>12</sup> in Regno, postremo terrarum depositum quod Sigismundus in manu papae fecisset in potestatem ipsius Borsii transferendum. Pontifex, qui Mediolanensis principis exploratum haberet animum, de pecunia et oppidis<sup>13</sup> atque uxore nihil adversatus est; depositum sine consensu partium mutari non posse respondit. Conveniebant omnia praeter ultimum quod sine pontificis infamia fieri non poterat.

3 Instabat tamen Borsius, et existimans pontificem sui similem fluxae fidei, honesta atque inhonesta inverecunde petebat. Vanus homo et levis! Sprevit pontifex inania verba, et dimisso postera die ventoso principe Padoque transmissa per paludes usque ad flumen Rhenum, de quo supra est facta mentio, navigio pervenit. Id iter difficillimum fuit, cum serena hiems aquas omnes glacie adstrinxisset: securibus aperire viam oportuit.

trust this matter to me, I shall reconcile him to Ferrante and in doing so, save his cause.

The pope knew that Piccinino was so much in thrall to the French, however, that he could not abandon them without incurring enormous shame. He also knew that Borso was not acting in good faith. Still, he asked him how he might detach Piccinino from the enemy. Borso replied that they should grant Jacopo a certain sum of money, the daughter of the duke of Milan (for she had been promised him for a wife),<sup>12</sup> and a number of towns in the Kingdom. The pope, finally, ought to take those territories which Sigismondo had given him as security and transfer them to Borso. Pius, who had already sounded out the duke of Milan on the idea, raised no objections about the money or the towns or the bride, but he said that the security could not be transferred without the consent of both sides. They agreed on all but the last demand, which the pope could not satisfy without bringing dishonor on himself.

Borso continued to insist. Thinking that the pope's word was as unreliable as his own, he shamelessly pursued objectives both honorable and disgraceful. What a false and untrustworthy character! The pope scorned his empty words, and the next day he sent the blustering prince away. Then, after crossing the Po, he sailed through the marshes to the Reno, mentioned above. It was a very difficult journey, for the clear winter weather had frozen the water solid and they had to use axes to keep the channel clear.

*De Rheni fluminis glacie, et itinere Bononiam versus  
continuato, defectioneque Picinini,  
ac deliberatione ducis eligendi.*

- 1 Sed cum ad Rhenum ventum est, adeo profunda glacies occurrit ut frangi non posset; nec Bononienses vehicula apparaverant. Necessesse itaque fuit ut praesul sella portaretur, et qui eum sequebantur, pedibus irent. Ob quam rem nocte praeveniti, ut quisque rusticorum casas invenit, in eis non sine incommodo remansere. Pontifex in rure Sancti Bentivolii cum paucis pernociavit. Sequenti die Bononiam ingressus in apostolico palatio quievit, neque petentibus suam praesentiam Bononiensibus ad secundam diem concedere voluit.
- 2 Cum Planorium pervenisset, illic certior factus est Picininum ad Francos defecisse, neque id novum esse: duobus antea mensibus cum illis convenisse mendacemque Mutinae ducem fuisse, qui rem transeunti papae adhuc integram affirmasset, neque excusari posse qui auctor eius defectionis fuisset.
- 3 Intelligens igitur praesul duriores Ferdinandi partes futuras, eique magno auxilio opus fore, scripsit Mediolanensi e re videri, ut tanto bello dux idoneus eligeretur, cuius et auctoritas et fortuna et fides probata esset, quae res apud Ludovicum Mantuanum inventur, suasitque illum communibus expensis communi praefici bello. Mediolanensis verbo consilium approbavit, re non est amplexus; etsi enim Ludovicus sese obtulit, ipse tamen nolle eum tam longinquam accipere provinciam rescripsit. Credibile est Me-

*Ice on the Reno. The pope carries on to Bologna.  
Piccinino's desertion. Debate over the choice of  
a new commander.*

When they came to the Reno, however, the ice was so thick it could not be broken, nor had the Bolognese provided any means of transport. The pope had to be carried in a chair while his attendants were made to go on foot. As darkness overtook them they took shelter wherever they could, passing a rather uncomfortable night in peasant huts. The pope stayed at the country house of Sante Bentivoglio with a few companions. The next day he entered Bologna, where he took some rest in the apostolic palace. Despite the pleas of the Bolognese, he did not consent to stay a second day in the city.

When the pope reached Pianoro he learned that Piccinino had deserted to the French. This was no sudden move on his part, for he had come to an understanding with them some two months before, and the duke of Modena had been lying to Pius at their earlier meeting when he claimed that his allegiance was still secure. Nor was his behavior excusable, for the duke had actually instigated Piccinino's defection.

Realizing that Ferrante's situation was only going to get more and more difficult and that he was going to need strong support, Pius wrote to the duke of Milan: they would be wise, he said, to place a competent captain of proven authority, loyalty, and success in the field in command of such an important campaign. Such qualities were to be found in Ludovico of Mantua, and he urged that he should lead their forces at their shared expense. The duke approved this plan in principle but in fact did nothing to further it. Even when Ludovico offered his services, the duke replied that he did not want him to take up such a distant commission. It is

diolanensem aut hoc honoris Alexandro germano suo reservasse, aut marchionis absentiam timuisse.

- 4 Venit deinde praesul ad locum cui Asinorum Exoneratio nomen est in summo Apennino, non sine gravi labore nivosa pluviosaque die peracta, et modo vehiculo modo sella portatus.

: 7 :

*Introitus Florentiae, et Cosmae conventus, et rerum Italiae disceptatio, Florentinorumque impudentia.*

- 1 Cum Florentiolam venisset, dolore stomachi aegrotavit. Altera die Caphagiolum petiit, in valle Mugellana rus Cosmae magnifice aedificatum, in quo Mantuam petens pernoctaverat. Hic Federici Urbinatis nuntius affuit, homo sagax, qui de Picinino quae compta essent, confirmavit: iturum illum in Aprutios Ferdinandi hostem; Federicum, si iubeat pontifex, iter illi clausurum. Quae res ad Franciscum<sup>14</sup> remissa est.
- 2 Praesul Florentiam intravit mirificis honoribus ab ea republica cumulatus. Venere oratores obviam primarii cives, magistratus urbis in porta civitatis occurrerunt, ubi<sup>15</sup> de conventu Mantuano locuti non sine laude pontificis sequentem apud se diem transigi petiere; neque negatum est. Martialem Ordinis Praedicatorum generalem ministrum graviter accusare qui virgines Deo dicatas passim prostitueret neque homines neque Deum veritus, correctionemque tanti flagitii petierunt; quam pontifex facturum in tempore promisit.

possible that the duke was reserving this honor for his brother Alessandro, or he may have felt nervous about sending the marquis so far away.

The pope then came to the highest point in the Apennines, known as "Unload the Donkeys."<sup>13</sup> The trip was extremely difficult: it took an entire day and he had to be carried through rain and snow, at times in a wagon, at times in a chair.

: 7 :

*The pope enters Florence and meets Cosimo. Their discussion of Italian politics. The shamelessness of the Florentines.*

When he reached Firenzuola, the pope fell ill with stomach pains and went the next day to Cafaggiolo, Cosimo's magnificent country house in the Mugello, where he had spent a night on his way to Mantua. Here he found a messenger from Federico of Urbino, a shrewd man who confirmed what Pius had already heard about Piccinino. He reported that Piccinino intended to march into the Abruzzi against Ferrante and that Federico would block his way if the pope ordered him to do so. This news was conveyed to Francesco Sforza.

On entering Florence, the government of the republic showered the pope with extraordinary honors. The most prominent citizens came out to greet him; the magistrates received him at the gate. After speaking about the Congress of Mantua in terms highly flattering to the pope, they begged him to spend the next day with them, a request he did not refuse. The Florentines had brought a grave charge against Martial, Master of the Dominicans, accusing him of repeatedly seducing nuns without fear of man or God.<sup>14</sup> They asked the pope to punish this outrage; he promised this would be done when the time was right.

3 Cosmas vero, qui proficiscentem in Galliam pontificem adire contempserat, redeuntem haudquaquam neglexit: nocte multa ad eum venit, et inter loquendum admirari visus est de bello Ferdinandi causa adversus Gallos recepto.

4 Pontifex haud ferendum fuisse ait regem a se constitutum armis eiici, neque id Italicae libertati conducere; Gallos, si Regnum obtinissent, Senas haud dubie subacturos; Florentinos affectu Gallicos adversus lilia nihil acturos; Borsium Mutinae ducem Gallis Galliorem videri; Flamineae regulos ad Francos inclinare; Genuam Francis subesse et civitatem Astensem; si pontifex Romanus aliquando Francorum amicus assumatur, nihil reliqui in Italia remanere quod non transeat in Gallorum nomen; tueri se Italiam dum Ferdinandum tueretur, atque id honestatem exposcere per foedera quae cum Alfonso inita fuissent; non licere sibi fidem abrumpere, sicut Florentinis et Venetis, qui pacta<sup>16</sup> pro utilitate metirentur.

5 Laudavit Cosmas pontificis animum, verumque fassus est popularem multitudinem nihil honesti facere nisi cogat utilitas aut metus, petiitque aliqua non sine modestia, et nepotem inter cardinales assumi, si dignus videretur. Postremo cum iam abiturus pontificis pedes obscurari vellet, nec moveri posset podagra impeditus, iocabundus: 'Duo,' inquit, 'Florentini cum ex agro redirent, Papus Lapusque, atque in foro invicem occurrissent, et alter alteri manumque osculumque porrigerent, essentque ambo pinguissimi, tanta utrinque, ut ita dicam, ventrositas obiecta est, ut se nullo pacto nisi ventribus ipsis contingere possent. Quod illis sagina<sup>17</sup> vetuit, hoc nobis podagra negat.'

Cosimo, who had refused to wait on the pope on his journey north, paid him every respect on his return. He came to see to him late that night. In the course of conversation, he expressed surprise that the pope would undertake to fight a war against the French on Ferrante's behalf.

The pope replied that he simply could not tolerate that a king whom he had personally recognized should be removed by force of arms; nor would such a move do anything for Italy's independence. If the French got possession of the Kingdom, they would no doubt go on to conquer Siena; with their French sympathies, the Florentines would not lift a finger against "the Lilies"; Borso, duke of Modena, seemed more French than the French themselves; the petty princes of the Romagna inclined towards France; Genoa was already subject to them and so was the city of Asti; the moment the pope was reckoned to be favoring the French, every Italian state would go over to their side. By protecting Ferrante, the pope was protecting Italy; moreover, treaties dating back to the reign of Alfonso meant he was honor-bound to do so. Unlike the Florentines and Venetians, who measured treaties by how useful they were to them, he could not break his word.

Cosimo applauded the pope's sentiments and also admitted he was right: republican governments would never act honorably unless self-interest or fear drove them to it. With a certain shyness, he also made a few requests, among them that his grandson be made a cardinal if he proved worthy. Finally, as he was about to go, Cosimo tried to kiss the pope's foot but, crippled by gout, could not bend over to do so. Laughing, he told the pope, "Two Florentines named Papo and Lapo once met in the piazza on their way back from the fields. They tried to shake hands and embrace but because they were both very fat, there was such corporality (to coin a phrase) on both sides that they could only touch one another with their stomachs. Fat denied them what gout refuses me."

6 Pontifex ridens eum dimisit, iussitque postera die cardinales aliquos de decimis, vigesimis ac trigesimis cum Florentinis agere, ne cum tempus esset apparandae classis rem veluti novam incipere oporteret.

7 Delecti cives ad pontificem venire, quibus commemorata est legatorum promissio Mantuae facta et fideiussio Mediolanensis. Fassi sunt omnia Florentini, verum legatos suos, qui civitatem obligaverunt, a prioribus urbis et rogatis quibusdam civibus mandatum habuisse dixerunt, idque fieri solere; sed nullius esse momenti, nisi postea in magno civitatis consilio ratum habeatur; per raro negari quod legati huiusmodi mandatum habentes promississent, verum in hac re, quae maxima esset, haudquaquam sperandum fore populi consensum, quia paucissimi essent quibus persuaderi trigesimarum solutio posset; decimam fortasse cleri non iri negatum.

8 Demiratus est pontifex tantam Florentini populi impudentiam, multisque verbis iniustitiam eorum accusavit, qui rem fidei tractantes dolis uterentur et fraudibus; turpe esse invalida mittere mandata, turpius illis uti, et si ceteris in rebus confirmari solerent, in hac potissimum<sup>18</sup> quae omnium esset maxima servari oportere. At cum frustra tempus tereret, accepit quod potuit, nec moratus amplius civitatem mercatricem, ne dicam meretricem, dimisit, et tertio die Senas rediit.

The pope dismissed him with a smile. He also ordered some of 6 the cardinals to go the next day to discuss the tenths, twentieths, and thirtieths with the Florentines, so that when the time came to raise a fleet they would not have to treat the issue as something that had not been discussed before.

A delegation of citizens now came before the pope. He re- 7 minded them of the promise their ambassadors had made at Mantua and of the guarantee the duke of Milan had offered on their behalf.<sup>15</sup> The Florentines acknowledged all of this but said that the envoys had made the pledge in the name of the city, acting on instructions from the priors and certain *richiesti*;<sup>16</sup> this was normal procedure, but the pledge would not be valid until it was ratified by the Great Council of the city. Only rarely did this body refuse to ratify what ambassadors with such a commission had promised, but in this matter, which was of the gravest importance, there was not the slightest chance that the people would give their consent. Only a handful could be persuaded to pay the thirtieth; it was possible that the clergy might agree to pay their tenth.

The pope was astonished that the Florentines could be so 8 shameless. He inveighed at length against the injustice of those who lied and deceived in matters concerning the defense of the faith. To give ambassadors a mandate that had no authority was a disgrace; it was even worse to exploit it to their own advantage. If it was usual for such instructions to be confirmed in other matters, then they should be ratified on this occasion in particular, which surpassed all others in urgency. But the pope was wasting his time. He decided to take what he could get. The state was acting like a haggler (not to say a whore) and he dispensed with further negotiations. On the third day he returned to Siena.



*Ingressus Senarum magnificentissime exceptus, et Senensis ecclesia nepoti commendata, Urbinatisque adventus atque eius origo, et belli duces electi.*

- 1 Hic<sup>19</sup> summo suorum civium desiderio expectabatur. Introivit urbem quasi triumphans, maximis atque incredibilibus exceptus honoribus; nam cives, qui se nunquam revisurum<sup>20</sup> suum patrem arbitrabantur, praeter spem subito recreati reditu mirabili gaudio sunt affecti, praecipue mulieres, quarum natura religioni est indulgentior et amantior sacerdotii. Virebant omnia, quamvis Februarius sua consuetudine rigeret, nec platea non ornata floribus, non herbis odoriferis strata inventa est. Plantatae ubique arbores fuere, quae nullo tempore comas perdunt. Ubique cantus et exultantis populi voces audiebantur.
- 2 Biduo ante Purificationem Maximae Matris et Intemeratae Virginis reditio fuit, duodecima die, postquam Mantua recessum est. Solemnitas summo civium gaudio peracta, pontifice sua manu sacras elargiente candelas. Obierat paulo ante, cum valitudinis causa apud balneas ageret, Antonius urbis archiepiscopus. Pontifex Franciscum ex sorore nepotem tres et viginti annos natum administratorem ei suffecit.
- 3 Federicus Urbinas per idem tempus ad Pium venit, ingeniosus homo et loquendi peritus, sed uno captus oculo quem hasta ludens amiserat. Ferunt eum Bernardini Cardensis, copiarum quondam non ignobilis ducis fuisse filium, quem adhuc infantulum concubina Guidonis Urbinatis reguli pro filio quem amiserat sup-

*A rapturous reception at Siena. The see of Siena entrusted to the pope's nephew. Arrival of the duke of Urbino; his origins. Appointment of army commanders.*

The pope's compatriots were eagerly awaiting his arrival. He entered the city like a triumphant hero and was welcomed with splendid and unprecedented displays of respect, for the people had begun to imagine they would never see their father again. Now, relieved by his sudden and unexpected return, they erupted into extravagant celebrations. The women were particularly exuberant, for they are naturally more inclined to religion and more devoted to the clergy. Though it was a typically freezing February day, there was greenery everywhere: every square was decked with flowers, every street strewn with fragrant herbs, and evergreen trees had been planted at every turn. The people sang and shouted their joy from every corner.

The pope arrived in Siena twelve days after leaving Mantua and two days before the feast of the Purification of the Supreme Mother and Immaculate Virgin. The people enthusiastically joined in the celebration; the pope himself distributed the consecrated tapers. A little while earlier, the archbishop of the city, Antonio,<sup>17</sup> had died while on a visit to the baths for his health. The pope appointed his own nephew, Francesco,<sup>18</sup> to take up his duties and office. Francesco, his sister's son, was then twenty-three years old.

Federico of Urbino then presented himself to the pope. A brilliant and eloquent man, he had been robbed of sight in one eye in a joust. Rumor had it that he was the son of a celebrated captain, Bernardino della Carda, but that while still a newborn, the mistress of Guido, lord of Urbino, had substituted him for her own child whom she had lost. When Guido died, his legitimate son

posuerit. Guidoni vita functo successit filius ex matrimonio natus, Oddantonius, qui ducatus honorem ab Eugenio consecutus cum libidinose viveret, uxoresque Urbinatium ac filias passim prostitueret, a civibus suis interemptus est, et una secum Manfredus Carpiensis notarius apostolicus, libidinum comes ac suasor scelerum, non sine conscientia, ut creditum est, Federici, qui mox patrata caede pro portis affuit, et ultro ab oppidanis intromissus tyrannidem arripuit tanquam Guidonis filius ex concubina susceptus. Ita sunt enim Italiae mores, ut spurii ferme principentur. Federico non tam verus pater ac legitimus quam fictus et adulter utilis fuit!

4 Hunc pontifex multa promittentem audivit pecuniam<sup>21</sup> ei largitus qua Picinini commilitones ad se traheret, neque sineret Ferdinandi hostem in Regnum penetrare. Increbruerat enim fama praeclarum belli ducem, Picininum, qui a Ferdinando defecerat, in Regnum brevi profecturum, nec iam quisquam in Regno erat Ferdinandi amicus qui tantum nomen non formidaret. Placuit igitur et Mediolanensi duci et Pio pontifici Alexandrum Sfortiae filium ducales copias, Federicum regias, Iohannem Malavoltam ecclesiasticas Picinino, ne transire posset, in agro Piceno opponere. Atque ita rebus compositis Federicus domum rediit.

: 9 :

*De creatione novorum cardinalium contentioneque repugnantium.*

1 Aderant tempora quadragesimalis ieiunii, quae veluti cardinalium comitia censentur, et iam fama vulgatiores erat<sup>22</sup> novum pontificem

Oddantonio succeeded him and obtained from Eugenius the rank of duke. He led a licentious life, seducing the wives and daughters of Urbino whenever he could. For this, the citizens murdered him along with the apostolic notary, Manfredo da Carpi, who had been his companion in debauchery and counselor in crime. It is thought that this was done with the complicity of Federico, who appeared at the city gates immediately after the murder, was admitted by the people, and seized power as Guido's natural son. Italian custom is such that bastards often succeed to power; for Federico, his real and legitimate father turned out to be less useful than a false and philandering one!

After hearing Federico make a number of lavish promises, the 4 pope gave him money to hire Piccinino's soldiers away from him and so keep the celebrated general, who was Ferrante's enemy, from invading the Kingdom. For rumor had it that Piccinino (who had recently deserted from Ferrante's service) would soon march on the Kingdom; and Ferrante had not a single friend anywhere in the realm who did not tremble at the sound of his name. The duke of Milan and Pope Pius decided therefore to confront Piccinino in the March of Ancona and prevent him from crossing through the region. Sforza's son Alessandro<sup>19</sup> would lead the duke's forces, Federico would take the king's, and Giovanni Malavolta would lead those belonging to the Church. Once they had arranged these matters, Federico returned home.

: 9 :

*New cardinals are created, though opponents protest.*

Lent was now approaching, the period generally considered elec- 1 tion season for cardinals. It was widely assumed that the new pope

novos creare cardinales velle, tanquam perfectus per omnia pontifex non habeatur nisi cardinales assumpserit. Tum preces multorum porrectae sunt: imperator unum efflagitavit, cui pontifex cupide annuebat; rex Franciae duos, unum rex Aragonum, Ferdinandus rex Siciliae et Franciscus Mediolanensis<sup>23</sup> dux plures, dux Sabaudiae unum, dux Burgundiae unum, marchio Montis Ferrati unum, Florentini et Cosmas unum. Pontifici ex nominatis pauci placebant, et habebat ipse alios suo iudicio digniores, et quos sibi fidos existimabat fore.

2 Coepit itaque singulos cardinales alloqui ut eorum praesentiret animos, et nonnullorum quidem scripturam propriae manus exegit, nonnullorum fidem accepit. Postquam vero sibi magna ex parte satisfactum iri cognovit, vocato consistorio secreto ipsa quarta feria in qua de creandis cardinalibus sermo fieri solet, in hunc modum profatus<sup>24</sup> est:

3 'Mensis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci. Mensis nostra, fratres, animarum salus est; ager, in quo<sup>25</sup> metimus, Ecclesia, quam vestro consilio regendam accepimus: hanc contra Turchos et infideles alios tueri debemus, ex hac tribulos et malas herbas, hoc est haereses et pravos<sup>26</sup> mores, extirpare cogimur, si volumus messem ad aream Domini multam afferre, et denique puri purgatique tritici in horreo multum recondere. Vos ad haec operarii nobiscum estis constituti; sed pauci estis, et nonnulli ex vobis aut senio aut aegritudine impediti sunt ne ipsis uti possimus. Necessae igitur sunt ut numerum vestrum augeamus, et aliquos assumamus qui debili vires suppleant.

4 'Curare tamen oportet, quamvis est id difficile, ut dignos tanto munere eligamus, ne dicat quispiam: 'Multiplicasti gentem, et non magnificasti laetitiam.' Verum si dignitas haec merentibus danda

would create new cardinals, as though he could not truly be considered a pope in all respects until he did so. At this point, several people presented petitions: the emperor urged one candidate, to whom the pope enthusiastically assented; the king of France proposed two names; the king of Aragon one; and Ferrante, king of Sicily, and Francesco, duke of Milan, several apiece. The duke of Savoy, the duke of Burgundy, the marquis of Monferrato, and Cosimo and the people of Florence each suggested a name. The pope favored very few of these candidates. There were others he considered both more deserving of the office and more likely to be loyal to him.

He began to meet the cardinals individually in order to sound out their opinions in advance. He asked for a statement written in their own hand from some; others he took at their word. Once he was sure he would get much of what he wanted, he convened a sacred consistory on the Wednesday traditionally reserved for debating the creation of cardinals,<sup>20</sup> and spoke as follows:

3 "The harvest truly is great but the workers are few.<sup>21</sup> Our harvest, my brothers, is the salvation of souls; the field in which we reap is the Church, which we are charged to govern with your counsel. It is the Church we must defend against Turks and other infidels; from the Church we must uproot the tares and poisonous weeds—the heresies and vicious practices, that is—if we want to strew God's threshing floor with a bountiful harvest and pile the granaries high with clean and well threshed grain. You have been appointed to work alongside us at this task, but you are few in number, and age and sickness have made some unfit for the task. And so we must increase your ranks, adding others to reinforce the strength of the weak.

4 "Yet we must take care to choose men worthy of such high office (difficult though this is) so that no one may say, *Thou hast multiplied the nation and not increased the joy.*<sup>22</sup> If, on the other hand, we restrict the red hat to those who truly deserve it, we shall have

est, in caelo quaeramus oportet, quos rubeo pileo donemus. Nos tamen ut homines eligemus homines, quando non caelum aut angelos sed terram et homines recturi sumus.

5 'Miramur autem tantam esse petentium turbam. Nam quis est clericali caractere insignitus qui non se dignum cardinalatus honore diudicet, qui non petat, qui non instet et inter candidatos, ut ita dicamus, videri et esse velit? Nimum viluit haec dignitas quando vel pueri eam sibi debere existimant! Fecerunt hoc nostri praedecessores qui nonnullos prorsus indignos assumpsere. Licet de mortuis loqui: cardinalem Sancti Marci novistis quem scurram vestri ordinis quidam appellavere.

6 'Vos quoque in causa estis qui non eam gravitatem ac sanctimoniam servatis quae hoc sit culmine digna.<sup>27</sup> Ita enim vivitis ut non ad rem publicam gubernandam electi, sed ad voluptates perfrundas vocati videamini! Non venationes, non ludos, neque feminarum consuetudinem evitatis; convivia opulentiora quam deceat instruitis, vestimentis utimini nimum pretiosis, auro et argento abundatis, equos et famulos plures quam satis est alitis.

7 'Has delitias cupiunt omnes, nec quisquam est qui sectari voluptates non sit idoneus. Quod si severitas, gravitas, abstinentia, doctrina, sanctitas hanc tantummodo dignitatem elargiretur, pauciores eam peterent. Sed incidimus mores istos: non possumus prohibere petentes, non admittere facile possumus. Cogitate qui sint idonei. De numero ipsi iudicabimus curaturi, ne vel nimietate vilescat dignitas vel paucitate rei publicae non satisfaciat.'

8 Atque his dictis nominavit quinam essent vel per se ipsos vel per alios cardinalatum petentes. Cum finem fecisset: 'Pudet me,' inquit Ludovicus cardinalis Aquilegiensis, 'hoc in loco sedere

to seek our candidates in heaven. We are but men and we will choose men, for we are not set to govern angels in heaven but rather mankind in this world.

"We are amazed to see such a crowd of contenders: is there any cleric who does not think he deserves to be made a cardinal, who doesn't ask, doesn't insist, doesn't wish both to be and, so to say, to be *thought* to be numbered among the candidates? The office has become cheap indeed when mere boys think they have a claim on it. This is the fault of our predecessors, who elevated certain men who were manifestly undeserving. We may speak freely of the dead. You remember, for instance, the cardinal of San Marco, called by some the buffoon of your college.

"And you too are to blame, who preserve neither the dignity nor the sanctity that is owed this high office. The way you live, you seem to have a calling not to run a government but to indulge in pleasure! You do not shun hunting or gaming or the company of women, you throw outrageously extravagant parties, you dress in lavish costumes, you pile up great collections of gold and silver plate, and you keep horses and servants in numbers well beyond what you need.

"Everyone wants luxuries like these, and no one lacks the equipment to pursue pleasure. But if sobriety, dignity, temperance, learning, and sanctity alone qualified one for this office, fewer would seek it. But these are the mores of our age. We cannot prevent these men from asking, nor can we easily admit them. So consider who among them is suitable. As to the number, we shall decide that ourselves; we shall take care not to cheapen the office by creating too many, nor shall we fail the requirements of church governance by making too few."

After this, the pope announced the candidates, both those who had put their own names forward and those nominated by others. When he had finished, Ludovico, cardinal of Aquileia, declared, "I am embarrassed to sit in this spot which every man thinks he de-

quem sibi deberi nemo non iudicat. Clarissimis viris huc patere consuevit ascensus; sine ruga, sine macula virum esse oportet qui cardinalatum assequatur. Excellentissima haec dignitas nullam admittit labem. Nobili genere natos, doctrina et sanctitate praestantes praedecessores tui assumere consueverunt; tu plures nominasti, quos nolim aut in coquina mihi aut in stabulo famulari. Nec video cur novos creare cardinales oporteat: satis multi sumus, sive legatos mittere velis sive domi consilium habere. Vilescimus nimia numerositate! Non suppetunt facultates nostrae nobis, et tu alios vis addere qui cibum nobis auferant? Nec aliquem adhuc nominasti quem rubeo galero dignum censeam.'

9 Cum haec dixisset, subriserunt qui hominem norant. Pontifex vero: 'Si Eugenius,' inquit, 'et Nicolaus et cui successimus Callistus in creandis cardinalibus tuam, o Aquilegiensis, normam tenuissent, aut cardinalis non esses aut cum paucioribus in hoc loco sederes.'

10 Philippus autem Bononiensis: 'Multos,' inquit, 'nominasti, pontifex, nepotem autem tuum neglexisti; et cur non hunc quoque assumendum reris?' Ad quem Pius: 'Noster<sup>28</sup> nepos iunior est, neque adsunt cetera quae cardinalatus exposcit.'

11 Atque his dictis iussit cardinales inter se colloqui; ipse in alterum locum egressus paululum cibi assumpsit, iam enim dies multa effluxerat et res longam exigebat moram. Cardinales diu inter se iurgii agitati tres legatos ad pontificem misere, Rothomagensem, Ursinum et Zamorensem, oraturos ne cardinales novi assumerentur, quod antiquorum numerus satis magnus extaret; quod si nepotem assumere vellet, assensuri essent, dum solus assumeretur.

serves. It used to be that the path to this high office was open only to the most distinguished men. Whoever attains the cardinal's hat should be of spotless character. This supreme dignity admits of no imperfection. Your predecessors used to elevate men of noble birth, eminent for their learning and sanctity. You have named a number of men I would not have serving in my kitchen or stables. Nor do I see the need to create new cardinals at all. Whether you want to send ambassadors abroad or convene a council at home, there are enough of us already.<sup>23</sup> With too many of us, our value declines. We lack the resources to sustain ourselves and yet you want to add others who will snatch the bread from our mouths? What is more, you have yet to mention anyone I consider worthy of a red hat."

As he finished, those who knew him smiled, but the pope replied, "Your Eminence of Aquileia, if Eugenius and Nicholas and my predecessor Calixtus had observed your rules for the selection of cardinals, either you would not be a cardinal now or you would be sitting here amidst a rather smaller group of colleagues."

Filippo cardinal of Bologna<sup>24</sup> then said, "Your Holiness, you have mentioned many men but you did not name your nephew. Why don't you think he should be raised to the cardinalate too?" Pius replied, "Our nephew is too young and does not have the other qualifications needed in a cardinal."

With these words he instructed the cardinals to confer among themselves while he went into another room and took a little refreshment, for the day was already far gone and the discussion had taken up a great deal of time. After protracted wrangling, the cardinals sent three representatives to the pope—the cardinals of Rouen, Zamora, and Orsini—to request that no new cardinals be created since the college had enough already. If the pope wished to promote his nephew, however, they were prepared to agree, provided he was the only one.

- 12 Quibus pontifex: 'Adolescens,' inquit, 'noster est nepos et consilio quo regatur eget. Nos eos cardinales quaerimus qui nobis et Ecclesiae consulant.'
- 13 Tum illi: 'At unum adice, si libet, neque hoc negabit Senatus.' Exin pontifice plures petente duos addendos consensere. Cum neque sic pontifici satisfacerent ad Collegium rediere. Diu res ventilata est, et tres alii cardinales ad pontificem missi multa de numero disserentes nullam invenere concordiam. Rediit ad Collegium praesul, et cum multa hinc atque inde dicta essent, consensere cardinales quinque assumi novos, ea lege adiecta ut nepos unus esset.
- 14 Pius his obtentis: 'Sextum,' inquit, 'non negabitis, quem nominavero, omni exceptione maiorem, et quem procul dubio laudabitis nominatum.'
- 15 Illi nominationem petere, priusquam consentirent; pontifex consensum exquirere ante nominationem. Vicit tandem Pius, et assensu habito sextum nominavit Alexandrum Saxo Ferrato oriundum, Ordinis Sancti Augustini generalem magistrum, virum theologica doctrina celebrem et vitae sanctitate illustrem. Qui ubi nominatus est, non habuit adversarium, nam vera virtus, quamvis occulte saepius impugnatur, propalam tuta est.
- 16 Ordo novorum cardinalium hic fuit: Angelus episcopus Reatinus primo loco nominatus est, cardinalis quondam Firmani frater, vir castus et innocens quem, priusquam pontifex Roma discederet, Bononiensibus legatum praefecerat. Post eum Eberardus episcopus Spoletanus, moribus et doctrina insignis et iustitiae cultor habitus, apud Narniam natus, et tunc referendarius et domesticus Pii familiaris. Hunc secutus est Nicolaus electus Theanensis, ex Pistorio oriundus, iuris scientia clarus, ex aula pontificis assumptus. Quartum locum tenuit Brochardus praepositus Salzburgen-sis, quem publicare non placuit donec alii crearentur ex Transalpi-

The pope replied, "Our nephew is still a youth and needs advice on how to behave. We are looking for cardinals to give us and the Church *their* advice."

The cardinals answered, "Add one more then, if you wish, and the senate will not refuse him." The pope then pressed for a still larger number, and they agreed to add two. When not even that satisfied the pope, they returned to the college and after long debate sent three other cardinals to the pope; they spoke at length about the number of cardinals but came to no agreement. The pope then rejoined the college. After much debate on both sides of the dispute, the cardinals agreed that five new cardinals should be elected, with the proviso that one should be the pope's nephew.

When Pius was certain he would get these five, he said, "You will not, I am sure, refuse me a sixth: an unexceptionable man whom you will surely approve once you hear his name."

They asked to know the name before agreeing, but the pope demanded their consent first, and in the end he got his way. With their approval he named as the sixth Alessandro da Sassoferrato, prior general of the Augustinian Order, a man noted for his theological knowledge and devout way of life. No one opposed his nomination, for true virtue, though it is often assailed in secret, is safe from open attack.

The list of the new cardinals was as follows: the first named was Angelo, bishop of Rieti. He was the brother of the late cardinal of Fermo, a holy and upright man whom the pope had made his legate at Bologna before his departure from Rome. After him came Berardo, bishop of Spoleto, a man of distinguished character and learning, with a reputation as a champion of justice. A native of Narni, he was serving at the time as papal Referendary and a member of Pius's private household. Next came Niccolò of Pistoia, bishop elect of Teano, a member of the papal court celebrated for his knowledge of the law. Fourth was Burchard, provost of Salzburg; it was decided his election should not be made public

nis. Quintus fuit, quem memoravimus, Alexander. Sextus atque ultimus Franciscus, pontificis nepos, qui per id temporis in schola Perusina iuri pontificio operam dabat, et iam doctoratus insignia acceperat. Hic diaconatus dignitatem in ordine cardinalatus, cum esset adolescentior, obtinuit, ceteri presbyteratus honorem assecuti sunt.

17 Cum ea convenissent, non expectavit pontifex sextam feriam, in qua pronuntiari cardinales et publicari consueverunt, sed ipsa die praeter omnium opinionem pronuntiationem et publicationem fecit. Quae res non parvam molestiam antiquis cardinalibus abstulit, quibus ante ora competitorum nulla quies dabatur.

: IO :

*De vi animi pontificis in perficiendo quod voluit, et probatissimo iudicio eligendi; et de Alexandro, viro sancto et dignissimo, atque universali laetitia ex eius promotione.*

1 Visus est pontifex Italiae optime consuluisse quinque cardinalibus ex ea creatis; rem quoque prius inauditam fecisse, qui duos ex familia sua cardinales et nepotem suum uno in consistorio creasset. Illud vero laude dignum sine controversia cuncti iudicaverunt, quod nominatus nemo tanta dignitate videbatur indignus, nec ullam aliquando creationem factam fuisse quispiam memoria tenebat quae in tam parvo numero tot praestantissimos viros complexa fuisset. Huc accedebat quod absque principum intercessione excellentissimi<sup>29</sup> viri electi fuerant.

2 Multum vero admirationis Alexandri assumptio cunctis prae-buit, quae prius audita est, quam cogitata; nec enim quisquam erat

until others from the nations across the Alps had been created. Fifth was the Alessandro we have just mentioned, and sixth was Francesco, the pope's nephew, who was then studying canon law at the university of Perugia, having already finished his doctorate. On account of his youth, he was made a deacon in the college of cardinals, while the others were promoted to cardinal priest.<sup>25</sup>

Since they were all agreed, Pius did not wait for Friday (the 17 customary day for publishing the names of new cardinals) but that same day, contrary to universal expectation, he made a public announcement of the appointments. This made life much easier for the existing cardinals, whom the various candidates had been pestering without interruption.

: IO :

*The pope's determination in achieving his aims. The extraordinary wisdom of his appointments. Universal celebration at the elevation of the pious and worthy Alessandro.*

It seemed that the pope had shown Italy great favor by creating 1 five cardinals from that country. Nor had a pope ever before raised two members of his own household as well as his nephew in the same consistory. But all could agree on one thing: every one of the nominees was worthy of the honor. No one could remember a creation in which such a short list included so many men of the highest distinction, illustrious figures who had been chosen, moreover, without princely intervention.

Everyone was astonished at the election of Alessandro, which 2 was announced before anyone had even imagined it a possibility,

qui pauperem monachum, angustae cellae cultorem, quamvis egregium verbi Dei praedcatorem et sanctum praestantemque virum inter cardinales assumendum expectaret; summa enim fastigia cardinalatus quaerit. At Pius etiam in paupere virtutem censuit honorandam, haud ignarus primos Ecclesiae principes pro mundi consuetudine ignobiles pauperesque fuisse. Quaesivit etiam in abditis monachorum excellentem animum, nec inopiam auri in eo contempsit quem bonarum artium copia illustrasset. Intellexerunt omnes Pio praesuli gratam esse virtutem, atque hinc multi postea probitati ardentius incubuerunt. Nulla res adeo virtutem excitat quam spes ipsa praemii, qui est honor.

3 Cum nuntius ad Alexandrum venit rem gestam expositurus, acceperat homo cenam et paucis intentus curis, emissis fratribus solus in scanno dormiebat. Pulsato ter quaterque cellae ostio (apud Augustinenses enim moram trahebat), tumultum audiens excitatus est, et aperiens pulsanti, nihil minus sperans quam cardinalis appellari, intromisit hominem, qui mox ait: 'Salve, Alexander, bonum tibi nuntium affero. Nam te hodie pontifex maximus cardinalem creavit.'

4 Irrisionem esse monachus arbitratus est; at cum turba salutantium concurreret et certam rem affirmaret, siluit aliquantisper stupore mentis attonitus deinde ad se reversus: 'Miror,' inquit, 'unde praesulis haec me caritas. Hic honor quaerentibus dari solet, mihi nihil tale ambienti offertur ultro. Quid promerui? Quid feci, propter quod haec dignitas ad me deferatur? Dignum me tam sublimi honore sola praesulis bonitas fecit.'

5 Incredible fuerit quantum et monachi sui ordinis et cives Senenses et omnes ferme Itali hoc factum laudavere. Multae civitates

for no one expected that a poor monk from a narrow cell, no matter how eminent a preacher of the word of God and no matter how holy and distinguished a character, would be promoted to the ranks of the cardinals; the college usually searches among the topmost ranks of society. But it was Pius's opinion that virtue should be honored even in a poor man, for he knew that the first princes of the Church had been poor and lowly by the standards of this world. He searched for noble souls everywhere, even in monastic cloisters, nor did he hold poverty against anyone endowed with ability and skill. Everyone saw that Pope Pius loved virtue; afterwards, as a result, many tried much harder to be good. Nothing is such a spur to virtue as the hope of its reward, which is honor.

The courier came to deliver the announcement to Alessandro 3 just after he had finished his dinner. With little business to attend to, he had dismissed his friars and fallen asleep by himself on a bench. He was roused by three or four knocks on the door of his cell at the Augustinian priory where he had gone to stay. The last thing in the world he expected was to be greeted as a cardinal, but as he opened the door, the man hurriedly declared, "Greetings, Alessandro. I bring you good news: the pope has today made you a cardinal."

The monk thought this was a joke until a crowd of people 4 rushed in to congratulate him and assured him it was true. For a moment, he was struck dumb with amazement. Then, recovering himself, he said, "I can't understand why the pope should show me such favor. This is an honor usually reserved for those who campaign for it, and yet it's offered freely to me, even though I asked for no such thing. What have I done to deserve such kindness? My only claim to this high office lies in the beneficence of the pope."

You would hardly believe the enthusiasm with which this news 5 was received by the monks of his order, the people of Siena, and practically the whole of Italy. Many governments sent him pres-



ei dona miserunt, et civem suum esse voluerunt. Pontifex argentum misit quo dignitatem sustineret, et cardinales et aulici magnificis eum muneribus donavere.

: II :

*Pii oratio ad novos cardinales: quales esse oporteat tanta in dignitate constitutos, et votum electorum.*

- 1 Sabato deinde indicto consistorio in ecclesia cathedrali iussit pontifex cardinales novos, qui aderant tres, accersiri, et priusquam venirent, de creatione facta deque meritis singulorum pleraque locutus ostendit omnibus et dignam et necessariam ordinationem fuisse. Post haec adventantes illos ante cancellum stare praecepit, et dirigens ad eos verba:
- 2 'Maxima,' inquit, 'filii, et excellentissima dignitate donati estis ad Collegium Apostolicum vocati: consilarii nostri et coniudices orbis terrarum eritis, inter causam et causam, inter sanguinem et sanguinem, inter lepram et lepram discernere vos oportebit; successores apostolorum circa tronum nostrum sedebitis. Vos senatores Urbis et regum similes eritis, veri mundi cardines, super quibus militantis ostium Ecclesiae volvendum ac regendum est. Cogitate animo, quos viros, quae ingenia, quam integritatem haec dignitas requirit: humilitatem, non superbiam; liberalitatem, non avaritiam; abstinentiam, non ebrietatem; continentiam, non libidinem; scientiam, non ignorantiam; virtutes omnes, nullum vitium hic honos exposcit. Si fuistis hactenus vigilantes, nunc vigiletis oportet adversus malignum hostem qui nunquam dormit cogitans

ents and offered to make him a citizen of their states; the pope gave him money to maintain his station, and cardinals and courtiers alike gave him magnificent gifts.

: II :

*Pius addresses the new cardinals, advising them on the obligations of their rank. The college offers its prayers.*

Pius called a consistory in the cathedral that Saturday<sup>26</sup> and gave orders that the three new cardinals who were present in Siena should be summoned to attend. Before they entered, he spoke at length about their election and their individual merits, proving to everyone's satisfaction that their appointments had been both necessary and well deserved. Then the new cardinals came in. Pius had them take their places at the chancel and addressed them with these words:

"My sons, you have been graced with a great and high honor in being called to the Apostolic College. You will be our counselors and with us you will judge the world. It falls to us to decide between plea and plea, between blood and blood, between stroke and stroke.<sup>27</sup> As successors of the apostles you will be seated around our throne: senators of the city, the equals of kings, the true hinges of the universe,<sup>28</sup> which turn and guide the gates of the Church Militant. Think of it! What kind of men, what degree of intellect, what level of integrity does the rank require? The office calls for humility, not pride; generosity, not greed; temperance, not drunkenness; continence, not lust; knowledge, not ignorance; every kind of virtue and not a single vice. If till now you have been vigilant, now you must guard against a malignant foe who never sleeps for thinking whom he may devour.<sup>29</sup> If you have been gen-

quem devoret. Si liberales fuistis, nunc opes in rebus honestis profundite et maxime in alendos pauperes; si cibi potusque abstinentes,<sup>30</sup> nunc praecipue luxuriam fugite! Absit avaritia, facessat crudelitas, exulet arrogantia! Sint libri sacri semper in manibus vestris, dies noctesque aut discite aliquid aut alios docete! Opera efficit per quae lux vestra coram hominibus luceat! Et denique tales estote quales esse debere cardinales diiudicastis, antequam ipsi hoc culmen ascenderitis!<sup>31</sup>

3 Quibus dictis vocavit eos ad osculum pedis, deinde manum osque porrexit, et antiqui cardinales ipsos pariter ad osculum receperunt locumque sedentibus praebuerunt. Mox advocati causas aliquas perorarunt, quibus decisis cardinales antiqui stantes coram papa fecere coronam, novi genibus flexis votum<sup>32</sup> pro veteri formula voverunt.<sup>33</sup> Exin pontifex uniuscuiusque capiti insigne cardinalatus imposuit<sup>34</sup> rubrum de more galerum. Chorus hymnum cantavit gratias Deo reddens. Cardinales antiqui pompam ducentes exceptis duobus, qui cum pontifice remanserunt, novos ad altare Beatae Virginis deduxerunt, ibique senior cardinalium orationem super capita illorum fudit, bona eis et Ecclesiae Sanctae multa precatus. Atque ita rebus peractis ad pontificem maximum reversi sunt, qui dissoluto consistorio in palatium abiit.

4 Par quoque solemnitas paucis post diebus in adventu Reatini et Senensis cardinalis servata est, cum alter ex Bononia, alter ex Perugia Senas<sup>35</sup> peteret. Laudavit pontifex Reatinum digne pro meritis; Senensem, quia nepos suus erat et annis minor, negavit se promoturum fuisse nisi cardinales multis id precibus exegissent.

erous, now you must shower your wealth on good works, and on comforting the poor in particular. If you have been abstemious at table, now you must go out of your way to shun extravagance. Farewell to avarice, cruelty begone, let arrogance be banished from your hearts! Keep holy books ever in your hands. Day and night, you must strive either to learn something new or to teach others. Perform acts that allow your light to shine before all men;<sup>30</sup> in short, behave as you once believed cardinals ought to behave, in the days before you rose to these heights yourselves."

When he finished, he bade them come forward to kiss his foot 3 and then offered his hand and cheek. The old cardinals also kissed them and made room for them to sit. Then the advocates pleaded a number of cases and, once these were settled, the old cardinals stood in a circle around the pope while the new ones knelt and took their oath according to the ancient formula. Then the pope placed the red hat, the badge of the cardinal, on each man's head as the choir intoned a hymn of thanksgiving to God. All the old cardinals (except two who remained with the pope) then escorted the new ones in procession to the altar of the Blessed Virgin, where the senior cardinal addressed them in an eloquent speech invoking many blessings on them and on the holy Church. After this they returned to the pope, who dismissed the consistory and returned to his palace.

When the cardinals of Rieti and Siena arrived a few days later 4 (one came to Siena from Bologna and the other from Perugia), a similar ceremony was staged. The pope praised the cardinal of Rieti as he deserved, but said he would never have elevated the cardinal of Siena, who was his own nephew and not yet of age, had the cardinals not begged him to do so.

*Mors Iohannis cardinalis Papiensis, hominis tumidi et rapacis, et transitus Picinini in Regnum, et Federici caecitas.*

- 1 Hisdem fere diebus Iohannes cardinalis Papiensis, qui Picenum cum legatione tenebat, anxius ne Picininus transiret in Regnum, huc equitans et illuc armatus febrem incurrit, quae sibi vitam eripuit, non sine gaudio provincialium, qui gubernationem suam aegerime ferebant. Iohannes enim, quamvis ex familia Castilionea nobili loco apud Mediolanenses natus, ignobilis tamen moribus erat, adeo tumens opinione sui ut aequari sibi neminem pateretur. Artis oratoriae, civilis sapientiae, philosophiae ac theologiae peritissimum se aiebat, nec cedebat medicis; architectus suo iudicio et musicus et geometer et cocus optimus; cumque avarissimus et rapacissimus esset, perliberalis videri volebat. Ob quam rem petiere civitates eum a suis cervicibus amoveri; quibus non impetrantibus expectata et admodum desiderata mors venit.
- 2 Pontifex successorem ei nepotem suum dedit, cui, ne per licentiam et aetatem insolesceret, est enim iuventa imperandi nescia, praeceptorem adhibuit episcopum Marsicanum, virum gravem et regendi peritum, datis mandatis ut ab eius consilio nunquam discederet.
- 3 Priusquam Senensis iret, Iacobus Picininus, iam pridem anceps quid ageret, transire in Regnum cupiens ecclesiasticas ac ducales copias verebatur, quae ita collocatae fuerant ut Picenum, Tusciam Umbriamque respicerent, possentque iter quocunque iretur praeccludere. Electa est hosti Piceni via propter maris litus, et im-

*Death of Giovanni, cardinal of Pavia, an arrogant and greedy man. Piccinino moves on the Kingdom. Federico's blind eye.*

All this time, Giovanni, cardinal of Pavia, had been in charge of the Marches in his capacity as papal legate. He was riding up and down through the region with an armed force in case Piccinino should try to cross it into the Kingdom, when he fell sick with a fever and died, much to the relief of the people of that province who had bitterly resented his rule.<sup>31</sup> For Giovanni, though a member of the noble Milanese house of Castiglione, was far from noble in character. He was so pleased with himself that he could not endure the thought that anyone might be his match. He claimed to be an expert in oratory, civil law, philosophy, and theology as well as the equal of any physician. In his mind, he was also a consummate architect, musician, mathematician, and cook. He feigned generosity but in fact was greedy and rapacious. The cities of the Marches had petitioned the pope to have his yoke taken from their necks, and since this request had not been granted, his death came as a long-awaited and keenly anticipated event.

The pope appointed his nephew<sup>32</sup> to succeed him but, concerned that youth and lack of restraint might make him arrogant (for the young have no idea how to exercise command), he assigned the bishop of the Marsica to serve as his advisor, a man of serious character with much political experience. The pope ordered his nephew to follow the bishop's advice in all things.

As the cardinal of Siena prepared to set out, Jacopo Piccinino remained paralyzed with indecision. He wanted to march on the Kingdom, but he was threatened by the armies of the Church and the duke which, having been despatched to guard the Marches, Tuscany, and Umbria, stood poised to intercept him whichever way he went. At length he chose the coastal route through the

positis in navibus impedimentis et commeatibus iussi sunt milites cibaria trium dierum secum assumere. Quibus ordinatis Picininus nocte iter ingressus veloci cursu fluvium transmisit quem aiunt Marchiae principium facere. Sigismundus Malatesta, cuius vitam supra descripsimus, non recedens a suis moribus, ducentos assumens equites et pedites aliquanto plures, per montana non procul a Picinino viam fecit, ei, si forte opus esset, ut suppetias ferret, quamvis pontifici scripserit partes ecclesiasticas adiuturum se arma sumpsisse.

4 Fuit et in castris Ecclesiae proditio. Urbinas enim, qui nullo pacto viam Picinino per Marchiam posse patere affirmaverat, creditus est<sup>36</sup> tergiversando et differendo ipsumque Picininum quid ageret admonendo iter expeditum; hosti praebuisse,<sup>37</sup> bellum ut tandem procul a domo repelleret. Cardinalis Avinionensis cum Gallis ceteris eo facto iocundus huiusmodi scommate Urbinatem irrisit: haud enim culpandum Federicum aiebat, qui Picinini transitum non retinuit ea parte diffugientis, qua deerat oculus, quia luscus esset Federicus; cui multum opinionis id factum ademisset; nam si vir bonus et fortis fuisset, facile ea die Picininum profligasset.

5 In castris Ecclesiae octo milia pugnatorum fuere; Picininum vix tria milia sequebantur, qui passuum quinquaginta milibus uno cursu peractis fessus atque exanimis ad Tronti amnem pervenit tum novo imbri tumidum, quem vix cum quadraginta comitibus, timens trepidansque transmisit; reliqui labore atque inedia defatigati sine ordine et absque ducibus in citeriori ripa pernoctarunt, futuri procul dubio praeda si vel pauci insecuti fuissent.

Marches; he loaded his baggage and provisions onto ships and ordered his troops to pack three days' rations. Once these arrangements were made, he set out by night and crossed the swift river which is taken to mark the boundary of the Marches. Sigismondo Malatesta, whose life we have described above,<sup>33</sup> had sent a letter to the pope saying he had taken up arms on behalf of the Church, but now he reverted to type: he raised a troop of 200 cavalry and rather more infantry and followed Piccinino through the mountains, remaining close to him so as to lend support if the need arose.

There was treachery in the camp of the Church, as well, for it 4 was thought that Federico of Urbino, who had declared that Piccinino could not under any circumstances pass through the Marches, then vacillated and delayed and let Piccinino know what he was doing, thus speeding the enemy's progress in order to direct the war away from his own territory. The cardinal of Avignon was delighted at this development, as were the rest of the French; deriding the duke, the cardinal made the following jibe: "We mustn't blame Federico for letting Piccinino through; after all, he slipped past him on his blind side." Federico, of course, had only one eye. This affair was a serious blow to Federico's reputation, however, for had he been brave and true, he could easily have destroyed Piccinino there and then.

There were 8,000 soldiers in the army of the Church; Piccinino 5 had scarcely 3,000. After fifty miles of forced marches, he arrived half-dead with fatigue at the river Tronto, which was swollen from recent rains. Here he made an anxious crossing, accompanied by only forty men. The rest, famished and exhausted, spent the night on the nearer bank. Their ranks broken and their officers gone, they would have made an easy target had even a few pursued them.

*Militia Italica fraudulenta et perfida, et Pii provisio in  
Ferdinando defendendo.*<sup>38</sup>

- 1 Sed Alexander et Federicus tum primum insectandi hostem diligentiam ostenderunt cum evasisse putarunt. Perfida est nostri temporis Italica militia, quae stipendio veluti mercaturae utitur lucro, quod ne deficiat, bellum producit. Rara est in proelio caedes, nec qui capitur aliud amittit quam equos et arma. Ferraro totis viribus unica pugna certatur: si coeunt, hinc atque inde vires et signa conferuntur ad pugnam; pars partem admonet ita pugnandum esse ut materia bello<sup>39</sup> non desit; publice hostes odisse<sup>40</sup> videntur, occulte amant.
- 2 His artibus et nostrorum scelere, non sua virtute tutus in Regnum Picininus effugit, quem qui laudant, non pugnandi sed fugiendi peritum dicunt, et nos quidem fugacem magis quam fortem esse fatemur; qui postquam ad Aprutinos pervenit, nonnullis oppidis potitus est nondum ecclesiasticis eum assecutis. Terruit eius transitus Ferdinandi amicos, hostes in spem erexit, cum de virtute tanti ducis rem superaret opinio.
- 3 Statuit idcirco pontifex alias copias in Campaniam mittere petenti Ferdinando suppetias, conductoque mercede Simonetto, egregio copiarum duce qui diu Florentinorum stipendia meruerat, iussit ipsum et Iohannem Malavoltam cum equitatu peditatuque non parvo in Campaniam traicere provisuros, ne violentia Gallorum Ferdinandum incognita causa Regno deiceret, exercitumque

*Faithlessness and deceit among Italian men of arms. Pius takes  
steps to protect Ferrante.*

Alessandro and Federico showed little inclination to follow the enemy, however, until they were sure he had got beyond their reach. The modern Italian soldier is a faithless thing: he treats war like a business and prolongs each campaign to keep his profits flowing. Bloodshed in battle is rare; the captured soldier loses nothing but his horses and arms. Armies hardly ever commit their full strength to a single engagement. If they do meet, they bring up their ranks and standards for battle from here and there, but one side warns the other that the engagement must be conducted so as to leave plenty more fighting to be done. On the surface these soldiers seem to hate the enemy; but in secret they love him well.

And so Piccinino slipped safely into the Kingdom, not through his military skill but by the trickery and villainy of our own side. His admirers say that his expertise lies not in battle but in retreat, and we agree that he is more prone to flight than fighting. When he reached the Abruzzi the papal forces had not yet caught up with him and he was able to capture a number of towns. His progress terrified Ferrante's friends and raised the hopes of his enemies, for the great general's reputation for valor was exaggerated out of all proportion to the truth.

Ferrante appealed to the pope for help. Pius decided to send fresh troops into Campania and hired Simonetto, a distinguished captain who had long served the Florentine state, and ordered him and Giovanni Malavolta to cross into Campania with a large force of cavalry and infantry. Their orders were to keep the French from driving Ferrante out of his realm before his case had been decided. The pope also reinforced the troops that had been despatched to

in Aprutios missum et suis et Francisci Mediolanensium ducis novis adauxit supplementis.

: 14 :

*Patavinae, Feltrensis, Ferrariensis, Anconitanae et Venetae ecclesiarum provisiones, Piique secessio ad Capriolam et loci amoenitas.*

- 1 Dum haec aguntur, audiens pontifex Venetorum arrogantiam defecisse, qui iam decreta iniqua revocaverant, et cardinali Sancti Marci sua bona dimiserant, cum cardinalis ecclesiae Patavinae sponte cessisset, episcopum Feltrensem a vinculo quo suae tenebatur ecclesiae absolutum Patavinae praefecit, Franciscum vero episcopum Ferrariensem, cum suis ovibus tyranni culpa prodesse non posset, ad Feltrensem transtulit; Ferrariensibus Laurentium Rovarellam aulicum suum antistitem dedit, egregium theologum et honesta vita praecipuum. Nec diu post patriarcha Veneto diem functo alium substituit ex Ordine Canonorum Regularium Divi Augustini, quem Venetus senatus summis precibus postulavit.
- 2 Decessit et Anconitanus episcopus, cui suffectus est Agapitus, natione Romanus, civili sapientia et morum probitate conspicuus, cui et prosa eleganter scribere et carmen facere promptissimum fuit, ex auditoribus Rotae in familiam Pii iam pridem evocato.
- 3 Post haec secessit pontifex ad Minores qui Observantes appellantur, non longe a civitate Senensi. Monasterio Capriola est nomen; Divus Bernardinus erexit, ob cuius memoriam et ampliatum et adornatum est, et a viris eius religionis sanctioribus incolitur.

the Abruzzi with fresh levies raised both by himself and by Francesco, duke of Milan.

: 14 :

*Appointments to the churches of Pavia, Feltre, Ferrara, Ancona, and Venice. Pius retires to Capriola, a pleasant retreat.*

While this was going on, the pope learned that the Venetians had softened their arrogant posture, revoked their unjust decrees, and restored the property of the cardinal of San Marco.<sup>34</sup> Since the cardinal had voluntarily withdrawn his claim to the church of Padua, Pius appointed the bishop of Feltre<sup>35</sup> in his place, releasing him from all obligation to his former church. He transferred Francesco, bishop of Ferrara, to Feltre, for the lord of Ferrara had prevented him from ministering to his flock there. He sent a new bishop to the Ferrarese: Lorenzo Roverella, a member of the papal court and a distinguished theologian of spotless character. When the patriarch of Venice died soon afterwards, he appointed another Augustinian canon to replace him at the urgent request of the Venetian Senate.<sup>36</sup>

At this time the bishop of Ancona also passed away; he was replaced by Agapito, a Roman citizen celebrated for his integrity and his legal learning, and a fluent and elegant writer of both prose and verse.<sup>37</sup> He had earlier been transferred from the college of auditors to Pius's private staff, where he had served for a long time.

After this, Pius went on retreat to the convent of La Capriola, not far from Siena, which is run by Franciscan friars, the so-called "Observants." It was built by San Bernardino, in whose memory it has been enlarged and embellished, and the friars there are among

Mansit hic pontifex diebus quindecim Spoletano et Theanensi cardinalibus comitatus, ut aliquantulum quiesceret a negotiis. Non tamen aut signaturam aut secreta consistoria praetermisit, neque audientiam negavit adventantibus: in nemore, quod perpetuo viret lauro et ilice frequenti, auditorium sibi constituit loco aprico sub monte, idque tantum voluptatis hausit<sup>1</sup> solitudinem quaerens quod ver ante tempus invenit.

: 15 :

*Pii aegrotatio ac profectio ad balnea. Tractatio reformandae civitatis Senensis, et agri eius amoenitas.*

- <sup>1</sup> Reversus Senas ante Palmarum diem solemnitates omnes congrua devotione peregit quae vel pro passionis Christi memoria vel pro resurrectionis eius gloria quotannis fiunt. Deinde podagra languit, et fluxu capitis maxillas doluit. Curatus aliquantisper balneas adiit apud Maceretum non sine consilio medicorum, quamvis plerique minus docti dissuaderent. Atque haec causa fuit cur Senis tandiu manserit, quamvis et suae patriae studere ac benefacere voluerit, quae bellis, pestibus ac dissentionibus vexata civilibus paupertate premebatur ut emolumentis Curiae paululum respiraret.
- <sup>2</sup> Prius autem quam balneas peteret, volvens animo infirmitatem suae patriae quae pluribus in populo scissuris iam pridem factis diu stare non posset, accersitis viris ex regimine prudentioribus et qui privatis affectibus nudi viderentur, percontatus est quisnam modus esset reformandae solidandaeque civitatis. Illi vocandos

the holiest in the order. The pope, accompanied by the cardinals of Spoleto and Teano, stayed there for two weeks. He hoped to get a little rest from the cares of business, though he did not suspend meetings of the Signatura or secret consistories, nor did he refuse a hearing to anyone who approached him. He set up an audience hall in a lush grove of laurel and ilex trees in a sunny spot at the foot of a hill. He had come seeking solitude; the fact that spring arrived before it was due only added to his delight.

: 15 :

*Pius falls ill and visits the baths. Negotiations to resolve Siena's political crisis. The beauty of the Sienese countryside.*

Pius returned to Siena before Palm Sunday. There he performed <sup>1</sup> with due devotion all the annual rites commemorating Christ's passion and celebrating his resurrection. Then he had an attack of gout and suffered great pain in his jaws from fluid in his head. After recovering somewhat, he went to visit the baths at Macereto on the advice of certain of his doctors, even though many less competent physicians tried to dissuade him from going. This is why he remained in Siena so long, though he also wished to bring help and succor to the city of his birth. Plagued as it was by war, pestilence, and civil strife, and oppressed as it was by poverty, he hoped the presence of the Curia might provide some small measure of economic relief.

Before setting out for the baths, Pius turned his thoughts to the <sup>2</sup> crisis in his native city, where constant factional conflict threatened the very survival of the state. He summoned the more prudent members of the current regime and those who seemed free of personal prejudice, and asked them how the state could ever be re-

esse ad regimen eos qui 'duodecim' appellantur respondere, qui viri circiter quadringenti invenirentur, et inter eos plures opulenti mercatores.

3 Placuit consilium pontifici, quamvis factu difficile videretur, commisitque Sanctae Ceciliae et Sanctae Susannae cardinalibus ut primariorum civium sententias exquirere. Illi pluribus auditis re-tulerunt multos consentire, plures adversari. Re divulgata venerunt magistratus urbis urgente capitaneo populi (sic enim digniorem civitatis magistratum appellant) et magna civium caterva supplicaruntque praesuli ne de duodecim verba faceret: id esse genus hominum inquietum, seditiosum, veneficum, sanguinosum et infestum regentibus; velle se prius filios edere, quam rem publicam communicare duodecim; de nobilibus si quid amplius vellet, inventurum pontificem cives Senenses volenti animo sua iussa facturos.

4 Motus his praesul plura quaerere destitit, ne amplius instans civitatem tristitia afficeret,<sup>42</sup> neque aliud quam odium acquireret. Hortatus tamen est circa nobilitatem ea facerent quae cardinalis Sanctae Susannae expositurus esset. Illi multa promittentes laeti abierunt, quod duodecim causam exclusissent, de nobilibus deliberandi tempus haberent.

5 Pontifex, ut statuerat, ad balneas concessit. Coeperat verum<sup>43</sup> suave tempus et circa Senas omnes ridebant colles vestiti frondibus ac floribus, et luxuriantes in agris assurgebant segetes. Situs ipse Senensis agri,<sup>44</sup> maxime civitati vicinus, supra quam dici possit amoenum habet aspectum: colles clementer elevati aut domesticis arboribus vitibusque consiti aut ad fruges arati iocundissimis imminent vallibus, in quibus vel sata virent vel prata, et rivi decurrunt perennis aquae. Adsunt et frequentes silvae seu natura seu arte paratae, in quis dulcissimum modulantur aves; neque tumulus

formed and made stable.<sup>38</sup> They replied that the party known as "the Twelve," which numbered about 400 men, including many rich merchants, should be allowed back into government.

The pope liked the idea, though it struck him as difficult to im- 3  
plement. He sent the cardinals of Santa Cecilia and Santa Susanna<sup>39</sup> to canvass opinions among the leading citizens. After speaking with a fair number, they reported that many were in favor but more were opposed. When the matter became public knowledge, the city magistrates gathered with a great throng of citizens (all at the urging of the captain of the people, this being the title of the chief magistrate) and pleaded with the pope not to mention the Twelve again. They were a reckless, seditious, poisonous, and bloodthirsty class of men, sworn enemies of the current government. They said they would rather devour their own children than share power with the Twelve. But if the pope wished to do something more for the nobles, he would find the Siensese ready and willing to do his bidding.

In view of this, the pope was persuaded not to ask for more; 4  
pressing the issue might further antagonize the city and win him nothing but hatred. Regarding the nobility, however, he urged the magistrates to act on the suggestions they were about to hear from the cardinal of Santa Susanna. They made many commitments and left delighted with the rejection of the claims of the Twelve, and at winning more time to consider the question of the nobility.

The pope then went to the baths, as planned. It was early 5  
spring, a lovely time of year, when the hills around Siena are all green and covered with flowers and the corn rises thick and fast in the fields. The Siensese countryside, above all the area around the city, is indescribably lovely; the gently sloping hills, planted with fruit trees and vines or ploughed for grain, overlook delightful valleys of meadows and fields, watered by constant streams. Here one finds dense stands of trees, some growing naturally and others planted by human hands, in which the sweet birds sing. On every



est in quo cives suburbana praedia non magnifice aedificaverint. Hic egregia monasteria sanctis habitata viris, illic in arcis modum erectae visuntur aedes civium.

6 Per ea loca laetus transiit pontifex nec minus iocunde fuit in balneis. Locus ab urbe decem milibus passuum abest in valle, quae latitudinis duo triave stadia continet, longitudinis haud minus quam octo milia passuum. Mersa flumen irrigat agros perpetuis aquis in Umbronem decurrens, et anguillis scatens pluribus albissimis ac suavibus, quamvis parvis. Vallis, qua incipit, cultissima est, multis referta castellis ac villis; qua desinit prope balneas, silvestrior;<sup>45</sup> saxeo ponte clauditur non parvi operis et nemorosis atque opacis rupibus. Ilex arbor nunquam non<sup>46</sup> virens montes, qui vallem a dextris cingunt, vestit ferme omnes; a sinistris glandifera quercus et suber.

7 Circa balneas domus humiles pro diversoriis habentur; in his pontifex mensem egit, et quamvis singulis diebus bis lavaret, nunquam tamen signaturam aut alia rei publicae negotia praetermisit. Circa horam vigesimam et secundam exibat in prata, et supra litus fluminis, ubi plus erat graminis ac viriditatis, consedit, atque ibi legationes et supplices audivit. Agrestium coniuges singulis diebus flores afferre ac viam sternere qua pontifex balneum peteret, idque tantum mercedis expectare ut pedes eius osculari possent.

: 16 :

*Indulgentia Senensis ecclesiae, et reditus ad balnea.*

1 Concesserat pontifex in gratiam suorum civium plenarias indulgentias omnibus Senensem ecclesiam in die Penthecostes visitanti-

hillside the people of Siena have built splendid villas. Here there are fine monasteries inhabited by devout men, and there private houses fortified like castles.

The pope made his way through the region in high spirits. He 6 found the baths just as delightful. They lie some ten miles outside the city in a valley two or three stades wide and at least eight miles long, through which the river Merse flows on its way to meet the Ombrone. This river never dries up and is full of eels which are small but very white and agreeable to eat. Where the valley begins it is highly cultivated and thickly settled with villas and farms; the baths lie at the other end where the terrain is more forested. It ends at the crossing of a substantial stone bridge, with dark, wooded cliffs on either side.<sup>40</sup> Almost all the hills on the right that encircle the valley are cloaked in evergreen holm oaks; those on the left in acorn-bearing oak and cork trees.

Some modest houses in the neighborhood serve to lodge guests. 7 Here the pope passed a month, bathing twice each day but never neglecting the Signatura or other church business. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Pius would go into the meadows and, taking a seat on the greenest and grassiest part of the riverbank, he would hear embassies and petitions. Every day the wives of the local peasants would bring flowers to strew on the path he followed to the baths; the only reward they expected was permission to kiss his feet.

: 16 :

*An indulgence for Siena cathedral. Return to the baths.*

As a mark of favor to his fellow citizens, the pope had granted a 1 plenary indulgence to anyone who visited the cathedral of Siena at

bus. Cui solemnitati ut initium daret, ex balneis nondum curatus Senas rediit, interfuitque divinis officiis, ad quae ingens populi multitudo conflavit ex Tuscia, Liguria, Gallia, Umbria ac Piceno. Praesul ob eum motum gravius aegrotavit, Senisque amplius quam cogitaverat coactus est immorari. Exin nocte intempesta urbem egressus Maceratum repetiit, ibique paucis diebus absumptis ad Petriolenses balneas se contulit, quis et plus sulphuris et plus creditur inesse virtutis.

2 Hic locus quinque milibus passuum<sup>47</sup> a Macereto abest via quae Grossetum et ad mare ducit, in valle profunda quam Farma fluvius efficit, et trutas gignit; montes undique altissimi surgunt, quamvis lapidosi, nemorosi tamen herbosique. Circa balneas non multae domus sunt, verum capaces hospitum plurimorum quas Senenses patrum nostrorum memoria muro cinxerunt, ne, quod ante nonnunquam acciderat, insidiari lavantibus latrones possent.

3 Pontifex aquas calidas in hoc loco viginti diebus per canale ductas in vertice capitis accepit: sic factu salubre dixerunt medici, quia nimis humidum eius cerebrum videretur.

: 17 :

*Cardinalis Sancti Petri capitur a Sigismundo Austriae duce.  
Pii copiae in Regnum penetrant Ferdinandum adiuturæ.  
Belli auspicia, et principis Rossani  
sceleratissima perfidia.*

1 Inter haec Sigismundus Austriae dux, cum accepisset Nicolaum cardinalem Sancti Petri ad ecclesiam suam profectum esse, irae im-

Whitsun. His cure was not yet complete, but he returned to Siena to inaugurate the feast and attend the holy ceremony, for which great crowds of pilgrims from Tuscany, Liguria, Lombardy, Umbria, and the Marches had gathered. His condition worsened as a result of these exertions and he was forced to stay at Siena longer than he had intended. At last, late one night, he left the city and returned to Macereto. After a few days there, he went on to the baths at Petriolo, which are thought to contain more sulphur and greater healing power.

Petriolo lies five miles from Macereto on the road to Grosseto 2 and the sea, in a deep valley carved by the river Farma, which is rich in trout. The place is surrounded by a ring of high mountains, rocky but wooded and grassy as well. There are only a few houses around the baths but they can accommodate many guests. In our fathers' day the Sieneese built a wall around them to keep brigands from ambushing the bathers, as had sometimes happened in the past.

The pope stayed here for twenty days, having warm waters 3 poured through a pipe over the top of his head; the doctors said this would be good for his health because his brain was too moist.

: 17 :

*Sigismund, duke of Austria, takes the cardinal of San Pietro captive. Pius's troops march into the Kingdom to Ferrante's aid. Early skirmishes, followed by wicked treachery on the part of the prince of Rossano.*

1 Meanwhile, Duke Sigismund of Austria heard that Nicholas, the cardinal of San Pietro, had set out for his church.<sup>41</sup> In a blind rage,

patiens ac furoris, coactis ut potuit raptim copiis quae sufficere videbantur, Bernecham petit, id est oppidum Brixinonensis ecclesiae, in cuius arcem cardinalis secesserat, atque in ipso Resurrectionis Dominicae sacratissimo die oppidum expugnat, et arcem aggressus omni genere machinarum oppugnat. Cardinalis veritus suorum caedem, iam enim plerique vulnerati fuerant, arcem et se ipsum tradidit, et in custodia retentus, tandem iuratus absolutionem Sigismundo procurare iniuriasque nullo unquam tempore vindicare, dimissus est.

2 Interea Simonettus et Iohannes Malavolta in Campaniam iter facientes, cum iam vias arctiores et loca periculosa evasissent, dum metari castra volunt, non parvam iacturam passi sunt. Malavolta enim et Robertus Ursinus, qui se inter eundem comitem addiderat, dum speculatum cum paucis pergunt, in equites peditesque Sorani ducis incidunt, cum quibus et filius Iacobi Sabelli fuit, ferox adolescens, qui relicta militia ecclesiastica, canonicus enim in basilica Principis Apostolorum ascriptus fuerat, mundiali se dedit. Pugnatum est atrocius quam tanta paucitas requireret. Sabellus vulneratus occumbit gladio per ora transfossus. Sed cum hostes continuo crescerent, Robertus ad castra confugit Malavolta casu equi in terram delapsus ab hostibus intercipitur, atque ita pensatum est Sabelli damnum. Plus tamen momenti in Malavolta fuit, cuius erat in armis non parvum nomen, quamvis fortunam haberet adversam.

3 Huiusmodi fuerunt eius belli primitiae, quod Pius pro Ferdinando gessit: inde mors, captura hinc. His qui futura inquirunt, augurandi materiam praebuit. Simonettus iter suum peregit, et ad regem profectus ingenti favore exceptus est, et adventu eius magna rerum mutatio facta. Rex, qui brevi periturus existimabatur, iam

he collected such forces as seemed necessary, as far as he was able to in his haste, and marched on Bruneck, a town in the diocese of Brixen, where the cardinal had taken refuge in the fortress. On the most solemn day of our Lord's resurrection, he seized the town and attacked the fortress with all manner of siege engines. The cardinal, fearing a massacre of his people (many had been already wounded), gave himself up along with the fortress. He was kept prisoner for a while but was at length released after he promised to obtain absolution for Sigismund and to refrain from ever attempting to avenge the injuries done to him.<sup>42</sup>

In the meantime, Simonetto and Giovanni Malavolta suffered a major loss on their way to Campania. They were already past the narrowest roads and most dangerous places and were about to pitch camp when Malavolta and Roberto Orsini, who had joined them on the march, went out with a few companions to reconnoiter and came across some cavalry and infantry belonging to the duke of Sora. Among them was the son of Jacopo Savelli, a wild young man who had abandoned the army of the Church for that of the world (he had once been a canon in the basilica of the prince of the apostles). The skirmish was far fiercer than expected given the small numbers of those involved. Savelli was stabbed in the throat and fell; Roberto fled back to camp as the numbers of the enemy grew ever greater. Malavolta's horse fell from under him and he was taken prisoner by the enemy. This made up for the loss of Savelli, though Malavolta's capture was more significant since in spite of his bad luck he had a considerable reputation as a soldier.

Such were the first fruits of the war Pius waged for Ferrante: death on this side, captivity on that—events that supplied ample material for those who like to prognosticate. Simonetto resumed his journey and presented himself to the king, who welcomed him with great honor. His arrival brought about a sea change in the situation. The king, who had seemed on the brink of destruction,

bello superior victorque mox deleturus hostes iudicabatur, cum pontifex maximus et Mediolanensis princeps auxilio essent. Sic natura comparatum est: ubi plus virium, ibi et favor hominum se inclinat. Quod cum animadverterent Rossani princeps et Deiphebus, Eversi comitis filius, Iacobus Montagana, scelestissimum facinus et iam pridem inauditum circa idem tempus<sup>48</sup> meditati sunt.

- 4 Simulantes enim poenitentiam quod ad Francos defecissent, Ferdinandum ad colloquium vocavere; ad quod cum rex hinc et Iohannes Vintimilius ac Gregorius Corelia maior domus regis, illinc princeps Deiphebus et Iacobus<sup>49</sup> relictis procul exercitibus in agrum soli secessissent, postquam paululum collocuti non convenere, princeps frenum equi regalis arripuit, Deiphebus ferrum stringens veneno tinctum iugulum regis quaesivit. Ille insidias cernens calcaribus ursit equum, qui cum esset potens et altus, regem periculo subtraxit. Sic scelerati homines defectionis sceleri maius scelus addere tentaverunt, illud volentes animo, quod impii dicunt: victoribus omnia sancta.

: 18 :

*Populi Senensis divisio, et in Pium vanissimae calumniae ac proterva licentia.*

- 1 Pontifex cum haec audisset, Senas iam aestate fervente rediit, et apud Minores, amoeno et salubri loco mansionem sibi delegit.  
2 Iam Senenses in duas partes divisi, alii de nobilibus concedendum, quod pontifex cuperet, aiebant, alii negabant. Hi cum recta non possent papae resistere, obliquam quaesivere viam: multa de

now seemed to have the upper hand in the war and to be poised to conquer and destroy his enemies, all because the pope and the duke of Milan had lent their support—it is a law of nature that men tend to favor the stronger side. Taking stock of the situation around this time, the prince of Rossano and Deifobo, a son of Count Everso, plotted together with Giacomo Montagano to commit a crime of unprecedented wickedness.

Pretending to repent of their defection to the French, they invited Ferrante to a parley. Both parties left their armies behind them at a distance and went alone into a field—the king with Giovanni da Ventimiglia and Gregorio Corelia, his majordomo, on one side, and the prince and Deifobo on the other. When, after a brief conversation, they failed to come to an agreement, the prince seized the king's bridle and Deifobo drew his sword, which had been smeared with poison, and struck at the king's throat. Ferrante, sensing the trap, dug his spurs into his horse, a tall and powerful beast who carried him out of danger. In this way the scoundrels, who took "Might makes right" as their blasphemous motto, tried to add a yet more heinous crime to their earlier desertion.

: 18 :

*Strife among the Sieneze. Ridiculous rumors about Pius.  
An act of wanton vandalism.*

Hearing of these events, the pope returned to Siena. As it was the height of summer, he lodged in the Franciscan convent, a pleasant and healthy place to stay.

By now the Sieneze had divided into two factions, one which favored treating the nobles as the pope desired, the other opposed.

XII viris locuti, qui regentibus infensissimi essent, nihil aliud pontificem quaerere dixerunt quam illos ad rem publicam reducere; confinxerunt et litteras tanquam ex Ferraria missas quibus significaretur urbis exulum ac relegatorum Pium esse amicissimum, eisque subvenire ut viverent in rei publicae detrimentum; Antonio Petrucio ducentos aureos et duos equos dono dedisse; mansionem apud Minores extra muros elegisse, ut in fornicibus templi, qui amplissimi essent, clam pedites equitesque collocaret, atque uno impetu civitatem irrumpens exules introduceret.

3 Hiset aliis nugis ita plebis animum infecerunt ut verbum amplius de nobilibus audire non possent, et quamvis pontifex vocatos ad se urbis magistratus multis verbis hortaretur his fidem ne haberent, qui discidium quaerentes suspensiones ingererent, nihil tamen profecit. Plebs mali credula est. Pollicebantur singuli multa seorsum, coniuncti loqui non audebant.

4 Fontem in horto et in umbroso loco pontifex aedificaverat ut per aestum apud eum cenaret. Perniciosi iuvenes, quorum alitrix ea civitas est, noctu ingressi non aliam ob<sup>50</sup> causam illum everterunt nisi pontifici ut incommodarent. Senenses facinus detestati, nonulti sunt, quamvis praemia delatoribus, supplicia delinquentibus constituerint.

The latter, since they could not challenge the pope directly, cast about for an indirect way. They inveighed at length against the Twelve who, they said, were bitterly opposed to the government. They claimed that the pope's real objective was to restore them to power. They even concocted a letter purporting to come from Ferrara that suggested the pope was on intimate terms with the banished exiles and was supporting them so they might live to bring the city to ruin. They also claimed that he had given 200 ducats and a pair of horses to Antonio Petrucci as a gift, and that he had elected to stay outside the walls with the Franciscans in order to gather infantry and cavalry in secret and hide them in the massive vaults that lay beneath the church, and that he planned to launch a sudden assault and burst into the city to restore the exiles.

3 With this and other nonsense they so poisoned the minds of the people that they refused to hear another word about the nobles. The pope summoned the magistrates and pleaded with them at length not to believe the scaremongers, who spoke only to stir up civic strife, but it was no use. The common people are inclined to believe the worst. Individually, many of the magistrates made elaborate promises, but as a body they dared not say a word.

4 The pope had had a fountain set up in a shady garden where he liked to dine on hot days. One night, a group of young hooligans — the kind that city breeds — broke in and knocked the fountain over, for no other reason than to spite the pope. The Siense were horrified at the outrage but, though they offered rewards for information and decreed a penalty for the offenders, they were unable to bring the perpetrators to justice.

*De comitis Armeniaci incestu et Electensis episcopi  
corrupta nequitia.*

- 1 Dum Macereti apud balneas pontifex ageret, venit ad eum Iohannes Armeniaci comes, magna vir nobilitate et regio Francorum sanguine ortus, dixitque magnam se auri vim Iohanni episcopo Electensi dedisse ut dispensationem impetraret qua liceret sibi in matrimonio quod cum sorore contraxerat remanere; dispensatum esse, litteras apud episcopum retineri; petere ut tradere cogeretur quae sub Callisti Piique nomine confectae fuissent; se suumque genus commendare; nam quod sororem sibi coniugem delegisset, paupertatem impulisse: Britannico bello exhaustum dotem suo genere dignam, si nupsisset alteri, non potuisse sorori tradere; suasisse theologos in eo casu dispensari solere.
- 2 Hic comes illius pronepos fuit qui sedecim milia Gallorum in Italiam ducens Longobardis infestus a Iohanne Galeazio Mediolanensium duce non procul ab Alexandria conflictus amisit exercitum. Remansit hic adolescens compositis parentibus cum sorore unica quam, dum immoderatus cum ea ludit, tandem libidine victus corrupit. Sed veritus infamiam<sup>51</sup> tanti piaculi, incestum matrimonium vocavit atque, ut ille ait, 'hoc praetexit nomine culpam,' scripsitque Nicolao praesuli ut secum dispensaret; qui tantum flagitium abominatus litteris eum durioribus increpavit. Carolus rex Franciae non amore iustitiae, neque enim tanta est honestatis cura principibus, sed ira percitus quia comes occulte sentiret cum Anglicis, omnibus eum oppidis atque arcibus, quae supra ducenta

*The count of Armagnac's incestuous marriage and the bishop  
of Alet's wicked corruption.*

While the pope was at the baths at Macereto, Jean count of Armagnac, a nobleman of the royal house of France, came before him and complained that he had given Jean,<sup>43</sup> bishop of Alet, a large sum of money to obtain a dispensation that would allow him to remain married to his sister. The dispensation had been granted in a letter, but the bishop had yet to give it to him. The count requested that the bishop be made to surrender the document, which had been composed in the name of Calixtus and Pius. He justified himself and his family to the pope, saying that poverty had driven him to marry his sister. Exhausted by the war with Brittany, he would not have been able to give her the kind of dowry her rank demanded had she married anyone else. The theologians had advised him that a dispensation was usual in such cases.

This count was the great-grandson of the man who had led 16,000 French into Italy against the Milanese and had lost his army in a battle near Alessandria against Gian Galeazzo, duke of Milan.<sup>44</sup> His parents had died while he was still a youth, leaving him with a single sister with whom he went too far in his demonstrations of affection until, at last, passion overcame him and he seduced her. But he dreaded the infamy of such a crime and so called the incest marriage, "using the word to cloak his guilt," as the poet says.<sup>45</sup> He wrote to Pope Nicholas asking for a dispensation but Nicholas was horrified by such an outrage and replied with a harsh letter of rebuke. King Charles of France then launched a campaign against him and stripped him of all his towns and castles (of which he had more than 200), arrested him, and led him away a captive. He did this not out of a desire for jus-

fuert, una incursione dispoliavit comprehensumque captivum abduxit. Sed dum incaute ducitur,<sup>52</sup> ad Philippum Burgundiae ducem confugit, et nihilominus, turpitudinem suam ut tegeter, Apostolicae Sedis dispensationem quaerere nunquam cessavit.

3 Erat in Curia Romana episcopus Electensis, quem nominavimus, homo versutus et fallax, ad omnes fraudes paratus, simoniae egregius artifex, loquendi peritus, aspectu pulcher, conversatione gratus, profusus in exponendo, attentus in acquirendo, nam omnia cum in cenis meretricibusque consumeret, nec mentiri neque peiorare lucrandi causa verebatur. Tegebat tamen vitia sua mirabili arte ut quamvis milies mentiretur, verax tamen appareret et virtutis amator; propter quam rem referendariatus officium in Romana Curia non satis cognitus impetravit.

4 Qui cum accepisset desiderium comitis, gavisus admodum invenisse avem quam deplumaret, obtineri posse quod peteretur, ad eum scripsit, verum non minori pretio, quam quattuor et viginti milium aureorum. Comes septem et decem milia promisit, et primo septingenta scuta, deinde mille dissolvit. Coepit tractatus eius rei primo Callisti anno, et ad ultimum perductus est; ter verba fecit episcopus cum Callisto, sperans avidum senem pecunia demulcere posse. Cum frustra conaretur, ad falsitatem se convertit, si forsitan in Palatio quempiam inveniret qui eam dispensationem pecunia corruptus fabricaret; nec aliquem reperit in causa tam turpi venalem.

5 Accidit autem aegrotante Callisto Iohannem quendam Volaterranum scriptorem apostolicum, cum accepisset in Palatio multa fraudulenter expediri in corona plurium virorum dixisse: 'Amici, si quis vestrum res iniustas atque inhonestas quaerit, nunc tempus adest, nam pontifex omnibus omnia concedit!' Atque haec quasi stomachans et eius Curiae mores abhorrens aiebat. Audivit Elec-

tice, for princes do not hold honor in such great regard, but in anger because the count secretly sympathized with the English. The count was not guarded well, however, and managed to escape to Duke Philip of Burgundy. But he never ceased to plead with the Apostolic See for a dispensation to hide his sin.

The above mentioned bishop of Alet was resident in the Roman Curia. He was a sly and crafty character, capable of every kind of deceit, well versed in simony, articulate, handsome, affable, a lavish spender and at the same time highly acquisitive. Since he had bankrupted himself on banquets and loose women he had no scruples about lying or perjuring himself for gain. But he concealed his vices with such remarkable skill that, though he had told a thousand lies, still he had a reputation for honesty and devotion to virtue. Because of this, and because his real character was not known, he had obtained the post of Referendary in the Curia.

Alet, when he received the count's suit, was thrilled to find this bird to pluck. He wrote to tell him that what he asked could be obtained, but not for less than 24,000 ducats. The count promised 17,000 and made a first payment of 700 and a second of 1,000 scudi. These negotiations began in the first year of Calixtus's pontificate and continued till his last. The bishop had three interviews with Calixtus, hoping to win the greedy old man over with money. When his efforts failed, he resorted to deception, thinking he might perhaps find someone in the palace whom he could bribe to forge the dispensation; but he could find no one who could be bought for such a despicable purpose.

It happened however that when Calixtus fell ill, a certain apostolic scriptor, Giovanni of Volterra, who had heard of a number of fraudulent schemes afoot in the palace, declared to a large group, "My friends, if any of you has an unjust or dishonorable suit, now is your moment; for the pope will grant anything to anyone now." He said this as if in shock and disgust at the morals of the Curia.

tensis, et secutus eum dissoluta corona percontatus est dispensatio matrimonialis an impetrari posset in primo gradu consanguinitatis. Respondit Volaterranus id perarduum esse atque insolitum, experiendum tamen, si forsitan Borgias, pontificis nepos, rem agredi vellet; verum opus auro fore.

6 'At aurum,' inquit Electensis 'praesto aderit. Tentato hominis animum ac referto!' Acceptavit provinciam Volaterranus, et postridie conveniens episcopum: 'Habebis,' ait, 'quod quaeris; auri modo tria milia nummum afferas!' atque ita cum Borgia conventum affirmavit.

7 Amplexus conditionem Electensis trecentis aureis Volaterranum inarravit. Volaterranus, alioquin incorruptae famae ac perliberalis, auri famae insaniens litteras scripsit, tanquam in quarto gradu Iohannes comes et soror eius Isabella sese contingerent, deditque secretario expediendas; nec mora in eo fuit, nam quarti gradus inter nobiles facilis est dispensatio. Fecerunt litterae suum cursum, ut moris est. Quibus redemptis Volaterranus perquam subtiliter scripturam suam radens pro 'quarto' gradu rescripsit 'primum,' et Electensi ostendens dispensationem obtentam, ementitus Borgiae operam intervenisse, promissum aurum petiit. Electensis spem bonam fecit pretii quam primum affuturi. Nec amplius vivente Callisto factum est.

8 In Mantuano conventu duo comitis nuntii septingentos francos Electensi dedere, et ad quattuor usque milia promiserunt<sup>53</sup> obtentis litteris, quas videre voluerunt. Volaterranus, tanquam mercator esset et pignoris nomine teneret, eas ostendit. Ita enim faciendum esse boni artifices inter se convenerant ut pecuniae persolutae Borgiae crederentur. Nuntii consideratis litteris, quod nomine Callisti expeditae commissionem continerent, eas non valere dixit

The bishop of Alet heard him speak; when the gathering broke up he followed him and asked whether it would be possible to get a dispensation for a marriage within the first degree. Volterrano answered that this was an extremely difficult and unusual circumstance; still they might see if Borgia, the pope's nephew, would perhaps take up the case, but they would need money.

"The money will be there," said the bishop. "Sound out the man and report back to me." Volterrano took up the task; when he met the bishop the next day he said, "For 3,000 ducats you can have what you want." This was the bargain he said he had made with Borgia.

Alet accepted the terms and paid Volterrano a fee of 300 ducats — Volterrano, in all other respects a gentleman of unblemished reputation, was mad for gold. Volterrano wrote a letter claiming that Count Jean and his sister Isabelle were related in the fourth degree and gave it to the secretary to issue. The secretary made no difficulty, for a dispensation within the fourth degree is quite easy for noblemen to obtain, and the letter went through the usual channels. When it came back, Volterrano very skillfully erased the writing, substituting "first" for "fourth," and then showed the bishop the dispensation thus obtained. Falsely maintaining that Borgia had helped in the matter, he then demanded the money he had been promised. The bishop gave him every hope that the price would be paid at once, but nothing further was done during Calixtus's life.

At the Congress of Mantua, the count sent two representatives with 700 francs for Alet and a promise to give him up to 4,000 more once they got the letter, which they now demanded to see. Volterrano held it up before them like a merchant holding a pledge. These fine schemers had agreed to act so it seemed that the money had been paid to Borgia. The messengers examined the letter and declared it was not valid because the commission it contained had been issued in Calixtus's name and had expired at the



runt quia morte mandantis expirassent. Obviavit Electensis regulam cancellariae producens in qua cautum erat Callisti commissiones non obstante obitu executioni debere mandari, sic enim Pius statuerat, Electensisque, tanquam Isabella et frater eius ea regula indigerent, plumbatum Pii pontificis testimonium impetravit; quo viso nuntii pecuniam brevi affuturam dixere. Nec amplius durante conventu factum.

9 At pontifice Senas reverso secutus comes cum ab Electensi didicisset dispensationis litteras Florentiae apud mensarium retineri, nec haberi posse, nisi aureorum quattuor milia traderentur—de hac enim postrema quantitate convenerat—indignatus ad praesulem venit in balneis agentem, atque ea dixit quae supra narravimus. Cui pontifex:

10 'Pudet nos,' inquit 'tui causa, qui admissio tam gravi scelere Apostolicam Sedem tui similem putas, quae dispensationem a saeculo<sup>54</sup> inauditam fecerit. Falso Electensis hoc affirmavit, et si quas ostendit litteras, adulterrimae<sup>55</sup> sunt. Tu, si sapias, flagitium tuum recognosces ac deflebis, rogabisque Primam Sedem erroris veniam ut tibi elargiatur. Haec est misericordia qua te prosequi possumus; nobilitatem tuam eo pacto commendatam habemus, si monemus ut foetido dimisso scelere ea facias quae nobilitati conveniunt.'

11 Tum ille: 'At hoc verum est.' inquit, 'Ego litteras et Callisti et tuas hisce oculis vidi quae dispensationem admittunt. Electensis iurat rite expeditas esse; quod si pecuniam habeat id palam faciet. Si dispensari potest, ut theologi tradunt, et hoc mihi concessum est, cur iuri meo adversaris et non potius Electensem cogis litteras edere?'

12 Ad quem pontifex, quod ad Callistum pertineret, non posse se ait vel affirmare omnino vel negare, quamvis saepe in laxiori gradu

death of the pope who authorized it. The bishop met this objection by citing a rule of the chancery which stipulated that Calixtus's commissions should be executed even after his death, as Pius had decreed. Pretending that the case of Isabelle and her brother needed only the application of this regulation, the bishop of Alet obtained Pius's lead seal on the document. When the messengers saw it, they said the money would be paid shortly. Nothing else was done about this during the congress.

When the pope returned to Siena, however, the count followed 9 him. He had learned from the bishop that the letter of dispensation was being held at a bank in Florence and could not be obtained except on payment of 4,000 ducats (they had finally agreed on that sum). He went to the baths and addressed the pope in angry tones, revealing to him all that we have narrated here. The pope replied,

"We are ashamed of you! You commit a crime as grave as this 10 and then you imagine the Apostolic See is no better, and will grant a dispensation never heard of since the world began? If his grace of Alet told you such, he has lied and if he has shown you a letter, it is forged. If you are wise, you will acknowledge your sin and repent of it and implore the Holy See to grant you pardon. If we urge you to cast off this foul crime and act as your nobility requires you should, it is out of regard for your rank."

The count replied, "But what I say is true. I have seen with my 11 own eyes a letter written in Calixtus's name and your own, granting dispensation. The bishop swears it was issued properly and says that if he gets the money he will publish it. If a dispensation is possible, as the theologians say, and I have got one, why do you challenge my rights instead of telling the bishop to make the letter public?"

The pope answered that he could neither confirm nor deny 12 anything with absolute certainty as far as Calixtus was concerned—though the former pope had often refused dispensations

dispensare recusaverit; se vero nunquam rem talem audivisse; quod si Callisti litterae verae<sup>56</sup> essent, non privaret eum suo iure; tantum faceret ut illae<sup>57</sup> producerentur. Abiit Senas comes, et iterum Electensem allocutus nihil impetravit ab eo qui aurum, non verba quaerebat.

13 Interea cardinalis Avinionensis Electensem ad se vocatum de dispensatione an aliquid accepisset interrogavit. Ille Ottonem Carretum ducis Mediolani legatum eam dispensationem obtinuisse respondit duce iubente, qui comiti bene cuperet, quia iure suo<sup>58</sup> in ducatu Mediolanensi ei cessisset. Cardinalis quas audiverat nugas pontifici scripsit, et iam totam Curiam insolitae dispensationis rumor impleverat. Pontifex Iacobo Lucensi secretario suo Senas misso, ut Electensem interciperet imperavit. Qui calliditate usus Electensem ad se vocatum comprehendit, et Volaterranum dulcibus verbis ad pontificem deduxit. Ambo in custodiam dati mendaciis usi sunt, quamvis litteras non recta via expeditas et se auri cupiditate devictos confessi.<sup>59</sup> Ad extremum cuncta quae supra diximus suis manibus vera esse scripserunt.

14 Et de Volaterrano nihil amplius compertum est. Electensis nefanda et immensa facinora inventa:<sup>60</sup> simonia, periurium, falsitas, adulterium, incestus, homicidium, proditio, sacrilegium. Homicidium ipse casu commissum aiebat, duo cardinales voluntarium affirmavere: amasse illum apud Parisios studentem meretriculam, qua cum alio pernoctante suspectam domum armatus adierit, et ostio perfracto ingressus lancea fugientem contrivalem interemerit.

for even the more remote degrees, and he himself had certainly never heard of any such thing. If the letter of Calixtus was genuine, he would not deprive the count of his rights; but first he must produce it. The count then went off to Siena for a second interview with the bishop but he got nowhere, for the bishop wanted money, not talk.

In the meantime, the cardinal of Avignon sent for the bishop and asked whether he had heard anything about the dispensation. He replied that Ottone del Carretto, the ambassador of the duke of Milan, had obtained the dispensation on the duke's orders, for he was well disposed to the count because he had given up his claims regarding the duchy of Milan to him. The cardinal shared this piece of gossip with the pope; by this time the rumor of the unprecedented dispensation had spread through the entire Curia. The pope sent his secretary Jacopo of Lucca<sup>46</sup> to Siena with orders to arrest the bishop of Alet. Jacopo undertook this task with great cunning; he had the bishop summoned to his presence and then arrested him, while he used flattery to lure Volterrano to the pope. Both were thrown into prison and immediately started to lie, though they did confess that the letter had not been issued through the regular channels and that greed for gold had got the better of them. In the end, they wrote in their own hands a statement that all we have related here was true.

They found out nothing more about Volterrano. But it was discovered that Alet had committed a whole series of unspeakable and terrible crimes: simony, perjury, deception, adultery, incest, murder, treason, and sacrilege. The murder he said he had committed by accident, though two cardinals asserted it had been deliberate. While he was a student at Paris, he had fallen in love with a courtesan and one night, suspecting she was sleeping with another man, he had taken up arms and gone to her house, where he broke down the door, rushed in, and killed his rival with a lance even as he attempted to flee.

*Corruptorum poena, et comitis obiurgatio atque admonitio a Pio facta gravissima et armis formidolosior.*

- 1 His<sup>61</sup> ita compertis pontifex reos iudicandos, Electensem cardinali Sancti Petri iam dimisso et ad Curiam reverso,<sup>62</sup> Volaterranum auditori Camerae commisit. Hic privatus est officio scriptoriae et infamis declaratus, ac iudicio saeculari relictus. Electensis pontificio amotus perpetuo carceri adiudicatus<sup>63</sup> et apud fratres Montis Oliveti duodecimo miliario ab urbe Senensi relegatus. Quo in loco vigiliis et orationibus tandiu corpus suum maceravit quoad fratribus fidem fecit conversionis suae, atque inde male custoditus per altissimas rupes elapsus in Franciam aufugit.
- 2 Pius vocato comite in Senatu cardinalium praesentibus pluribus episcopis in hunc modum locutus est: 'Accepisti, comes, quae acciderunt Electensi, et iam plane advertis falsas fuisse litteras quas petebas. Non potes peccatum tuum tegere. Opus est, si salvus fieri vis, errorem tuum fatearis et veniam petas. Quod si feceris, hanc Sedem benignam invenies, quae piissima est et novit peccatoribus indulgere. Multi et reges et principes lapsi sunt qui tamen postea ad Ecclesiam rediere. David post adulterium et homicidium suam culpam deflevit et gratiam Domini meruit. Imitatus es, qui peccaverunt; imitare etiam qui se emendarunt! Offuscasti tuae domus gloriam taeterrimo flagitio; nunquam recuperabis famam nisi poenitentiam agas!
- 3 'Hoc unum est quo te tuamque familiam nomini bono restituas; hoc more pii patris ex te petimus, misericorditer acturi tecum si sapias. Sin pertinaciter sic<sup>64</sup> pergis, scito te mortis filium excommunicationis mucrone feriendum et ubique gentium infa-

*Corrupt officials are punished. The count receives a stern reproof from the pope, more terrifying than an armed attack.*

On this information Pius handed over the accused men for trial, 1  
Alet to the cardinal of San Pietro (he had been released and had returned to the Curia), and Volterrano to the auditor of the Camera. The latter was stripped of his position as scriptor, demoted and left to the secular court. The bishop was removed from his see, sentenced to life imprisonment, and banished to the convent of Monte Oliveto, twelve miles from Siena. There he threw himself into prayers and vigils and so exhausted himself that the monks believed he had truly reformed; then, being slackly guarded, he managed to escape down the steep mountainside and fled to France.

Pius sent for the count. In the presence of the cardinals and 2  
many of the bishops, he declared, "My lord, you have heard what has become of the bishop of Alet; now you see plainly that the letter you asked for was forged. You cannot hide your sin. If you wish to be saved, you must confess your error and ask forgiveness. If you do this, you will find this See gracious, for it is loving and knows how to show mercy to sinners. Many a king and prince has erred and yet later returned to the Church. David committed adultery and murder but repented of his sin and obtained God's grace. You have followed the sinners; now follow the penitent. Your shameful acts have dimmed the glory of your house; unless you repent you will never regain your good name.

"This is the only way to restore your own and your family's 3  
honor. We ask you to do this as a loving father. We are prepared to show mercy if you show wisdom; but if you are stubborn, you must know that you are a child of death, who must be struck with the sword of excommunication, branded with infamy throughout

mandum: sine fide, sine religione, sine Deo existimatus ab omnibus evitaberis. Elige: Romanam Sedem ultricem tuorum scelerum, an veniae datricem experiri velis?’

- 4 Attonitus his comes octo dierum indutias ad respondendum petiit; quibus impetratis inter suos ait hostem sibi Carolum Franciae regem fuisse, nunquam se tamen eius exercitum adeo timuisse quam Pium loquentem, cuius linguam veluti gladium acutum expaverit.

: 21 :

*Atrebatensis poetica et gentilis oratio, immo insana garrulatio,  
Piiue Christianissima confutatio,  
et comitis absolutio.*

- 1 Reversus ad pontificem in tempore iisdem<sup>65</sup> vocatis, qui prius affuerunt, Iohannem Atrebatensem, qui faceret pro se verba, supposuit. Ille hoc ferme modo peroravit: ‘Non eo inficias, pontifex maxime, quin graviter peccaverit meus cliens. Verum si cuncta noris quibus impulsus est sorori permisceri, longe minus peccatum censebis quam vulgo feratur. Audias me tantum patienter, oro.
- 2 ‘Tria enim sunt, quae delictum comitis extenuant: amor, consilium, paupertas. Iohannes conditis parentibus solus cum sorore in domo relictus est, iuvenis cum iuvene. Intervenere ioci lususque; cum dies ac noctes ante oculos versaretur soror, nec superior esset qui corrigeret adolescentiae mores, coepit alloqui, osculari, amplexari. Peperit amorem conversatio, flammam amor, atque hinc de coniugio cogitatum est, nam sororem cognoscere absque titulo

the world; judged shameless, faithless, and godless, you will be shunned by all. You must make a choice: would you have the See of Rome punish you or pardon you for your crimes?’

The count was thunderstruck by this speech and asked for a week to consider his reply. This was granted. He told his friends that although he had a sworn enemy in King Charles of France, the French armies had never struck fear in his heart the way Pius did when he spoke, for the pope’s tongue was as sharp as a sword.

: 21 :

*The bishop of Arras’s fanciful and pagan speech, or rather his witless nonsense. Pius’s most orthodox rejoinder.  
Clemency for the count.*

The count returned at the appointed time and faced the pope and the same assembly of men who were present on the former occasion. He put forward Jean, bishop of Arras,<sup>47</sup> to plead his case. He declaimed, ‘Your Holiness, I do not deny that my client has grievously sinned, but if you knew the many reasons which impelled him to unite with his sister, you would judge it a far less serious crime than is generally thought. I only beg that you will hear me with patience.

‘Three factors mitigate the count’s offence: affection, the advice he received, and poverty. After he buried his parents, Jean was left alone in his house with his sister—a young man with a young woman. They amused themselves together. His sister was before his eyes night and day and since there was no one in authority to correct his youthful impulses, he began to talk to her, to kiss her and to embrace her. Familiarity bred love, love passion, and then they thought of marriage; for he knew that to have his sister out-

mattimonii nefas ducebat. Quaerit diligenter liceat ne fratri sororem nubere. Vocantur in consilium iuris periti ac summi theologi. Negatur coniunctionem fieri posse, nisi pontifex maximus indulgeat, qui solitus sit aliquando dispensare. Accedit paupertatis coactio: exhaustus omni auro comes propter diutina Britannica bella, unde dotem sorori daret, non habebat qualem viri nobiles exposcerent; neque ignobili tradendus erat nobilissimus sanguis, neque continere puella volebat. Cum ergo hinc amor et consilium, inde necessitas urgeret, sub spe dispensationis cognita est a fratre soror, destinata coniunx.

3 'Non est hic primus qui amori succubuerit. Nam dii ferme omnes quos coluit antiquitas colla summiserunt amori. Et si Vetus Testamentum legimus, quot illic amoris exempla reperies!<sup>66</sup> Nec historiae gentilium aliud canunt quam victos amore heroas. Quod si sororum fratrumque vel connubia vel stupra requirimus, ipse Iuppiter sorori commixtus est, quae se desertam quaerens: 'Soror,' inquit, 'Tonantis, hoc solum mihi nomen relictum.'<sup>67</sup> Et primi parentes connubia inter filios sacraverunt: Amon sororem violavit Thamar. Blandus est nimis et persuadet Amor facile, quem veteres inter deos annumerarunt. Et quid mirum si deus hominem superavit? Cessit deo comes, victus est ab eo qui multos vicit, et qui de omnibus, etiam viris maximis triumphavit. Fatetur errorem suum: ipsa confessio veniam meretur. Adest in conspectu tuo supplicans ut secum misericorditer agas, poenitentiam, quam imposueris libenter subiturus.'

4 Dixit et alia pleraque praesul Atrebas, quae pontifex torvis oculis audivit. Prius tamen, quam ei responderet, interrogavit comitem an se committeret apostolico arbitrio acturus poenitentiam quam Prima Sedes imponeret.

side the bonds of marriage would be impious. He made careful inquiries whether a brother might marry a sister. He consulted jurists and eminent theologians. He was told that such a union could not occur unless the pope gave his permission, and that he did sometimes grant dispensations. There was also the compulsion of poverty. The count had been bankrupted by the long war with Brittany and could not give his sister the kind of dowry that noblemen demand. A girl of her high rank could not be married to a commoner, nor did the girl wish to be chaste. And so, driven by love and advice on one side and necessity on the other, the brother had intercourse with his sister. Expecting a dispensation, he intended to make her his wife.

"He is not the first to have yielded to passion: almost all the gods of antiquity submitted to the yoke of love. Look in the Old Testament—how many tales of love do you find? Pagan epics are nothing but stories of heroes conquered by love. If we must consider only instances of marriage (or incest, as you would have it) between brother and sister, there is Jupiter himself, who lay with his sister—and when she lamented her desertion she cried, 'Sister of the Thunderer! That is now the only title left me.'<sup>48</sup> Our first parents sanctioned marriage between their children. Amnon ravished his sister Tamar.<sup>49</sup> Love is all too charming, and very persuasive: the ancients called him a god. Is it any wonder that a mortal is vanquished by a god? It is a god to whom the count has yielded. He has been conquered by one who has conquered many and triumphed over all, even the greatest heroes. He confesses his sin. Confession in itself deserves pardon. He stands before you as a suppliant, begging you to deal mercifully with him, and ready to accept with a glad heart whatever penalty you impose."

The bishop of Arras went on to say a great many other things which the pope heard with a grim countenance. Before he replied, he asked the count whether he would submit to the apostolic will and make whatever atonement the Holy See required.

- 5 Quo respondente se mandata omnia suscepturum, Pius haec subiecit: 'Grande crimen, Atrebas, parvum ostendere voluisti, et gentilium exemplis usus incestum etiam levem esse monstrare. Tantum eloquentiae tuae confidis? At te, qui episcopatum adsecutus es, ecclesiasticis potius, quam gentilibus exemplis uti decebat. Non puduit te deos appellare quos nostri maiores aut homines tantum fuisse, et quidem sceleratos, aut daemones affirmaverunt? Quid mirum si daemonia peccata collaudant, quibus in lucro est ad scelera traxisse homines? Nos sacras leges et sanctorum patrum instituta respicimus: imperatorum constitutiones et placita principum incestuosos sororumque concubinos infames atque intestabiles reddunt et ultimo supplicio dignos.
- 6 Ecclesia, quae mitior est, et non vult mortem peccatoris, sed vitam ut convertatur eum qui sororem stuprasset, poenitentiam venientem quattuordecim annis extra Ecclesiam esse iussit, et peregre proficiscentem septem ferri pondo aut in collo aut in brachio ferre, pane tantum et aqua contentum. Nos cum comite mitius agemus. Audi, fili! Ieiunium tibi sextarum feriarum annum iudicimus, sororis commercium atque omne colloquium perpetuo interdiciamus; cum primum facultas aderit, contra Turchos ut milites, iubemus non minus quam lanceis quinquaginta pro more tuae patriae associatus; in puellas pauperes nuptui tradendas ecclesiasque reparandas auri quinque milia nummum effundas. Haec si feceris, liber esto!
- 7 Subiit comes, ut ait, volenti animo impositam poenitentiam, atque ita dimissus Romam profectus est sancta visurus loca priusquam domum rediret.

The count responded that he would do anything the pope 5 asked. Pius then spoke as follows: "You have tried to make a great crime seem small, Arras; you have used pagan examples to argue that incest is actually a slight offence. Are you so confident in your own eloquence? But as a bishop you should have used ecclesiastical rather than pagan examples. Are you not ashamed to call gods those whom our predecessors called mere men—and wicked men at that—or even demons? Is it any wonder that demons approve of such crime? They profit from dragging men into sin! We, however, look to sacred law and the ordinances of the holy fathers. By the mandates of emperors and the edicts of princes, those who commit incest and share a bed with a sister are branded with the mark of infamy and shame, and deserve the ultimate penalty.

"The Church, however, is milder, desiring not the death of the 6 sinner but his reformation.<sup>50</sup> It commands that he who has violated his sister—provided he repents—should be excommunicated for fourteen years, and exiled with a weight of seven pounds of iron on his neck or arm, and live on bread and water alone. We shall deal even more leniently with the count. Listen, my son. We order you to fast on Fridays for a year. We forbid you to have any contact or conversation with your sister ever again. We command you to enlist against the Turks at the first opportunity, bringing with you no fewer than fifty lances after the manner of your country, and to donate 5,000 ducats for dowries for poor girls and the repair of churches. If you do these things, you shall be absolved."

The count professed himself ready to do the penance imposed. 7 He was then dismissed and went to Rome to visit the holy places before returning home.

*Legatio regis Castellae, et trium patriarcharum orientalium  
erga Romanam Ecclesiam reconciliatio.*

- 1 Dum haec aguntur, Henricus Castellae ac Legionis rex, cui maxima pars Hispaniae paret, cum ad Mantuanum conventum vilem atque indignam suo nomine legationem misisset, quasi fama satisfactorum Legionensem episcopum ad pontificem ire iussit, et unum ex proceribus regni primum; qui egregio comitatu Senas ingressi et in consistorio publico auditi non tam vera quam pulchra ac magnifica verba fecerunt—discussa enim legationis suae facultate nihil habere quod pro tutela fidei adversus Turchos offerre pontifici valerent. Episcopus paulo post apud Senas diem clausit; Pius Iohannem cardinalem Sancti Sixti eiusdem nationis hominem, theologica scientia illustrem et multis scriptis voluminibus clarum illi suffecit. Rex adversatus<sup>68</sup> ad possessionem pervenire non permisit, propter quam rem multae et magnae contentiones inter regem et pontificem emerserunt.
- 2 Circa hoc tempus adiit pontificem Moyses archidiaconus Antiochenus, vir Graecis ac Syriacis litteris apprime eruditus et magni apud Orientales nominis; hunc tres patriarchae miserunt: Antiochenus, Alexandrinus ac Hierosolymitanus, et plurimi alii<sup>69</sup> principes Christi cultores.
- 3 Legatio eius huiusmodi fuit: venisse olim ad pontificem Eugenium inquit imperatorem et patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, et in concilio Florentino nomine Orientalis Ecclesiae cum Occidentali de processione Spiritus Sancti, de igne purgatorio, de pane azimo, de primatu Romanae Ecclesiae et aliis plerisque de quibus antea disceptaverant convenisse; decretumque deinde fuisse fac-

*An embassy from the king of Castile. Three Eastern  
patriarchs reconciled to the Roman Church.*

While this was going on, King Henry of Castile and León, who ruled a large part of Spain but had sent the Congress of Mantua an insignificant embassy unworthy of his standing, now sent the bishop of León<sup>51</sup> to the pope together with one of the first nobles of his realm, as if to repair his reputation. These men entered Siena with a splendid retinue; the pope received them at a public consistory where they delivered a speech more distinguished for its lofty elegance than its sincerity. For when they were asked about the extent of their authority, it emerged that they had no power to offer the pope anything for the defense of the faith against the Turks. The bishop died at Siena soon afterwards. Pius appointed in his place another Spaniard, Juan, cardinal of San Sisto, a celebrated theologian and a distinguished and prolific author.<sup>52</sup> The king, however, was against him and refused to grant him possession; this gave rise to many bitter disputes between the pope and the king.

About this time Moses, archdeacon of Antioch and a scholar of Greek and Syriac renowned throughout the East, came before the pope. He had been sent by the three patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem and by many other Christian princes.<sup>53</sup>

The purpose of his embassy was this: the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople, he said, had once come to see Pope Eugenius at the Council of Florence, where they had concluded, in the name of the Eastern Church, an agreement with the Western Church concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, the fires of Purgatory, unleavened bread, the primacy of the Church of Rome, and many other matters which previously had been in dispute. A decree had then been promulgated, but the sower of tares had pre-

tum quod tres patriarchae, qui se miserant, non suscepissent satore zizaniarum impediēte; deinde bono commotos spiritu, conventu subditorum habito, suscepto per omnia decreto Romano pontifici sese commisisse, velleque illi tanquam Iesu Christi vicario deinceps obtemperare; atque ad ea nuntianda se missum.

- 4 Audivit pontifex legationem et privatim et publice, et collaudatis patriarchis scripta, quae Moyses attulerat in Latinum translata in archivis Ecclesiae Romanae recondi iussit, ipsumque donatum ad propria remisit.

: 23 :

*Monovassiae situs et legatio atque deditio.*

- 1 Paucis deinde secutis diebus legati ex Monovassia pontificem adeunt se atque urbem dedentes. Ea est Peloponnesi civitas ad orientem cherronesi in altissimo monte iacens, rupibus undique praeruptis tuta, unico tantum aditu iuncta continenti, portu et navalibus quondam ornata. Lacedaemonem hic olim fuisse quidam opinantur, Graeciae robur ac columen; nobis incertum.<sup>70</sup>
- 2 Legati publice auditi: 'Respice nos, Pie pontifex!' dixere, 'Nisi manum porrigis, praeda Turchorum sumus. Demetrius Palaeologus noster dominus fuit. Is ad Turchos defecit nosque in eorum potestatem traducere adnixus est. Sensimus ac praevenimus dolos, arcem invasimus, uxorem eius ad virum remisimus, Turchis aditum clausimus; accessimus Thomam Demetrii fratrem rogavi-

vented the three patriarchs who sent Moses from accepting it. Later, however, they had been moved by the Holy Spirit to call a general assembly of their subjects and accept the decree without reservation. They now offered their submission to the Roman pope and desired to obey him from this point on as the Vicar of Christ. Moses had been sent to deliver this message.

The pope gave the legation both a public and a private audience. He commended the patriarchs, gave orders that the document which Moses brought with him should be translated into Latin and deposited in the archives of the Roman Church, and sent him home with gifts. 4

: 23 :

*The location of Monemvasia and an embassy from it.  
The city entrusts itself to Pius.*

A few days later, ambassadors from Monemvasia came before the pope to offer him themselves and their city. Monemvasia is set on a high mountain on the eastern coast of the Peloponnese peninsula. It is guarded by a ring of precipitous cliffs and can only be entered on the mainland side by a single approach. It once had a harbor and shipyards. Some think it is the ancient Sparta, the strength and salvation of Greece, but this is not certain. 1

The ambassadors were received at a public audience where they made the following speech: "Pope Pius, behold our condition! Unless you reach out your hand, we are but prey for the Turks. Demetrius Palaeologus was our lord. He deserted to the Turks and tried to bring us under their power.<sup>54</sup> We uncovered and thwarted his plot. We broke into the citadel, sent his wife back to him, and closed the entrance against the Turks. We approached 2



musque urbem, quae sua esset germano ad hostes deficiente, uti acciperet ac defenderet. Negavit Thomas eas sibi vires esse quibus tueri nos posset, hortatusque est ut vel te vel alium dominum assumeremus. Consilio his de rebus habito placuit omnibus ad pietatem tuam recurrere, tibi que populum et civitatem tradere. Accipe igitur supplices et subveni miseris, nec contempseris urbem nostram ad res in Graecia gerendas accommodatissimam! Si classem statueris in Orientem mittere, apud nos stationem et tutissimum refugium inveniet. Si nos relinquis, cogimur iugum subire Turchorum non sine tuo dedecore et Reipublicae Christianae maximo detrimento.'

3 Motus his pontifex illacrimatus est mundanarum rerum varietatem animo volvens. Nam quae olim civitas Graeciae domina, Asiam et Orientem potentissimis classibus infestavit, orbisque magnam partem sibi subiecit, eo demum redacta est ut stare non posset nisi dominos in Occidenti quaerat, atque illis sese dedat et commendet, quorum ingenia prius et opes contempserat.

4 Iannonus, quem supra in Peloponnesum ex Mantua missum retulimus, legatorum comes fuit, multaque de Monovassia locutus locum natura munitum, si parvo praesidio defendatur, inexpugnabilem dixit, Pium magnopere exhortatus ne tantam recuperandae Graeciae occasionem praetermitteret. Annuit pontifex, iussisque legatis in sua verba iurare, Monovassiam suo et Ecclesiae Romanae nomine in deditionem accepit misso praefecto, qui populo ius diceret et annonam, cuius erat vacua civitas, ministraret.

Thomas, Demetrius's brother, and begged him to receive and defend the city which was rightly his, now that his brother had deserted to the enemy. Thomas replied that he did not have the forces to protect us and urged us to take either you or someone else as our lord. We called a council to discuss the issue and voted unanimously to throw ourselves on your mercy and entrust the people and the state to your protection. Receive the suppliant, comfort the wretched, and do not despise our city. It is an ideal base for operations in Greece, and if you decide to send a fleet to the East, it will find a safe harbor with us. But if you abandon us, we will be forced to submit to the Turkish yoke, which will surely be a disgrace to you and a calamity for all of Christendom."

The pope was moved to tears as he pondered the vicissitudes of 3 earthly affairs. The same city which had once been the mistress of Greece, which had sent mighty fleets against Asia and the East and subdued a large part of the world, was now reduced to a state where she could not survive without seeking lords in the West, surrendering and entrusting herself to those whose talent and wealth she once held in contempt.

The embassy was accompanied by Giannone, who as we said 4 before had been sent from Mantua to the Peloponnese.<sup>55</sup> He had much to say about Monemvasia: the natural fortifications of the place were such that it needed only a small garrison to make it impregnable. Pius must not let such a favorable opportunity to recover Greece slip through his hands. The pope agreed; he had the envoys swear allegiance to him and received the surrender of Monemvasia in his own name and that of the Church of Rome. He then despatched a governor to administer justice in the city and replenish its food supplies, which were completely exhausted.

*Iacobi Lucensis viri praestantissimi promotio  
ad ecclesiam Papiensem invito duce,  
et Pii animus invictus.*

- 1 Vacavit circa idem tempus ecclesia Papiensis apud Insubres nobilis, et quae soli Romano pontifici subest, dives opum et liberalium artium schola insignis Iohannes cardinalis ex familia Castilionea ei praefuerat, quem in Piceno, dum legatum agit, obiisse diximus.<sup>71</sup> Pontifex Iacobum Lucensem secretarium suum ei sufficere statuerat, virum Graecis ac Latinis litteris eruditum. Franciscus Mediolanensium dux animum alio verterat, nec passurus videbatur sententiae pontificis locum fore.
- 2 Missus est Angelus Volsinensis, Ordinis Minorum professor, qui Franciscum leniret; nec quicquam profuit dicente per iracundiam Francisco: 'Episcopum Papiensibus si alterum quam cupio praefecerit Romanus pontifex, experietur non esse usui<sup>72</sup> principes irritare. Reconciliabor Picinino haud difficile, eique agrum Ecclesiae diripiendum mandabo. Et quis erit qui pontifici opem ferat?'
- 3 Ea cum retulisset Angelus, magis ac magis pontificis animum obfirmavit ut Iacobum promoveret; scripsitque pontifex manu sua Francisco, admonens ne pugnam adversus pontificem amplecteretur in qua necesse sibi esset succumbere, quia non mutaret propositum nec arma sua timeret Pius. Victus tandem Franciscus annuit, et Iacobus magno Senatus assensu et universae Curiae applausu Papiensi ecclesiae praefectus est.

*Jacopo of Lucca, a man of outstanding character, appointed to  
the see of Pavia against the wishes of the duke.  
Pius's indomitable conviction.*

About this time the famous see of Pavia in Lombardy fell vacant. 1  
This church is very rich, with a celebrated school of the liberal  
arts, and is subject to the pope alone. Its bishop had been Cardinal  
Giovanni Castiglione, whose death while in the Marches we  
have already described.<sup>56</sup> The pope intended to appoint his secretary  
Jacopo of Lucca, an accomplished scholar of Greek and Latin,  
but Francesco, duke of Milan, had other plans. It did not seem  
likely he would give way to the pope.

Angelo of Bolsena, Procurator general of the Franciscans, was 2  
sent to mollify Francesco but got nowhere with him, for the duke  
retorted, "If the pope puts anyone in the see of Pavia except the  
man I want, he'll soon discover the wisdom of offending a prince.  
I'll have no trouble making friends with Piccinino; I'll give him  
the Papal States to plunder, and who will come to the pope's de-  
fense?"

When Angelo reported this, Pius was all the more set on ad- 3  
vancing Jacopo. He wrote a letter in his own hand warning  
Francesco not to engage in a contest with the pope in which he  
must emerge the loser, since Pius would not change his mind nor  
did he fear the duke's arms. At last Francesco was forced to give in  
and Jacopo was appointed to the church of Pavia with the heartfelt  
approval of the college of cardinals and the support of the entire  
Curia.

*Sarnensis pugna, in qua adversante fortuna Ferdinandus  
occumbit, et Simonetti clara optataque mors,  
et Castri Maris proditio.*

- 1 Per hos dies<sup>73</sup> auctus animo Ferdinandus Siciliae rex adventu Simonetti et aliorum Ecclesiae ducum exercitum in campum educit pugnandique copiam hostibus facit. Detrectantibus proelium acrius instat, eosque loco pellit, nec cessat urgere donec omnes intra oppidum Sarni fugientes concludit. Id passibus circiter triginta milibus a Neapoli abest. Pars eius in edito colle sita est, pars in plano iacet, non tam muris quam aquis munita; ex radicibus montis limpidissimi scaturiunt fontes, qui Sarnum efficiunt fluvium, cuius ante fecimus mentionem, tantae frigiditatis ut herbas atque arbores enecet, neque pisces alat praeter cancos.
- 2 In hoc oppido Iohannes Rhenati<sup>74</sup> filius et Tarentinus princeps et omnis nobilitas suarum partium atque omnis equitatus et pedatus ex fuga sese receperat, cum Ferdinandi regis impetum ferre non potuisset, nec dubium erat quin brevi urgente famae aut sese dederent, aut in diversa dilapsi hosti campum relinquerent. Clausi enim comaeatui introducere nulla ex parte poterant, et iam consilium ceperant, quo potissimum itinere fugam arriperent quorum saluti nihil tam consuluit, quam Ferdinandi audacia: illum cum natura, tum necessitas supra quam par fuit audaciorem praebuit.
- 3 Erat in castris suis non tam validior hoste quam animosior miles, verum importunus et querulus; stipendia petere, minari, nisi argentum daretur. Regi nihil esse quod daret, et iam ducenti barbari, quos vocant 'scoppeterios,' ob negatam mercedem ad hostes

*The battle of Sarno, at which Ferrante meets with ill fortune  
and is defeated. Simonetto achieves the glorious death  
he desired. Castellamare betrayed.*

At about that time, King Ferrante of Sicily, feeling encouraged by the arrival of Simonetto and the other captains of the Church, took to the field and challenged his enemies to a battle. When they declined to fight, he went on the offensive and drove them from their positions, never stopping until he had them all hemmed in at the town of Sarno, about thirty miles from Naples. Part of the town stands on a steep hill and part lies on the plain below. Its defenses lie not so much in its walls as in its water. From the base of the mountain, crystal-clear springs gush forth to form the river Sarno, mentioned above, which is so cold that it kills grass and trees and no fish can live in it, only crabs.

Unable to withstand King Ferrante's onslaught, King René's son Jean and the prince of Taranto, together with all the nobles of their party and all their infantry and cavalry, had taken refuge there after their rout. There was no doubt that in a short time hunger would force them to surrender or to disperse and leave the field to the enemy, for penned in as they were, they could bring in no supplies. They had already begun to consider how best to flee, but nothing contributed to their escape so much as the rashness of Ferrante, whose own character, as well as necessity, led him to an act of over-confidence.

Though their advantage over the enemy lay in bravery rather than brute force, the mood of Ferrante's soldiers had grown ugly and querulous. They were demanding their pay and uttering threats if the money were not forthcoming. The king had nothing to give them. Already 200 foreign mercenaries, known as "musketees" (*scoppeterii*), had deserted to the enemy because they had

defecerant; vereri ne discedentibus pluribus obsidionem solvere cogere-  
retur; militi absque auro nihil suaderi posse. In his angustiis  
constituto utile visum est oppidum repente aggredi, ut eo expu-  
gnato ex spoliis hostium exercitui satisfaceret.

4 Re in consilium ducta probantibus pluribus Simonettus contra-  
dixit, qui loco munito hostem non facile dimovendum putabat,  
meliusque fame quam ferro vinci; placere tamen sibi turrim quan-  
dam oppido propinquam invadi, qua capta impossibile esset hostes  
pabulatum exire. Itum est in sententiam Simonetti. Verum expu-  
gnata primo impetu turri crescentibus animis victor furensque mil-  
les retineri nequivit: praeteriere audaces turmae iussa ducum, et  
insecutae fugientes hostes cum his oppidi portas intraverunt. Pu-  
gnatum est intra moenia summa contentione, nec pauci cecide-  
runt; plures tamen ecclesiastici, quorum magnam stragem edide-  
runt scoppeterii, quos diximus a rege profugisse.

5 Instrumentum est in Germania primum ac nostra demum ae-  
tate repertum, ferreum seu cupreum, ad mensuram hominis lon-  
gum, pugillaris spissitudinis, concavum fere totum, in cuius ore  
plumbea ponitur pilula ad magnitudinem nucis avellanae, immisso  
prius pulvere, qui ex cinere fici aut salicis conficitur, sulphure et ni-  
tro commixto. Mox ignis per foramen parvum in posteriori parte  
adhibetur, qui receptus a pulvere tantam vim concipit ut pilulam  
instar fulminis iaciat.<sup>75</sup> In eius exitu quasi tonitru sonitus exaudi-  
tur, quem vulgus scoppium appellat; hinc scoppeterii appellati.  
Ictum eius tormenti nulla sustinet armatura, robora etiam pene-  
trantur.

6 Regius igitur miles atque ecclesiasticus, quamvis oppidum in-  
troisset et hostes aliquos manu cepisset, ab hisce scoppeteriis non  
sine vulnere ac caede repulsus est. Hostis insecutus longo spatio

been not paid, and Ferrante feared that if any more deserted, he  
would have to raise the siege. And yet without money he could  
not make the soldiers do anything. In these straits, he thought it  
would be to his advantage to make a sudden assault on the city in  
the hope of satisfying his army with the enemy's spoils when he  
had taken it.

When this plan was discussed in council, the majority agreed, 4  
but Simonetto was against it, for he thought the enemy would not  
easily be dislodged from their strong position and that starvation  
was more likely to secure victory than the sword. Nevertheless he  
advised attacking a certain tower near the town, for if they took  
that, it would be impossible for the enemy to get out to forage.  
Simonetto's view prevailed, but when the tower was taken at the  
first assault, the victorious troops could not be restrained from  
their fury. The troops rashly disregarded the commands of their  
officers and entered the city gates on the heels of the fleeing en-  
emy. A fierce battle was fought within the walls in which many  
fell. The papal forces suffered most; they were massacred by the  
musketeers who, as we said, had deserted the king.<sup>57</sup>

The musket is a modern German invention. It is made of iron 5  
or copper and is as long as a man, as thick as a fist, and almost en-  
tirely hollow. Powder made of charcoal from the wood of the fig or  
willow is mixed with sulphur and niter and then poured into it; a  
small ball of lead the size of a hazelnut is then inserted in the  
front end. Fire, applied through a small hole in the back part, ex-  
plodes the powder with such force that it shoots the ball out like  
lightning, accompanied by a report that sounds like a clap of thun-  
der. This report is popularly called a *scoppium*, hence the name of  
the *scoppeterii*. No armor can withstand the force of this weapon,  
which can also penetrate wood.

The royal and papal forces, though they had entered the town 6  
and taken some prisoners, were driven back by the musketeers. A  
considerable number were killed or wounded or pursued by the

extra oppidum signa protulit; cui dum Simonettus occurrit, suorumque fugam retinere conatur, tormentali pilula percussus ex equo deiectus est, nec locutus e vita decessit. Qui etsi diutius vivere optavisset, hunc tamen exitum cupiebat saepe inter suos dicere solitus: 'Det mihi Deus ut in arte mea et in Ecclesiae servitio moriar!' Corpus eius ab hostibus inventum honorifice tumulatum est Iohanne regis filio et omni nobilitate funus ducente.

7 Multorum in hoc proelio virtus enituit, praecipue Roberti Ursini, qui primus Sarnum ingressus ascendere superiores oppidi partes tentavit, sed vulneratus in facie coactus est pedem referre. Iohannis quoque Malavoltae filius egregia suae iuventutis rudimenta praebuit, qui paulo post Senas reversus febre interiit.<sup>76</sup>

8 Primi ecclesiastici pugnam ciebant, primique caesi sunt aut capti, cum tormentorum ictus ferre non possent. Rex fuga salvatus est impedimentis amissis, castra direpta sunt, equi supra duo milia in praedam venere. Secundum hanc victoriam princeps Salerni ad Francos defecit, cui et Nola parebat; idemque dux Sancti Marci et universa Sancti Severini domus effecit.

9 Quod si victoriam secutus hostis ad Neapolim castra movisset, haud dubium quin profligatus Ferdinandus Regno cessisset. Princeps Tarenti cursum fortunae retinuit, qui Marte dubio Regni moderator habebatur et arbiter, finito bello victori pariturus. Iohannes Andegavensis, cum Neapolim inhibente principe nequiret accedere, copias ad Castrum Maris victor admovit, et oppido vi potitus arcem auro redemit; aureorum quattuor milia praefectus accepisse traditur. Verum est quod vulgo dicitur: nullam non expugnabilem arcem esse, in quam onustus auro intrare possit asellus.

enemy a long way from the town. Simonetto was charging at the enemy and trying to rally his men when he was struck by a shot and thrown from his horse; he died without speaking a word. Though he would have chosen a longer life, yet this was the end he desired, for he often used to say to his friends, "God grant me to die in the exercise of my profession and the service of the Church!" His body was found by the enemy and given an honorable burial, with Prince Jean and all his nobility in attendance.

In this battle many distinguished themselves for their courage, especially Roberto Orsini, who was the first to enter Sarno. He tried to force his way into the upper part of the town, but was wounded in the face and forced to retreat. The son of Giovanni Malavolta also gave splendid proof of youthful promise. He died of fever soon after this on his return to Siena.

The papal troops were the first to enter battle and also the first to fall or be taken prisoner, for they could not withstand the musket fire. Ferrante saved himself by flight. His baggage was lost, his camp was plundered, and the enemy led away more than 2,000 of his horses as booty. After this victory the prince of Salerno, who was also lord of Nola, deserted to the French, as did the duke of San Marco and all the house of Sanseverino.<sup>58</sup>

If the enemy forces had followed up their victory by making a move on Naples, there is no doubt that Ferrante would have been utterly overwhelmed and forced to flee the Kingdom. It was the prince of Taranto who checked the course of Fortune. So long as the outcome of the war remained in doubt, he was considered the arbiter and governor of the Kingdom; but once the war was over he would have to submit to the victor. Jean of Anjou, since he could not march on Naples in the face of the prince's opposition, moved his victorious army to Castellamare, took the town by storm, and bribed his way into the castle. It is said the commandant was paid 4,000 ducats. What they say is true: no fortress is impregnable if a donkey laden with gold can climb inside.<sup>59</sup>

*Proelium Aprutinum Picinini et ecclesiasticorum, et rumor varius, quique in ea pugna claruerunt.*

- 1 Haec in Terra Laboris gesta, quae olim Campania dicta est. In Aprutiis vero Picininus accepto victoriae nuntio veritus, ne ignaviae<sup>77</sup> accusaretur si nihil ab eo fieret, congregatis Aquilanis, Iosianis, Caudolianis et omnibus Aprutinorum viribus, magnum equitum peditumque ducens exercitum ducales atque apostolicas copias, quae non procul ab Aesculo castra tenebant, invadere statuit.
- 2 Alexander Sfortia et Federicus Urbinas, alter socer, alter gener, Picinino oppositi erant, equitatu pares hosti aut superiores, peditatu longe inferiores. Ii planum tenebant, Picininus collem occupaverat; qui signo dato magno impetu in hostes delatus est. Alexander ei occurrit. Commissum<sup>78</sup> atrox proelium diuque anceps, verum urgente pedite Picinini Alexander non paucis suorum amisissis loco paulo cessit, fuissetque omnino profligatus nisi Federicus huc atque illuc discurrens suppetias misisset, ac pro sauciis integros suffecisset.
- 3 Prae ceteris vero Petri Pauli Foroliviensis excellens virtus adiumento ecclesiasticis fuit, qui locum sibi commissum nunquam deseruit equis quattuor sub eo confossis: Federicus ei submittebat equos, cuius praestanti audacia omne robur hostium retentum est. Pugna ad horam noctis secundam summa contentione et ardentibus animis producta, luna praestante lumen. Ad extremum ecclesiastici cum loco dimoveri non possent, Bracciani ad montem unde venerant rediere. Victores ac victi ambo exercitus: ecclesiastici plus

*Piccinino and the armies of the Church clash in the Abruzzi. Various rumors. Men who distinguished themselves in battle.*

Such were the events in the Terra di Lavoro, once called Campania. In the Abruzzi, Piccinino, hearing of the victory and fearing that he might be accused of cowardice if he did nothing, assembled the troops of L'Aquila, and of Giosia and Caldora and all the forces of the Abruzzi.<sup>60</sup> Putting himself at the head of a large force of cavalry and infantry, he decided to attack the ducal and papal troops which were encamped near Ascoli.<sup>61</sup>

Facing Piccinino were Alessandro Sforza and Federico of Urbino, father- and son-in-law. They had as many or even more cavalry on their side, but far fewer infantrymen. They held the plain, while Piccinino occupied a nearby hill. After giving the command to charge down on the enemy, he was met by Alessandro and a savage battle ensued, the outcome of which was long in doubt. Finally Alessandro, hard pressed by Piccinino's infantry and having lost many of his men, was forced to give a little ground. He would have been utterly routed except for the fact that Federico, running about this way and that, came to his aid and replaced the wounded with fresh troops.

The greatest advantage for the papal forces, however, was the extraordinary bravery of Pierpaolo of Forlì, who never deserted the post entrusted to him. Four horses were stabbed from under him but Federico kept sending him more; his matchless courage kept the whole force of the enemy at bay. With the utmost vigor and blazing spirits, the battle raged on by the light of the moon till an hour after nightfall. In the end, when it was clear that the papal troops could not be dislodged, the Bracceschi withdrew back up the hill. Both armies emerged as victors and vanquished at the same

equorum amisere, hostes plus hominum, ingens enim et peditum et equorum strages edita est.

4 Dum pugnaretur, et adhuc dubius esset belli eventus, fugientes quidam ex castris Ecclesiae victorem Picininum vulgavere. Quod accipiens Firmanus episcopus, cupidus mali nuntius et nugarum diligens vulgator, rem quasi compertam pluribus scripsit; atque inter alios Sigismundo Malatestae, qui ruinam Ecclesiae percupide audiens aurea veste nuntium donavit. Homo perfidus, Deo atque hominibus infestus! Poena tamen cito secuta est, cum paulo post vano se gaudio perfusum intellexerit et mendaci nuntio deceptum.

5 Mutavere tamen ecclesiastici locum, cum Picinini copias auferri cognovissent castraque amplius atque amplius munierunt. Picininus in Aprutiorum interiora concessit, ubi a Matthaeo Capuano haud ignavo copiarum duce saepe damnis atque ignominia affectus est.

: 27 :

*Gallorum insana levitas et arrogantissima superbia, et Pii responsum eorum procacia dignum.*

1 Senis cum nuntiata esset Ferdinandi clades apud Sarnum accepta, Galli, qui frequentes erant in Curia, vociferari per urbem, saltare, ignes incendere, insultare Cathelanis, Aragonenses irridere, familiam quoque pontificis probro afficere, Lombardos, Florentinos contumelia lacessere, pulsare manibus ac ferro si quis non satis eorum insaniae applaudere videretur. Nam et Burgundioni cuidam

time. The papal forces lost more horses and the enemy more men, for there had been a great massacre of cavalry and footsoldiers alike.

During the battle, while the outcome was still unclear, fugitives 4 from the camp of the Church spread a rumor that Piccinino had triumphed. On hearing this, the bishop of Fermo,<sup>62</sup> eager to bear bad news and a keen purveyor of gossip, sent out several letters claiming the issue was decided. He sent one to Sigismundo Malatesta, who was so delighted to hear of the Church's defeat that he presented the courier with a golden robe. Here was a faithless villain, an enemy to God and man! But he soon had his comeuppance, for he found a little later that his transports of delight were baseless and that he had been deceived by a false report.

When news came that Piccinino's troops were being reinforced, 5 however, it was the army of the Church that moved camp, and it continued to make its position ever stronger. Piccinino withdrew into the interior of the Abruzzi, where he suffered a series of humiliating losses at the hands of Matteo of Capua, a valiant military commander.

: 27 :

*The French, their witless gloating and insupportable arrogance. Pius answers their effrontery with an apt retort.*

When news of Ferrante's defeat at Sarno reached Siena, the considerable French contingent in the Curia broke into cheering and dancing around the city, lit bonfires, abused the Catalans, jeered at the Aragonese, taunted the Lombards and Florentines, insulted even the pope's household, and used fists or swords on anyone who did not seem sufficiently to applaud their madness. They 1

oculum effoderunt, et Senensem quendam civem interfecerunt qui paululum adversus eorum clamoribus videbatur.

2 Toleravit omnia pontifex aequo animo secumque ait: 'Quid agant domi suae nobiscum Galli, si forte ad eos venerimus, quando in patria nostra tam impudenter<sup>79</sup> insultant? En genus Italicum, ferre ne horum dominatum poteris quorum servitia adeo sunt insolentia? Serviunt in Romana Curia, et faciem dominantis ostendunt! Quid agant si aut summo pontificio aliquando potiantur aut Italiae regnum obtineant? Vae tibi, Italia, si horum subire iugum cogaris! Ego te, quantum potero, adiuvabo ne tam crudeles patiari dominos, quamvis nec Veneti nec Florentini opem afferant, quorum populi dum te sibi subigere conantur, nec inter se convenire student, externum tibi dominium<sup>80</sup> parant.'

3 Sic locutus inter amicos pontifex nihilo deiectus animo reparare atque instaurare copias decrevit, Ferdinandoque nova auxilia mittere ne Regno deiici posset.

4 Interea Aquilanorum legati ad eum veniunt et paulo post Iohannis Andegavensis oratores suasuri ut relicto Ferdinando pontifex aut Rhenati causam adiuvet aut a bello prorsus absteineat, multorum et populorum et principum Regni litteras afferentes, qui Ferdinandi regimen atque imperium prorsus respuebant. Quibus auditis pontifex se nihil aliud bello quaerere dixit nisi ut violentia sublata lis de Regno per iudicium tolleretur; id si Rhenatus annueret, ab armis cessari posse. Tum unus ex oratoribus: 'Iohannes,' inquit, 'Cossa haec ad te verba transmittit: "Si Christus nobiscum est, non curamus, quo se vertat vicarius eius. Vicimus apud Sarnum auctore Christo. Tu sive benedixeris sive contra maledixeris, nihil ad nos!"' Cui pontifex: 'Quamvis uno proelio superiores fuistis,' inquit, 'non tamen affirmare potestis Christum auxilio vobis esse, cuius occulta iudicia sunt. At Christi vicarium vestris adver-

gouged out the eye of a Burgundian and killed a citizen of Siena who expressed some slight disapproval of their riot.

The pope took all this in his stride, saying to himself, "How would they treat us in their country, should we go to them, when in our country they insult us so shamelessly? Look, Italy! How will you endure these men as masters, when as servants they are so bold? They put on princely airs when they serve in the Roman Curia. What would they do if they ever secured the papacy or came to rule over Italy? Woe to you, Italy, if you are forced beneath the French yoke! I will do all I can to keep you from suffering such cruel masters, though neither the Venetians nor the Florentines will lift a finger. While their citizens try to subject you to their rule and make no attempt to establish concord among themselves, they prepare the way for a foreign overlord."

The pope talked in this vein among his friends. Far from being discouraged, he undertook to reinforce and restore his army and to send fresh aid to Ferrante before he was driven from the throne.

4 Meanwhile ambassadors from L'Aquila reached the pope, followed soon after by envoys from Jean of Anjou, who urged him to abandon Ferrante and either support the cause of René or withdraw from the war altogether. The ambassadors presented letters from many lords and communes of the Kingdom who were bitterly opposed to Ferrante's regime. When the pope heard them, he said that his sole object in the war was to put a stop to the violence and then settle the quarrel over the Kingdom by arbitration. If René would agree to that, hostilities might cease. Then one of the envoys said, "Giovanni Cossa sends you this message, 'If Christ is with us, we care not where His Vicar goes. We triumphed at Sarno by Christ's grace. Whether you bless us or curse us means nothing to us.'" The pope wrote in reply, "You may have won one battle, but you cannot say that Christ is on your side. His judgments are mysterious. But that Christ's Vicar is against



sari conatibus et sensistis hactenus, et sentietis deinceps magis!  
Atque ita legati infectis rebus abierunt.

: 28 :

*Romae tumultus multi auctore Tiburtio et Valeriano fratribus  
et scelerata flagitia.*

1 Successit et alia interim calamitas; raro infortunium solum est.  
Romae Tyburtius et Valerianus fratres pacificum Urbis statum  
multis modis turbavere. Mater eorum soror fuit Stephani Porcarii,  
quem Nicolaus Quintus ob proditionem captum in Adriani Mole  
suspendit. Pater eiusdem criminis reus in Capitolio poenas dede-  
rat, et alii complures ex eadem cognatione perierant.

2 Ii nihil a maioribus degenerantes cum viderent Urbem absente  
pontifice minus rigide gubernari, neque rectoribus ad corripienda  
facinora satis animi esse, tempus idoneum arbitrati quo iuventu-  
tem Romanam corrumpere possent, ac rebus tandem mutatis im-  
perium sacerdotale deicere, Bonannum quendam, iuvenem auda-  
cissimum et manu promptum, ac Iohannem Philippum, nullius  
facinoris expertem, et alios plerosque sceleribus insignes sibi socios  
asciverunt, quibuscum facta coniuratione levia primum furta galli-  
narum ac vilium rerum audere coeperunt, post adulteria et pretio-  
sarum rerum rapinas committentes, tandem neque a raptu virgi-  
num neque a caedibus aut incendiis temperarunt. Nec  
magistratum cohiberi armis poterant, cum essent trecenti circiter  
iuvenes in armis experti ac feroces, auxilia sibi invicem praesto fe-  
rentes. Cives in filios civium extendere manus non audebant; ex-

you, you already know and will know even better in future." And  
so the envoys departed, with nothing achieved.

: 28 :

*Widespread unrest at Rome, fomented by the brothers  
Tiburzio and Valeriano; their nefarious crimes.*

In the meantime, yet another calamity occurred. Misfortunes 1  
rarely come singly. In Rome, the brothers Tiburzio and Valeriano<sup>63</sup>  
found many ways to disturb the peace of the city. Their mother  
was a sister of Stefano Porcari, whom Nicholas V had arrested for  
treason and hanged in Castel Sant'Angelo. Their father too had  
been executed on the Capitol for the same crime, and many others  
of the family had come to a similar end.

These two were no better than their forebears. Seeing that 2  
Rome was governed less strictly in the pope's absence and that the  
magistrates were afraid to punish criminal activity, they recognized  
an opportunity to corrupt the youth of Rome, stage a revolution,  
and thereby overthrow the power of the papacy. They included in  
their plot Bonanno, a very bold and energetic youth, Giovanni  
Filippo, who was versed in all manner of wickedness, and a num-  
ber of other notorious criminals. Conspiring with these men, they  
at first ventured on petty burglaries, stealing livestock and cheap  
goods; then they proceeded to adultery and the theft of valuable  
objects; in the end, they went as far as rape, murder, and arson.  
The magistrates were unable to control these wild hooligans by  
force, for they numbered about 300, each one an experienced  
brawler ready to come to another's help at a moment's notice. Citi-  
zens did not dare lift their hands against the sons of citizens. Ev-

pectabant omnes quid gubernator, quid senator ageret. Uterque timore correptus domi se continebat.

3 Gubernator, cum habitaret in Campo Florum egregiam in atrio Pompei domum, et coniuratorum minas in dies audiret, in Apostolicum Palatium inde migravit. Coniurati ob eam rem quasi victores effecti insolentius agere, bacchari per urbem licentius, everberare cives, pecunia mulctare, pauperum substantiam diripere, uxores prostituere, virgines iugulare aut in Tiberim sommergere quae vim perpeti nollent. Libentius optimatum expugnassent aedes, sed verebantur ne potentiam Urbis in se provocarent, satisque esse putabant si opulentorum civium abusi patientia inopum bona quamvis pauca diripere et in eorum foeminas explere libidinem possent, donec aucti numero et fortiores effecti illorum quoque fortunas daretur invadere.

4 Fuit inter eos quidam, cui propter amorem Inamorati cognomen indidere. Is perdit puellam Transtiberinam alteri desponsatam<sup>81</sup> adamavit, pariter, ut fama erat, amatus; quam ipso die nuptiarum ad virum euntem media in urbe vi rapuit. Non potuere tantum facinus tolerare magistratus, quos capita regionum appellant: facto mox impetu Inamoratam ceperunt, vinctumque senatori tradiderunt qui publice in eum animadverteret. Coniurati audita re veriti ne supplicium de reo sumeretur, correptis<sup>82</sup> armis per urbem dilapsi Carum quendam senatoris familiarem interceperunt.

5 Commoti cives ad rei novitatem frequentes gubernatorem adeunt, sumere animum et arma suadent operas suas offerentes; facile coniuratos posse intercipi asserunt, audeat modo gubernator

everyone was waiting to see what the Governor or the Senator would do. Each stayed at home, paralyzed with fear.

The Governor's palace, which is built on the site of the Theater of Pompey, stands in the Campo dei Fiori. He could hear the threats of the conspirators increasing day after day. For this reason, he moved to the apostolic palace, at which point the conspirators, thinking themselves victorious, became even more insolent. They went on an unrestrained riot through the city, flogging and plundering the citizens, robbing the poor of their property, raping wives, and strangling or drowning in the Tiber any girls who resisted assault. They would have preferred to attack the houses of the nobility, but they feared to provoke the wrath of the city government. So they were content to exploit the complacency and indifference of the wealthy in order to rob the poor of their meager possessions, and use their women to satisfy their lusts, until their numbers and strength grew to the point where they might also fall upon the fortunes of the rich.

There was one of them nicknamed Innamorato on account of the passion he had conceived—he had fallen desperately in love with a girl from Trastevere who was betrothed to another and she, it was said, returned his affections. On the very day of the wedding, as she was going to her bridegroom, Innamorato carried her off in the open street. This outrage was more than the magistrates, who are called *caporioni*, could endure. They arrested Innamorato in a surprise raid and handed him over to the Senator in chains for a public trial. Hearing of this and fearing that the culprit would be punished, the conspirators took up arms and scattered through the city, taking captive a member of the Senator's household named Caro.

The citizens, roused by this unprecedented act, went in a body to the Governor and urged him to pluck up his courage and use force. They offered their support, declaring that if the Governor and the Senator would only be bold and follow their advice, it

ac senator et civium consilia sequantur. Coniurati civium arma timentes in templo se receperunt quod M. Agrippa diis omnibus sive, ut melius loquamur, daemonibus dedicavit. Pantheon veteres appellarunt, nunc Beatae Mariae sacrum est et ab ea nomen habet. Non praesumpserunt rectores Urbis cives cum civibus expugnare, veriti ne multitudine armata civitas discusso sacerdotum iugo libertatem assereret.

6 Illi plerisque diebus in templo se continuerunt, cum circumhabitantes metu, ne noctu invaderentur alimenta praeberent. Tandem ea lege persuasi sunt aedem relinquere ut accepto Innamorato familiarem senatoris redderent. Neque vel hoc pacto quievit civitas. Bonannus, unus ex coniuratis, paucis post diebus armatus per Urbem incedens cum familiam senatoris incidisset, rogareturque arma deponere nec parere vellet, incepta rixa manum conserens unum ex marescallis obruncavit, victorque satellites omnes senatoris dissipavit atque disiecit.

7 Exin liberi omni metu iuvenes armati atque inermes per Urbem vadere nullumque non scelus impune committere. Quos cum Antonius pontificis nepos turrim quandam in extrema civitatis parte invasisse non procul a Sancto Laurentio in Lucina didicisset, mox accepta equitum cohorte ex Vaticano ad pontem Milvium se contulit, et ingressus portam Urbis, quae Populi appellatur, festinus ad turrim cucurrit coniuratos ibi ut comprehenderet. Illi audito eius adventu turrim dimisere, et interiora Urbis petentes in aedibus quas cardinalis olim Firmanus magnificas aedificavit, sese receperunt.

8 Antonio non fuit consilium externum equitem intra frequentia Urbis aedificia ducere nondum plane cognita civium voluntate,

would be easy to round up the conspirators. The conspirators, terrified by the populace which was now up in arms, took refuge in the temple which Marcus Agrippa dedicated to all the gods — or, to put it better, to all the demons. The ancients called it the Pantheon; now it is consecrated to the Blessed Virgin and takes its name from her. The magistrates did not dare risk setting citizen to fight against citizen, for fear that if the people were armed, the city would throw off the yoke of the clergy and assert its independence.

The conspirators remained in the Pantheon for several days, 6 supplied with food by citizens who lived nearby, and who feared that if they did not do so they would be attacked in the night. At last the men were persuaded to leave the temple on condition that they handed over Caro in return for Innamorato. But not even this restored peace to the city. A few days later Bonanno, one of the conspirators, was walking through the city in arms when he fell in with some members of the Senator's household. He was ordered to lay down his arms; when he refused, a skirmish broke out in which he killed one of the marshals and triumphantly routed and dispersed all the Senator's followers.

After this, the young ruffians ran wild through the city, fearless 7 whether armed or unarmed, committing all manner of crimes with impunity. When Antonio, the pope's nephew, heard that they had seized a tower on the outskirts of the city not far from San Lorenzo in Lucina, he went at once with a company of horse from the Vatican to the Milvian bridge and, entering the city by the Porta del Popolo, hastened to the tower to capture the conspirators there. But when they learned of his approach, they abandoned the tower and made for the heart of the city, where they entrenched themselves in the magnificent palace built by the late Cardinal Fermo.

Antonio had no intention of leading foreign soldiers on horse- 8 back into the crowded quarters of the city, especially since he was

quos in suos saevire cognatos non erat vero simile, nec gubernatori<sup>83</sup> e re publica videbatur cives cum civibus comprehendere. Coniurati in aedibus Firmani tanquam in publico palatio convenientes illic consilia de rapinis, de patrandis adulteriis<sup>84</sup> capiebant, conviviaque simul agitabant, noctes latrociniiis, dies ludis dantes. Tyburtius omnium princeps et dominus habebatur, cuncta ex eius arbitrio pendebant. Quaerentibus quid ageret Tyburtius: 'Dominus,' respondebant, 'aut hoc aut illud agit.'

9 Pudebat bonos cives eo deductam esse Urbem ut in Tyburtii potestate videretur, cupiebantque armis tantam ignominiam delere. Quod postquam per gubernatoris ignaviam efficere non potuerunt, congregati simul optimates Tyburtium adierunt suadentes ut Urbe discederet nec vellet patriam suam latronum speluncam efficere; si pergeret grassari amplius in civitate, non passuros magnates; facile manum militum cogi posse quae temerarios iuvenes in vincula coniiciat; parum vero<sup>85</sup> esse in iuventute praesidii, quae inops consilii facile dissipatur; Urbis senatum, si semel arma corripuerit, non quieturum donec coniuratos omnes perditum eat civitatemque tam misera servitute prorsus liberet; pontificem, quamvis procul absit, cito reversurum, neque Tyburtio neque complicitibus daturum veniam si eos in Urbe latrocinantes invenerit; cedant suis civibus potius, atque abeant: ita fieri posse ut rogante civitate in gratiam denique pontificis redeant.

10 Victus his Tiburtius discedere statuit, egressusque domo per Urbem tanquam magnus aliquis princeps inter conservatorem et protonotarium apostolicum Georgium Caesarinum ad portam usque medius incessit magna populi sequente caterva quae ad vi-

not yet certain of the people's mood. They were not likely to take action against their own relations. Nor, on the other hand, did the Governor think it was in the Church's interest to have one group of citizens take another captive. The conspirators meanwhile used the cardinal's palace as their assembly hall; there they laid plans for robbery and other atrocities and banqueted together, giving over their nights to brigandage and their days to revelry. Tiburzio was regarded as their lord and master; everything hung on his word. When anyone asked what Tiburzio was doing, the answer would come, "The master is doing" this or that.

The good people of Rome were ashamed that matters had got 9 to the point where the city seemed to lie in Tiburzio's power. They wanted to use force of arms to rid themselves of this disgrace. When this proved impossible because of the Governor's cowardice, the nobles went in a body to Tiburzio and urged him to leave the city, not to turn his homeland into a den of thieves.<sup>64</sup> If he persisted in rioting around the city, the nobles would not continue to tolerate it. It would be a simple matter to raise a troop of soldiers to throw these over-confident boys into prison. They should not rely on their youth, which, lacking in judgement as it was, would be easily put to flight. Once the senate had taken up arms, it would not rest till it had destroyed all the conspirators and completely freed the city from this wretched state of oppression. The pope, though absent at the moment, would soon be back; he would pardon neither Tiburzio nor his accomplices if he found them pillaging the city. They had better submit to their fellow citizens and go now. If they did, it was just possible that at the government's request the pope would forgive them in the end.

Persuaded by these arguments, Tiburzio decided to withdraw 10 and, leaving the palace, proceeded through the city to the gate like some great prince, escorted on either side by the Conservators and the apostolic notary Giorgio Cesarini, and followed by a great crowd which had assembled to watch him as though he were the

sendum Tiburtium quasi ducem aliquem numerosi exercitus accurrerat. Ille plenus animi salutatis in porta civibus cum coniuratis ad oppida Sabelli concessit, nihil dubitans reverti posse cum vellet.

II Inter haec ex coniuratis novem fuere qui horrendum ausi scelus noctu ad monasterium Divae Agnetis extra portam Salariam profecti, fractis portarum repagulis sacrarum virginum penetralia atque abdita irrumpentes non modo vim pudicitiae intulerunt, verum etiam corruptarum virginum bona et sacram suppellectilem diripuerunt. Quae cum pontifex accepisset, nec iam ullum esse aliud remedium servandae Urbis cognovisset quam sedem suam repetere, nihil moratus edictum posuit intra dies viginti se versus Urbem iter accepturum, curiales admonens ut se per id temporis ad Urbem conferrent. Quod ubi Romae auditum est, haud alia exultatio facta quam si magna quaedam victoria nuntiata esset, aut ipsa Urbs tum primum fundata aedificataque videretur. Pompa per Urbem ducta, ignes accensi, supplicationes per omnia pulvinaria factae, ut felix faustusque ac celer pontificis reditus esset.

: 29 :

*Castrum Leonis maritimum Antonio nepoti datum et multo studio redemptum una cum insula Lillii.*

I Cupiebat per id tempus Pius, Castrum Leonis sibi ut Ferdinandus traderet quod saepe promiserat. Id est in Etruria Tyrrheno mari adiacens iuxta emissorium piscosae paludis, non longe ab urbe Grosseti atque Umbronis ostio. Florentini olim cepere cum Pisa potiti essent; Senenses eis bello abstulere, pace facta reddiderunt; rex Alfonsus altero diu post exorto bello armis obtinuit, et compo-

captain of a mighty host. Tiburzio, in high spirits, saluted the citizens at the gate and withdrew with his fellow conspirators to the towns of the Savelli, never doubting that he could return when he wished.

In the meantime, nine of the conspirators had committed a 11 horrible crime. Going by night to the convent of Sant' Agnese outside the Porta Salaria, they forced the bars of the gates, burst into the cells of the nuns, and not only sexually assaulted them but plundered their belongings and carried off the silver from the church once they had raped them. When the pope heard of this, he realized that there was no way to save the city except to return to his see, whereupon he declared straightaway that he would set out for Rome within twenty days; he told the members of the Curia to assemble there in the meantime. When this news reached Rome there was as much rejoicing as if a great victory had been reported, as if it was then that the city itself had first been established and built. A solemn procession wound through the streets, bonfires were lit, and prayers were offered in all the shrines<sup>65</sup> for the pope's safe and swift return.

: 29 :

*The port of Castiglione and the island of Giglio recovered with much effort and granted to Antonio, the pope's nephew.*

At this time Pius wanted Ferrante to surrender Castiglione della 1 Pescaia to him, as he had often promised to do. This town lies on the Tyrrhenian coast of Tuscany, beside the outlet of a marsh full of fish, not far from Grosseto and the mouth of the river Ombrone. The Florentines captured it during their conquest of Pisa. The Siense took it from them in war and then, when peace

sitis rebus retinuit. Huc se Picininus contulit, cum Callisti copias fugeret. Hic magnae piscationes mugilum et pinguia pecorum pascua.

2 Iohannes Lyritanus, natione Hispanus, arcis praefectus erat, quamvis Iohannem Castrensem substituisset. Invitus arcem Lyritanus relinquebat; voluntarium tamen se finxit, et quasi traditurus arcem pontifici eo se contulit; quo cum venisset, multa sibi deberi ait: non redditurum nisi dissoluta summa. Negante pontifice tantum auri numerare quantum peteretur, Florentinis ac Genuensibus vendere arcem<sup>86</sup> et oppidum pertentavit.

3 Interea unus ex oppidanis, qui amicos haberet in arce, Plumbini tyrannum adiit, tradere<sup>87</sup> arcem pollicetur, si sibi aureorum quattuor milia numerentur. Adhibet aures tyrannus et hominem cautum cum pecunia mittit. Is traditis aliquot aureis iubet descendere custodes e turri, et dum reliquam pecuniam numerat, famulos suos paulatim ascendere et locum capere. Quod ubi factum esset, iam numerata pecunia: 'Error est!' inquit, et quasi numeraturus iterum aurum ad se traxit, atque in turrim prope concessit, et ostio clauso ea deberi proditoribus stipendia dixit, signumque dedit militibus qui prope latebant. Quibus accurrentibus potitus est oppido, et vexilla regis erexit Aragonum, quasi pro illo possideret. Atque in hunc modum non Lyritano solum, qui erat in oppido, sed Ferdinando et papae illusum est.

4 Ferdinandus ea re cognita unum ex secretariis, Talamanchum nomine, ad tyrannum misit, vafrum hominem, qui magno usus ingenio arcem recuperavit et Pio tradidit. Iohannes Lyritanus minorem arcem quam tenebat in litore maris et insulam Lillii papae tra-

was made, surrendered it again. Much later, King Alfonso seized it at the start of another war and kept it after peace was made.<sup>66</sup> Piccinino took refuge here as he fled before the army of Calixtus. It has good mullet fishing and rich pastures for livestock.

The Spaniard Juan de Liria was commandant of the fortress, 2 though he had earlier taken the place of Juan de Castro. De Liria did not want to abandon the fortress; he pretended to be willing, however, and went to the pope as if to surrender it. But once admitted to the pope's presence, he announced that he was owed a large sum of money and would not give up the fortress until it was paid in full. When the pope refused to pay as much as he demanded, he did his utmost to sell both town and fortress to the Florentines and Genoese.

Meanwhile, one of the citizens of Castiglione, who had friends 3 inside the fortress, went to the lord of Piombino<sup>87</sup> and offered him the fortress for 4,000 ducats. The lord of Piombino heard him out and sent the money in the care of a cunning messenger. This man, after he had paid over some of the coins, asked the guards to come down from the tower; as he counted out the rest, he ordered his servants to climb up one by one and take possession of the place. When this was done, and the money was all counted out, he said, "I've made a mistake," and gathering up the pieces as if to count them over again, dashed into the tower and slammed the gate shut. This, he said, was the reward due to traitors. Then he gave the signal to his soldiers, who were concealed nearby. They rushed in and he took possession of the town, raising the standard of the king of Aragon as a sign that he held it in his name. In this way the man made a laughing-stock not only of Juan de Liria, who was in the town, but of Ferrante and the pope as well.

When Ferrante heard this, he sent to the lord of Piombino one 4 of his secretaries named Talamanca, a sly fellow who recovered the fortress by an ingenious stratagem and handed it over to the pope. Juan de Liria left a smaller fort on the coast, which he was occupy-

dendas reliquit, et cum Iohanne Castrensi per agrum Senensem iter faciens Neapolim rediturus ab agrestibus obtruncatus est, et pariter Castrensis occisus in ultionem damnorum quae vivente Alfonso provincialibus intulerat. Sic infelices homines priorum malorum, quae perpetraverant, poenas dederunt.

- 5 Pontifex Castrum Leonis et arces et insulam Lillii nepoti Antonio tradidit, non tam ei quam patriae consulturus, cuius maritima loca et horrea civitatis hoc oppido clauduntur.

: 30 :

*Sigismundus Malatesta fidem frangit, oppida pignori data  
invadit mendacis confictis.*

- 1 Inter haec Sigismundus Malatesta suarum non immemor artium praefectum arcis Montis Martiani dolo intercipit arcemque occupat, et oppidum in potestatem suam redigit, quod antea pignoris nomine Pio pontifici observandum tradiderat, quemadmodum supra commemoravimus. Rogatus cur id fecisset, respondit praefectum mulierosum fuisse virum, uxores oppidanorum dies ac noctes infestasse, nec ullas in oculis eius feminas fuisse tutas; petentibus oppidanis se illum intercepisse.
- 2 Cui pontifex in hunc modum rescripsit: 'Moechorum notissimus et nullis non maculatus impudicitis aliorum adulteria carpis, Clodius accusas moechos? Esto: sit verum quod fingis! Tunc in alio corriges quod in te ipso gloriaris? Fur Verri displicet, homicida Miloni? Et quae tibi in alieno servo potestas fuit? Si peccaverat praefectus, nostra erat ultio, accusandus apud nos fuit: non si-

ing, to be handed over to the pope. As he was passing through Sienese territory on his way back to Naples with Juan de Castro, he was murdered by peasants, and Juan de Castro was killed alongside him in revenge for the harm he had inflicted on the local people in Alfonso's time. Thus these unhappy men paid the price for their sins.

The pope gave Castiglione, the forts, and the island of Giglio over to his nephew Antonio, with an eye not so much to Antonio's advantage as to that of his native city, for Siena's coastal districts and public granaries are controlled by this town. 5

: 30 :

*Sigismondo Malatesta breaks his word, occupying under false  
pretenses towns he had surrendered as security.*

Meanwhile, Sigismondo Malatesta was up to his old tricks. He seized the commandant of the fortress of Montemarciano by a ruse, occupied the fortress, and took over the town, though he had previously tendered it to the pope as security, as we have described above.<sup>68</sup> When asked why he did this, he said the commandant was a licentious fellow who molested the wives of the citizenry day and night, that no woman was safe in his eyes, and that he had arrested him at the citizens' request. 1

The pope sent him a letter which said: "You, the most notorious of all adulterers, stained with every lewdness, object to adultery in others? You, a Clodius, accusing others of seduction? Supposing your story is true, will you correct in others what you boast of in yourself? Verres hates a thief, Milo a murderer? And what authority had you over another man's servant? If the commandant was guilty, it was for us to punish him. He should have been 2

vissemus inultum facinus. Aut reddito praefectum et arcem, aut Ecclesiae Romanae declaraberis hostis!

3 Contempsit ea Sigismundus, nec multo post proditio-  
 tionibus accumulans Mundavium cum equitatu profectus intro-  
 missus ab oppidanis, quos prece pretioque corruperat, arcem inva-  
 sit, territoriumque praefectum parvo corruptit auro, atque ita  
 vicariatum fere omnem Mundaviensem e potestate pontificis frau-  
 dibus ac dolis eripuit, vulgata fama, quod ideo id fecerit, quoniam  
 exploratum haberet Pium pontificem ea oppida Federico Urbinati  
 traditurum fore; deque ea re ut homo falsus et mendax et totius  
 veritatis inimicus tabellionem quendam falsa coegit instrumenta  
 conficere, tanquam praefectus Mundaviensis id ipsum asseruisset  
 ab ore pontificis auditum.

4 Quod cum non satis crederetur, ad aliud confugit mendacium,  
 scripsitque potentatibus Italiae ideo se Mundavium occupasse quia  
 statuisset pontifex suas illuc copias ad discretionem, ut aiunt, hie-  
 matum mittere. In qua re prophetavit, nesciens quid diceret, eli-  
 ciente Domino etiam de mendaci<sup>88</sup> ore veram aliquando prophe-  
 tiam. Sequenti enim anno, ut suo loco dicemus, id oppidum ad  
 discretionem ducibus apostolicis redditum est. 'Discretionem' vo-  
 cant cum permissa militi potestas est in oppido quod capitur pro  
 suo arbitrio debacchari, corporibus liberis tantum salvis.

brought before our courts — we should not have let his sin go un-  
 punished. Now hand over the commandant and the fortress or  
 you will be declared an enemy of the Church of Rome."

3 Sigismondo paid no attention to this but proceeded to heap be-  
 trayal on betrayal. Shortly afterwards he took a troop of cavalry  
 and marched on Mondavio, where the citizens succumbed to his  
 pleading and bribes and admitted him to the city. He seized the  
 fortress, bought off the terrified commandant with a pittance, and  
 thus by trickery and deceit wrested almost all the vicariate of  
 Mondavio from the control of the pope. It was said that he did  
 this because he had heard that Pope Pius meant to give these  
 towns to Federico of Urbino. And in regard to this matter — as  
 one would expect from a traitor and a liar and an enemy of all  
 things true — he forced a secretary to forge documents indicating  
 that the commandant of Mondavio had asserted that he had heard  
 it from the pope's own mouth.

4 When this claim met with incredulity, he resorted to another  
 lie and sent a letter to the princes of Italy saying that he had seized  
 Mondavio because the pope was intending to send his troops to  
 winter there *ad discretionem*, as they say. In this he was an un-  
 witting prophet, for the Lord sometimes brings forth a true predic-  
 tion from the mouth of a liar. The next year, as we shall relate in  
 the proper place, this town was in fact given over to the apostolic  
 captains *ad discretionem*. They call it *discretio* when troops are al-  
 lowed to riot through a city as it is being captured, doing whatever  
 they please short of doing free citizens harm.



*Coniuratio gravis adversus Pium detegitur.*

- 1 Dum haec fiunt, Lucas quidam civis Romanus, quem saepe cardinalis Columnensis ad principem Tarentinum miserat, Romae capitur, et quoniam secreta nosse principis et multorum baronum existimabatur, in arce Sancti Angeli reclusus iubetur quae norit dicere.
- 2 Is absque tormentis sua manu haec sponteque scripsit: principem Tarenti et comitem Eversum et Iacobum Sabellum et Columnenses adversus pontificem conspirasse, statuisseque Iacobum Piccininum in agrum Romanum accersere Ursinis atque Ecclesiae infensum; nec dubium esse quin Roma caperetur absente papa dantibus aditum coniuratis; Tyburtium, Iohannem Andegavensem, Tarentinum principem, Iacobum Piccininum adivisse, promissisque Urbem tradere, cardinalem Aquilegiensem, qui apud Sanctum Laurentium in Damaso moraretur, auro abundantem interciperi pecuniaque multare; Antonium, papae nepotem, cum per Urbem ad cardinalem iret, obtruncare; opulentorum civium, mercatorum, curialiumque plenas domos diripere, inde militi stipendia daturum; nihil horum sibi esse difficile: patere sibi die nocteque aditum in Urbem, in qua iuvenes haud minus quingentis robusti et audaces et primariorum civium filii sentirent secum, quorum parentes tumultuante civitate non auderent arma capere adversus filios, satis habituri si domus eorum salvarentur. Haec pontifici relata maturandum iter magis ac magis suaserunt.

*A dangerous plot against the pope is uncovered.*

While these things were happening, a Roman citizen named Luca, 1 whom Cardinal Colonna had often employed as a messenger to the prince of Taranto, was arrested in Rome. Since it was thought that he knew the prince's secrets, as well as those of many barons, he was imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo and ordered to tell what he knew.

Of his own accord and without being tortured, the man made 2 the following statement: the prince of Taranto, Count Everso, Jacopo Savelli, and the Colonna had conspired against the pope and had decided to call Jacopo Piccinino into the territory of Rome against the Orsini and the Church. There was no doubt that Rome would be captured, for the pope was away and the conspirators would admit the enemy. Tiburzio, Jean of Anjou, and the prince of Taranto had gone to Jacopo Piccinino and promised to betray the city. They said they would seize the wealthy cardinal of Aquileia, who was then staying at San Lorenzo in Damaso, and get his money; they would murder the pope's nephew Antonio when he was crossing the city to visit the cardinal; and they would loot the palaces of wealthy citizens, merchants, and members of the Curia and pay the soldiers out of the spoils. They said none of this would be difficult since they had free access to the city night and day, where they had on their side no fewer than 500 daring young hotheads, sons of leading citizens, whose fathers would not dare to take arms against them in the general turmoil and would be only too thankful if their houses were left unscathed. The news of all this made the pope increasingly eager to quicken his journey.

*Adulteria quaedam Senis patrata et homicidium subsecutum,  
et iocosa querela mulieris.*

- 1 Interea Iohannes quidam Peccius, civis Senensis uxorem Aduardi Malescotti viri nobilis cum diu amavisset, vulgatumque adulterium eius esset Franciscum Tergestinum, pontificis maximi cubicularium odisse<sup>89</sup> coepit, qui Aduardi esset amicus et domum eius saepe inviseret, rivalem veritus. Ob eam rem pontificis alloquio per importunitatem obtento Francisco crimini dedit qui Aduardi domum plus aequo frequentaret. Interrogatus quid ad eum: 'Uxorem,' inquit, 'Aduardi amo.' Nec puduit consuetudinem confiteri stupri neque se passurum in ea re socium impudenter ait.
- 2 Tum pontifex: 'De Francisco,' inquit, 'videbimus, quid sit faciendum. At te adulterum tuo condemnamus ore: nisi te corrigis, brevi necaberis!'
- 3 Dictum res paucis post diebus secuta<sup>90</sup> est. In ipso recessu pontificis Aduardus, iussa uxore ut amanti horam daret, venientem illum nondum multa nocte ferro aggressus crebris confossum vulneribus ante ostium semivivum proiecit, qui paulo post ad patrem delatus expiravit. Aduardus fuga salvatus est; uxor capta et male custodita in agrum Florentinum aufugit; pater et frater in iudicium vocati tanquam criminis conscii, duritiam veriti legum et ipsi fuga salvati sunt; ancilla quae internuntia fuerat, ut sunt impotentibus inimica iudicia, capite poenas dedit.
- 4 Tum quoque mulier quaedam neque vetula neque iuvenis, mediocri forma, viro nupta diviti, et qui rectores inter civitatis magno

*Adultery and murder in Siena. A matron brings  
a frivolous charge.*

Meantime a certain Sieneſe named Giovanni Pecci, who had long 1  
been in love with the wife of the noble lord Aduardo Malescotti  
and was generally known to be her lover, conceived a hatred for  
Francesco of Trieste, the pope's chamberlain, who was a friend of  
Aduardo and a frequent visitor to his house. He feared Francesco  
might be a rival lover. He therefore insisted on procuring an audi-  
ence with the pope at which he accused Francesco of visiting  
Aduardo's house more frequently than was proper. When asked  
what concern that was of his, he replied, "I am in love with  
Aduardo's wife." He was not ashamed to confess to the affair and  
boldly declared that he could not stand anyone else having a share  
of it.

To this the pope replied, "As for Francesco, we shall see what is 2  
to be done; but you we condemn by your own words as an adul-  
terer. Unless you reform yourself, you shall soon meet your death."

Matters turned out just as he predicted. A few days later, as the 3  
pope was leaving Siena, Aduardo ordered his wife to make an as-  
signation with her lover. When Giovanni arrived in the early eve-  
ning, Aduardo attacked him with a sword and threw his half-dead  
body into the street covered in stab wounds. He was carried to his  
father's house where he soon died. Aduardo saved himself by  
flight. His wife was captured but thanks to a careless guard man-  
aged to escape to Florentine territory. Her father and her brother,  
who were charged as her accomplices, fled in fear of the force of  
the law. The maid who had been the go-between paid with her  
life: justice is harsh for the weak.

Then another lady, middle-aged and no great beauty, the wife 4  
of a wealthy man of some repute in the corridors of power, came

loco haberetur, pontificem pluribus associata matronis accedens habere arcanum se dixit quod semotis arbitris vellet referre. Iussit pontifex astantes in partem cubiculi secedere, ita ut videre possent, audire non possent, ac feminam dicere.

5 Tum illa: 'Aberat,' inquit, 'vir meus. Ego in penitiori parte domus sola litteras a viro missas legere. Interim vir capite obvoluto ad me intrat; nescio qui ostium ei patuerit noctis iam hora secunda clausum. Amplexus atque exosculatus me saepius vim conatur afferre. Cui ego: 'Patere,' inquam, 'priusquam ultra pergis, cubiculum ut claudam, ne quis ad nos intret!' Atque ita dimissa fugi, ubi ancilla et parvulus erat filius, et quasi vicinos vocare<sup>91</sup> vellem, strepitum feci. Ille abiit. Ignoro quis fuerit, quamvis litteras ad me postea sine nomine amatorias plerasque miserit, semelque se Wilhelmum Parisiensem subscripsit. Si maritus meus haec resciverit, mors mihi imminet. Nescio quid agam. Nuper cum in ecclesiam pergerem, coniecit in me oculos atque arrisit unus, quem optime nosti,' eumque nomine appellavit, 'vereor ne hic sit qui me persequitur. Civis est, non extraneus, et sacerdos tuo subiectus imperio. Oro, iube eum quiescere atque admone ne scripto dictove mihi amplius molestus fiet, nisi se meque perditum ire velit. Novi meum virum: si quid persenserit, ambo peribimus.'

6 Obstupuit ad ea pontifex, moxque Boccaccii fabulam animo volvit, in qua mulier introducit adolescentem amans, quae cum alio pacto amorem suum indicare illi non posset, confessorem adiit rogavitque adolescentem corripere,<sup>92</sup> tanquam sibi molestus esset hortum nocte ingrediens atque concubitus petens. Correctus ille cum se purgasset saepius, neque satisfacisset mulieri, cognovit tandem, quod quaerebatur, et viam edoctus ad feminam amanti morem gessit. Confessor ignarus dum prohibere peccatum nititur, suadet.

before the pope. Accompanied by a large train of women, she said she had a secret she wished to tell him in private. The pope ordered everyone present to withdraw to another part of the room, where they could see but not hear, and then told the woman to speak.

She told him, "My husband was away. I was alone in the rear of 5 the house, reading a letter from him, when a man came into the room with his head covered. Someone must have opened the door for him, for it had been closed two hours after nightfall. He grabbed me and kissed me and tried repeatedly to assault me. I said, 'Before you go any further, let me shut the door to the room so that no one will come in on us,' and when he let me go to do that, I fled to where my maid and little boy were and raised a cry, as if to call the neighbors. The man made off. I do not know who he was, but he has since sent me many unsigned love letters and one signed Guillaume of Paris. If my husband finds out about this, my life will be in danger. I don't know what to do. The other day, when I was going to church, a man you know well (here she mentioned his name) looked at me and smiled. I am afraid he may be the man who is pursuing me. He is a citizen, not a foreigner, and a priest who is subject to your authority. I beg you: tell him to stop pestering me! Tell him not to speak or write to me again unless he wants to ruin me along with himself. I know my husband. If he discovers anything, we will both be dead."

The pope was astonished by this tale. But then he recalled a 6 story by Boccaccio,<sup>69</sup> in which a woman falls in love with a young man and, unable to find any other way to tell him of her passion, asks her confessor to chastise him for annoying her by entering her garden at night and making improper proposals. On hearing this rebuke, the young man protests his innocence again and again but cannot mollify the woman. At last he realizes what she is after, and finding the way to her house, satisfies her passion. The unsuspecting confessor, in trying to prevent sin, had only encouraged it.

- 7 Recitavit pontifex mulieri fabellam (sive historia fuit) aitque: 'Nimis cordata es, mulier, et longe animosior ea quam Boccaccius commemorat! Illa confessorem suum lenonem fecit, tu pontificem maximum furoris tui ministrum conaris efficere. Ardes hunc sacerdotem pulchri corporis, et quia nescis alio pacto amoris tui certior reddere, existimasti per nostram correctionem intellecturum quid velis atque, ut est iuventus fragilis, in tua desideria concessurum. Sed mentita est iniquitas tibi. Abi in malam crucem atque hunc ignem quantocius extinguito! Nisi feceris, scito quam primum viro prodendam!'
- 8 Abiit illa summisso vultu, nec postea in conspectum venit. Qui aderant, nihil eorum intellexere quae dicebantur, quamvis prolixitatem sermonis admirarentur.

: 33 :

*Collatio ecclesiae Raguseae, et Matthaei Regini  
faceta historia.*

- 1 Per idem tempus duae vacaverunt ecclesiae metropolitanae, Ragusea apud Dalmatas et Rossana apud Calabros. Illi praefectus est Franciscus, Ordini Sanctae Mariae Servorum professor ac generalis minister, natione Senensis, moribus ac doctrina excellens; hanc sortitus est Matthaeus Reginus, inter Minores Fratres qui Observantes appellantur praedicationis gratia insignis.
- 2 Hunc olim Nicolaus pontifex maximus ecclesiae Reginensi cum praeficere statuisset, quae tunc<sup>93</sup> forte vacabat, iussit accersiri a cardinali Firmano rogarique an vellet suae civitatis pontificalem curam suscipere. Paruit Firmanus vocatoque seorsum in cubiculo

The pope told the woman this story (which could well be a true one) and said, "My lady, you are very cunning, and far bolder than the woman in Boccaccio's tale. She made her confessor a pimp, but you want the pope to serve your passion. You burn with lust for this handsome priest and, because you know no other way to tell him of your love, you think you can use us to make him understand what you want. You are sure that he will yield to your desires, since youth is frail. But your iniquity has deceived you.<sup>70</sup> Be off with you!<sup>71</sup> The sooner you stamp out this fire the better. If you do not, know that you will be betrayed to your husband at once."

The woman went away with downcast eyes and never returned. Those present heard nothing of what was said, though they wondered at the length of the audience.

: 33 :

*An appointment to the church of Ragusa, and the amusing  
tale of Matteo of Reggio.*

At this time two metropolitan churches fell vacant: Ragusa in Dalmatia and Rossano in Calabria. The first was given to Francesco,<sup>72</sup> a Sienese of distinguished character and great learning, a preacher and prior general of the order of Servites; the latter went to Matteo of Reggio, one of the most brilliant preachers among the Observant Franciscans.<sup>73</sup>

At one time Pope Nicholas had intended to appoint Matteo to the church at Reggio, which happened to be vacant. He instructed the cardinal of Fermo to send for the man and ask if he would take on the episcopal duties of his city. The cardinal obeyed and, taking Matteo aside in his chamber said, "The pope loves you and

Matthaeo: 'Diligit,' inquit, 'te pontifex maximus, tuisque civibus<sup>94</sup> praesulem dare statuit, si modo animum ad hoc induxeris neque honorem hunc in patria tua pulcherrimum refugeris.'

3 Matthaeus nihil respondens cubiculum egressus ad fratres qui erant in aula eiulans ac lachrymans: 'Accurrite,' inquit, 'adestote, opem afferte!' Admirantibus fratribus percontantibusque quidnam sibi accidisset, aliquamdiu nihil aliud respondit nisi: 'Accurrite, iuvate, opem afferte misero!' Postremo cum saepius ac saepius interrogaretur, ut quid auxilium tantopere efflagitaret: 'Heu,' inquit, 'misero mihi! Aetatem in religione consumpsi, vixi pauper et oboediens, praecepta beati patris Francisci nunquam violavi, verbum Dei praedicavi populis, in cellula mea praedivitem egi pauperiem divina contemplatus arcana. Nunc ad episcopatum vocor, ad negotium, ad labores, ad honores, quos optavi nunquam. O immaculata religio! O sacri penates claustrii! O dulcia cellarum silentia! O amantissimi fratres! O consolationum mearum socii! Ergo ego vos tandem relinquam, et me dulcissima conversatione vestra privabo? Non faciam! Accurrite, iuvate, liberate me his molestiis! Defendite ne me Firmanus vobis eripiat!'

4 Audivit cuncta Firmanus e cubiculo suo, atque accedens propius: 'Tace,' inquit, 'Matthae, pone metum, bono animo esto! Libero te; non urgeberis a pontifice ultra quam velis! Ito quo placet, et rei tuae consulito!' Atque in hunc modum eo dimisso Nicolao pontifici cuncta quae gesta erant non sine risu exposuit.

5 Post dies octo rediens ad Firmanum Matthaeus consilium se cepisse cum amicis ait, rebusque in utranque partem plane discussis visum illis esse ut pontificis desiderio satisfiat; ponere igitur se in voluntate papae, cui nefas sit non oboedire. Firmanus Nicolaum accedens: 'Matthaeus,' inquit, 'mutatus est; episcopatum, si voles,

has decided to make you bishop over your fellow citizens, if you will consent and are not averse to holding this glorious office in your own country."

Matteo left the room without answering and went weeping and wailing to his brethren who were waiting in the hall. "Come," he cried, "and stand by me! Help!" The friars were astonished. They asked what in the world had happened to him. For a long time he would only say, "Come! Help! Comfort a miserable man!" Again and again they asked him the reason for his frantic cries for help. Finally he cried, "Woe is me! I have spent my life in the service of faith. I have lived in poverty and obedience. I have never disobeyed the rule of our blessed father, St. Francis. I have preached the word of God to the people. I have contemplated the sacred mysteries in my cell and practiced that poverty which is the greatest wealth. Now I am called to be a bishop—to worries and trials and honors I have never desired. Alas, spotless faith! Alas for my home in the holy cloister! The sweet silence of my cell! Alas, my most loving brethren—you who share my consolations! Must I in the end leave you now and lose your sweet companionship? No, I will not! Gather round me! Help me! Release me from these troubles! Do not let the cardinal of Fermo take me away from you."

Fermo was in his chamber and heard it all. Going out to them he said, "Matteo, be quiet, and do not be afraid. Take heart. I set you free. The pope will not force you to act against your will. Go where you please and decide for yourself." Having let him go with these words, the cardinal went back to Pope Nicholas and with some amusement told him what had occurred.

Matteo returned a week later, saying that he had consulted with his friends and, after discussing both sides of the question frankly, they had decided that he ought to do as the pope wished. He therefore put himself at the pope's disposal, for to disobey him would be sacrilege. Fermo then went to Nicholas and said, "Matteo has changed his mind. He will take the see if you so de-

accipiet.' Cui pontifex: 'Et ego,' ait, 'mutatus sum. Volui episcopatum illi committere, cum noluit; cum vult, nolo!' Atque Matthaeus dignitate excidit. Mansit tamen in religione, nec reliquit praedicandi officium. Sub Callisto triremes duas ex elemosynis contra Turchos armavit atque in Asiam profectus captivos aliquot abduxit.

- 6 Pius misertus hominis qui labores multos in Ecclesia pertulisset, vocavit eum, cum Senis ageret, aitque: 'Praefecissemus te vel ignorantem ecclesiae Rossanensi, si putavissemus non recusaturum id oneris, sicut olim Reginensem sprevisi ecclesiam. Nunc animum tuum patefacito.' Tum ille: 'Desipui Nicolai ordinationem fugiens, dedi poenas stultitiae meae. Nunc in manus tuas me dedo: tua voluntas mea erit. Si iubes in religione perseverare, manebo quoad vixerim. Si ad episcopatum me vocas, praesto adsum, nec ignoro in culmine perfectionis esse qui pontificalibus implicitus curis suo satisfacit officio.' Atque ita Matthaeus Rossanensem consecutus ecclesiam illi postea non sine laude praefuit.

: 34 :

*Pii discessus e Senis ad Corsinianum, et eius aegrotatio,  
monitaque ad Senenses utilissima.*

- 1 His apud Senenses peractis pontifex IIII Idus Septembris ab eis recessit, quae dies profectionis statuta erat. Flebat universa civitas, neque curiales ex amoenissimo loco mitique<sup>95</sup> populo abeuntes continere lacrimas poterant. Pontifex, etsi vehementer angebatur dulcem relinquens patriam, ignarus an aliquando rediturus esset,

sire." The pope replied, "I too have changed my mind. I wished to give him a job when he did not want it; now that he wants it, I no longer wish him to have it." In this way Matteo lost the chance of preferment. But he remained in the religious life and did not give up his preaching. Under Calixtus he raised alms to equip two triremes against the Turks and went himself to Asia and brought back a number of prisoners.

Pius, taking pity on a man who had labored so long and earnestly in the Church, sent for him when he was at Siena and said, 6  
"We would have appointed you to the church of Rossano without your knowledge, were it not for our suspicion that you would refuse this burden as you once rejected the church of Reggio. So speak your mind." Then Matteo answered, "I was a fool to shrink from preferment under Nicholas. Now I put myself in your hands. Your will shall be mine. If you tell me to stay in the convent, I will remain there as long as I live. If you call me to be a bishop, I am ready. I know that whoever can do his duty well amid the perplexities that beset a bishop achieves the height of perfection." Thus Matteo came to the church of Rossano, which he presided over with no small distinction thereafter.

: 34 :

*Pius leaves Siena for Corsignano, where he falls ill. His sage  
advice to the Sienese.*

After settling these affairs, the pope left Siena on September 10, 1  
the day set for his departure. The whole city wept, nor could the members of the Curia hold back their tears on leaving that delightful spot and those gentle people. The pope, though it cut him to the quick to leave his beloved city not knowing if he would ever

lacrimas tamen continuit, nec sororibus cum fletu occurrentibus commutatus est.

- 2 Secuti sunt magistratus urbis extra moenia ad monasterium usque Angelorum; illic cum civibus benediceret, rogatus si quid iuberet: 'Tubeo,' inquit, 'filii, concordiam sectemini, quae sola civitatem servare potest. Ponite odia quae corda vestra exedunt; facessant divisiones, sectae, conventiculae! Consulite in communi, quae sunt utilia rei publicae, diligite iustitiam, pellite<sup>96</sup> iniquitatem! Nolite quemquam opprimere, defendite viduas ac pupillos, honorate sacerdotes, ecclesiarum immunitatem nolite infringere, plectite facinorosos! Legibus quae sunt ex bono et aequo, his utimini, reliquas abrogate! Iuvenibus vestris uxores date; caelibes atque inertes a magistratibus arcete! Dotibus modum ponite atque sumptibus; quae datis extra, quaeve accipitis, estimate! Male se civitas habet quae plus emit quam vendit. Haec pro tempore<sup>97</sup> monimenta relinquimus, quae servantibus non erunt inutilia.'
- 3 Atque his dictis iter ingressus secunda die Corsinianum pervenit. Quo in loco graviter aegrotavit humoribus ex capite descendentibus pectus, brachia ac totum corpus adeo debilitantibus ut nullam in partem non adiutus moveri posset et morti proximus videretur. Languit XII diebus.

: 35 :

*Roberti ducis adventus. Pii discessus e Corsiniano, et per Radicofanum et Abbatiam ad Percenum iter, et Aquae Pendentis ac Vulsini deinde accessus.*

- 1 Exin sanitati restitutus mirabilem oblectationem accepit in solo natali surgentibus aedificiis quae nullis Italiae cessura viderentur,

return, nevertheless choked back his tears. He did not weaken even when his weeping sisters came out to meet him.

The magistrates of the city escorted him outside the walls as far as the monastery of the Angeli. There, after blessing the citizens, the pope was asked if he had any commands. "My sons," he said, "I bid you live in harmony, which alone can preserve a state. Lay aside the hostility that consumes your hearts. Be done with dissensions, factions, cabals. Consult together for the common good of the republic. Cherish justice and expel iniquity. Oppress no one. Protect widows and orphans. Honor your priests. Do not violate ecclesiastical immunities. Punish the wicked. Keep whatever laws are good and just; repeal the rest. Find brides for your young men. Keep the unmarried and the lazy out of office. Set limits on dowries and spending. Keep an account of your exports and imports; a state that buys more than it sells is in poor shape indeed. These are the pieces of advice I have to leave with you for the time being. They will prove useful if you observe them."

With these words he set out on his way. The next day he came to Corsignano where he fell seriously ill. The fluid had spread down from his head and weakened his chest, arms, and entire body to the point where he could not move without assistance and seemed on the verge of death. This illness lasted twelve days.

: 35 :

*Arrival of Roberto, captain of the troops. Pius leaves Corsignano for Proceno, by way of Radicofani and Abbadia, then proceeds to Acquapendente and, lastly, Bolsena.*

On recovering, the pope was marvelously delighted to see his birthplace filling up with buildings which seemed likely to equal

quemadmodum postea suo loco dicemus. Huc Robertus ex Sancti Severini comitibus egregius copiarum ductor ad pontificem venit, quem Franciscus Mediolanensium princeps auxilio Ferdinandi in Regnum cum magna militum manu mittebat victoriam hostium apud Sarnum habitam remoraturum. Picininus in Aprutio audita pontificis aegrotatione vocatus a nonnullis<sup>98</sup> baronibus celeri cursu dimissis impedimentis cum omni exercitu per asperrimos montes in comitatum Albi pervenit, in agrum Romanum prope descendens.

2 Miserat pontifex, priusquam discederet e Senis, Nicolaum cardinalem Theanensem ad exercitum apostolicum, qui erat in Aprutio, provisurum, ne subditi Ecclesiae aliquid detrimenti paterentur. Is audita Picinini profectione mox Federicum atque Alexandrum copiarum duces commonuit, ut dimissa parte exercitus, quae Iosiae Aprutini sufficeret impedire conatus, secum pergerent perniciosa Picinini consilia praeventuri. Nec mora per alpes Nursiae et difficillima montium claustra in agrum Reatinum cum illis pervenit.

3 Pontifex quoque recessu ex Corsiniano maturato Radicofanum appulit, deinde per Abbatiam, cuius loci amoenitatem infra describemus, et Plani oppidum ad confinia transivit Ecclesiae, quae medio fere spatio intra Percenum et Planum reperiuntur. Ibi Percenates in prato viridi non procul a rivo perenni ex ramalibus tabernacula fecerant, in quis suum dominum miro clamore atque ingenti laetitia exceperunt peregre redeuntem, eique prandium paraverunt.

4 Quo peracto Percenum itum est, nobile olim oppidum et vix expugnabile, altis undique rupibus cinctum. Saepe in manibus latronum fuit, saepe mutavit dominos, et multis subiucuit calamitatibus modo direptum modo incensum. Sub Eugenio Quarto ad

any in Italy. These we shall later describe in the proper place. Here the pope was waited on by Roberto of the counts of Sanseverino. Duke Francesco of Milan had sent this distinguished captain into the Kingdom with a large army, in order to help Ferrante keep the enemy from following up on their victory at Sarno. On hearing news of the pope's illness, a group of barons summoned Piccinino from the Abruzzi. Leaving his baggage behind, he took his entire army on a rapid march over rough mountainous terrain to the area around Albi, where he intended to make a swift descent into the territory of Rome.

Before the pope left Siena, he had sent Niccolò,<sup>74</sup> cardinal of 2 Teano, to the papal troops in the Abruzzi to make sure that the Church's subjects remained safe from harm. When Niccolò learned of Piccinino's movements, he quickly ordered the army commanders Federico and Alessandro first to leave a sufficient force to arrest the progress of Giosia, lord of the Abruzzi, and then to set out with him to foil Piccinino's lethal schemes. He straightaway passed over the formidable barrier of the Alps of Norcia with them and descended into the territory of Rieti.

The pope cut short his stay at Corsignano as well and made his 3 way to Radicofani. Then he proceeded through Abbadia,<sup>75</sup> whose charms we shall describe later, and the town of Piancastagnaio to the boundaries of the papal state, about midway between Proceno and Piancastagnaio. The people of Proceno had set up little pavilions made of branches in a green meadow near a stream that never dried up; there they received their returning lord with loud cheers and great rejoicing, and made him lunch.

After this he went on to Proceno, a once famous and almost 4 impregnable town ringed by high cliffs on all sides. It has often fallen into the hands of brigands and changed masters many times. The place has suffered many calamities — sometimes sacked, sometimes burned. After Francesco Sforza's troops held it for a time, it returned to the Church during the reign of Eugenius



Ecclesiam rediit, cum antea Francisci Sfortiae praesidio teneretur. Nunc respirat sub Pio pontifice, et opibus augetur et populo.

5 Quo benedicto pontifex ad Aquam Pendentem se contulit, locum instar urbis habentem, et quem Antonius Petrucius, natione Senensis pro Francisco gubernans Eugenio vendidit, cui fuerat armis ablatas. Hic nocte peracta sequenti die ad Vulsinius perventum, unam e duodecim civitatibus Etruriae apud veteres late memoratam. Fuit et patrum nostrorum memoria populosum et amplum oppidum; Britones vastavere, nunc vile castellum est; soli bonitas et lacus<sup>99</sup> utilitas, cui adiacet, et quod iter hac est ad Urbem, non sinit in totum perire. Cervariae nobiles, vetus familia Urbis Veteris, hic diu dominati sunt, sub Nicolao pontifice Quinto seditione oppidanorum deieci; locus ad Ecclesiam rediit. Oppidani diu postea contententes sub Callisto Tertio mutuis sese caedibus lacerarunt. Pius una apud eos die moratus discordes animos in amicitiam reduxit.

: 36 :

*Urbs Vetus et eius anathema, Piique benedictio,  
ac templum nobilissimum.*

1 Deinde ad Urbem Veterem iter ingressus est, in quo de finibus periculosa suborta contentio Urbevetanis et Vulsiniensibus pontificem in agro suo, cuius limes erat dubius, portare volentibus. Pugnatum est et manibus et ferro, et aliquot hinc atque inde

IV. Now, under Pope Pius, it is coming back to life, its wealth increasing and its population on the rise.

After giving the town his blessing, the pope went on to Acquapendente, a place as big as a city. The Sienese Antonio Petrucci, who had been governing it in Sforza's name, sold the town back to Eugenius, who had lost it in a violent struggle. Pius spent the night there and the next day came to Bolsena, one of the twelve cities of Etruria, much mentioned by the ancients. It was still a large and populous town even in our fathers' day. It was destroyed by the Bretons and is today but an insignificant fortress.<sup>76</sup> Only the richness of the soil, the advantage of being set beside a lake, and its position on the road to Rome save it from complete oblivion. For a long time the place was ruled by the ancient noble house of Cervari from Orvieto, but the citizens rebelled and deposed them during the reign of Nicholas V, whereupon the place was restored to the Church. Afterwards, under Calixtus III, civil strife broke out, with bloodshed on both sides. Pius stayed at Bolsena for a day and settled these hostilities.

: 36 :

*Orvieto and its curse. Pius gives the city his blessing.  
Orvieto cathedral.*

He then set out for Orvieto, where a dangerous quarrel over boundaries broke out. The people of Orvieto and those of Bolsena each wished to carry the pope while he was within their territory, but where the boundary lies between the two is not clear. It came to a fight with fists and swords and a number on both sides were wounded. At last the pope's horse guard arrived and put a stop to

vulnerati; vixque sedata tandem contentio, cum equitatus pontificis accurrens utranque partem sagittis ac lanceis invasisset.

2 Appropinquantem urbi pontificem, ut primum videri moenia potuerunt, accedentes legati civitatis: 'Ex hoc,' inquit, 'loco, cum ex urbe nostra pulsus abiret Romanus olim quidam praesul, populo nostro maledixit; ex illo tempore seditionibus agitati nunquam respiravimus; urbi nostrae, quae nulli per Thusciam invidabat, iam nemo non miseretur. Divina haec ultio est: apostolicum anathema sentimus. Benedic civitati et aufer indignationem! Redibit cum tua benedictione divinus favor.' Annuit praesul, et signo crucis super civitatem facto magna populi alacritate urbem ingressus est.

3 Mons lapideus in media valle consurgit sex circiter stadiis altus. In cacumine planities est ambitus tria milia passuum complexa. Praeruptae pro muris stant rupes, quarum altitudo nusquam minor est ulnis viginti. Hic aedes civium nobilissimae fuere et ampla ex secto lapide palatia; vetustas multa consumpsit, plura incendit ac vastavit civilis discordia; extant adhuc turres semidirutae et collapsa templa. Verum Beatae Mariae Virgini dicatum fanum in media urbe incorruptum visitur, templorum quae sunt in Italia nulli cedens, amplitudine, materia, artificio, forma memorabile. Parietes ac pavimentum ex marmore diversi coloris, frons altissima et admodum lata plena statuīs, quas optimi sculpere artifices maiori ex parte Senenses, nec Phidia nec Praxitele inferiores. Vivi apparent ex candido marmore vultus, et membra ita expressa hominum atque ferarum ut naturam<sup>100</sup> aequasse artificium videatur: vox sola deest animantibus. Resurrectionem mortuorum, Salvatoris iudicium, damnatorum poenas, electorum praemia quasi res vera geratur intueri licet.

4 Apud Vulsinienses sacerdos quidam cum rem divinam perageret, atque in Sacramento altaris divinitatem humanitatemque Christi Salvatoris adesse dubitaret, mox hostia in conspectu eius

the fighting—with some difficulty—using arrows and lances against both sides.

2 As the pope came within sight of the city walls, he was met by envoys from Orvieto who made this request: "A pope of Rome was once driven out of our city; he stopped here on this spot and cursed our people. Since that day we have been torn by civil strife and have never recovered. Our city, which once envied none in Tuscany, is now pitied by all men. This is the vengeance of the Lord. We feel the apostolic curse upon us. Bless our state and avert God's anger! With your blessing, His favor will return." The pope consented, making the sign of the cross over the city. He then entered it to great popular rejoicing.

3 A rocky mountain some six stades high rises up from the middle of the valley. At the summit is a plateau, three miles in circumference. Steep cliffs—nowhere less than 75 feet high—take the place of walls. Splendid private houses and great palaces of dressed stone once stood here. Age has destroyed much, and civil strife has burned and ravaged more. Half-ruined towers and crumbling churches can still be seen, but the church of the Blessed Virgin, the equal of any in Italy, stands intact in the city center. It is remarkable for its size, material, workmanship, and beauty. The walls and floor are built of multicolored marble; the facade is very tall and broad and filled with statues by the best sculptors, most of them Sienese, the equals of Phidias and Praxiteles. The faces stand out from the white marble as if alive, and the bodies of men and beasts are so well rendered that art seems to have equaled nature. Only speech is lacking to make them live. Here you can see the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment of our Savior, the punishment of the damned, and the rewards of the elect as vividly as if they were taking place before your eyes.

4 At Bolsena, once, a certain priest celebrating mass came to doubt that the divinity and humanity of Christ the Savior were present in the sacrament at the altar. Suddenly, the host turned to

cruentata fidem egit, miraculosusque sanguis corporale totum, super quo iacebat infecit. Quae res ab Urbano Quarto pontifice maximo plane cognita et approbata est, atque hinc celebritas Sacratissimi Christi Corporis instituta, quae quotannis toto in orbe Christiano summa populorum devotione ac solemnitate peragitur. Corporale tanti miraculi vestigia servans in hanc aedem translatum honore summo ac religione praecipua custoditur.

5 Iuxta templum pontificale palatium situm est amplissimum et apostolico culmine dignum, verum magna ex parte dirutum. Nicolaus Quintus cubicula quaedam et aulas plerasque restituit, quas Pius pontifex inhabitavit. Idem Nicolaus arcem quoque in angulo civitatis construxit, quae nondum perfecta est; custoditur tamen nec facile potest oppugnari rupibus altis et fossis munita profundis.

6 Fontes in civitate desunt, cisternarum utitur aquis, et quae per fistulas ex propinquo monte deducuntur. Ad radices montis fons quidam perennis aquae reperitur, quem difficile prohibere civibus hostes possint. Circum<sup>101</sup> colles consiti vitibus, vina non aspernanda sufficiunt. In montibus multa materies, in plano ferax ager tritici, in valle ima Palea fluvius et Clanius amnis e regione arcis concurrentes ad quintum inde miliarium in Tiberim devolvuntur.<sup>102</sup>

7 Capi tantum fame defensa concordibus animis civitas potest, quando nullis perrumpi machinis moenia queunt, nec prae altitudine scalis ascendi defensa. Sed defuit unitas, nec ullus in Italia populus minus concors quam hic fuit. Muffati et Bergolini urbem ad internitionem prope deduxerunt, familiae potentes ac vetustae et civitatis principes inter se perpetuis dissidentes odiis.

blood before his eyes, compelling him to believe. The miraculous blood also stained the entire corporal on which it lay. Pope Urban IV recognized and authenticated this miracle; afterwards, the feast of the Most Holy Body of Christ, Corpus Christi, was instituted, which every nation of Christendom celebrates each year with deepest solemnity and devotion. The corporal which preserves the traces of this great miracle was transferred to this church, where it is kept with the utmost honor and reverence.

Beside the church stands the papal palace, which is very spacious and fit for a pope, though nowadays it lies mostly in ruins. 5 Nicholas V restored a number of its chambers and halls and it was here that Pope Pius now lodged. The same Nicholas also began construction of a fortress in a corner of the city. It is still unfinished but it is guarded and is not easy to take since it is protected by high cliffs and a deep moat.

The city has no springs. It gets its water from cisterns or 6 through pipes leading from the nearby mountain. At the foot of the mountain there is a constant spring; a besieging enemy can cut the townspeople off from this only with difficulty. The surrounding hills are planted with vines which produce quite decent wines. The mountains are covered with great stocks of timber and the plain produces a rich crop of wheat. The rivers Paglia and Chiana join directly opposite the fortress in the bottom of the valley and go on to empty into the Tiber some five miles further downstream.

If the people stand together to defend the city, it can only be 7 taken by starvation, for artillery is useless against the walls and, provided they are guarded, ladders cannot scale them. But concord was rare here, and no people of Italy lived in less harmony than the Orvietans. Two powerful old families, the Muffati and the Bergolini, the foremost in the state, have almost destroyed the city with their perpetual feuds.

8 Ager<sup>103</sup> olim late patuit et multa conclusit<sup>104</sup> oppida, quorum declinante civitatis potentia partem Senenses invasere, partem vicini reliqui. Nobiles quoque eius urbis castella quaedam usurpaverunt, quae postea partim ad Ecclesiam Romanam, partim in alienas manus transivere. Mille et quadringenti quondam cives Senenses huc exularunt ex factione reformatoria, a quibus civitas lanificium accepit, unde magna emolumenta provenere; hodie fere extinctum est.

: 37 :

*Gentilis de Sala nequam et novator rerum, Sala diruta,  
Ficulla capta, in exilium mittitur.*

- 1 Mansit hic Pius triduo; civibus invicem dissidentibus leges dedit, quibus in concordiam redeuntes civitatem in pace gubernarent, quae post novitatem Gentilis receptae sunt. Hic vir nobilis fuit, ex gente cui de Sala cognomen est, versutus homo et audax; qui cum aliquando exulasset, tandem vocatus ab amicis furto reductus in urbem excitato tumultu adversantem sibi partem deiecit, multis trucidatis civibus ob vindictam fratris qui ante fuerat interfectus, civitatemque quasi tyrannus oppressit, quamvis Ecclesiam acclamaret dominam. Fuit tamen iterum urbe pulsus, et plenum ad Ecclesiam imperium<sup>105</sup> rediit.
- 2 Illi<sup>106</sup> pontificum benignitate relicta sunt paterna bona, et oppidum Ficullae commendatum Ecclesiae nomine gubernandum ut inde familiam aleret. Quae res Urbevitanis admodum fuit mo-

The territory of Orvieto was once very extensive and included 8 many towns. As the city's power declined, some of these were taken by the Sienese, and some by their other neighbors. The local barons also took control of a number of castles which later passed into other hands, some going to the Church of Rome and some to foreigners. At one point, some 1400 members of the Sienese Reformers party went into exile here.<sup>77</sup> The state learned the art of weaving from them, and this proved very profitable, though today the craft has nearly died out.

: 37 :

*Gentile della Sala, a wicked fomenter of strife, is sent into exile and stripped of Ficulle. His seat at Sala destroyed.*

Pius stayed here for three days. He provided the citizens (who 1 were once again at odds) with an accord by which they could reconcile themselves to one another and govern their city in peace. This was accepted after the rebellion of Gentile, a member of the noble Sala family, a wily and daring man who had been exiled at one point but had at last been recalled and brought back into the city in secret by his friends. There he proceeded to stir up civil strife; he deposed his adversaries, murdered many citizens as revenge for his brother who had earlier been killed, and oppressed the city as though he were its tyrant, though he proclaimed that he recognized the sovereignty of the Church. He was driven from the city a second time and it passed again under the direct jurisdiction of the Church.

Various popes generously allowed Gentile to keep his patri- 2 mony and, in order to provide him with some means of supporting his household, entrusted him with governing Ficulle in the

lesta, propinquitatem eius suspectam habentibus, qui non cessaret res novas in civitate moliri. Pius ad pontificatum assumptus quieti consulturus Gentilem sub honoris obtentu in Picenum relegavit, vicariatumque Mundavii sibi regendum commisit. Verum ille quietis impatiens inde discedens non sine infamia, quod cum Sigismundo conspirasset, Ficullam rediit; nec diu moratus coniuratione cum plerisque nobilibus inita in ipsa solemnitate Sacratissimi Christi Corporis, quae apud Urbevetanos pompa eximia celebratur, invadere urbem statuit, occupatosque religione cives adoriri, atque adversae factionis principes obtruncare, seque rursus sub Ecclesiae titulo dominum constituere. Non tulit divina pietas tantum scelus: detecta res est priusquam Gentilis urbem ingrederetur, capti aliqui et coniurationem confessi poenas dedere, alii fuga salutem quaesiere.

3 Indignatus ob eam rem Gentili pontifex Ficullam ab eo repetiit, ne in perniciem Ecclesiae verteret quod sibi misericordiae gratia fuerat concessum. Ille vana quorundam cardinalium spe delusus et Eversi comitis atque aliorum vicinorum pollicitationibus illectus pontificis mandata contempsit, maiores suos Ficullam condidisse affirmans; se praeter censum eius loci nihil Ecclesiae Romanae debere; patrum suorum hereditatem nolle relinquere; moriturum prius quam patrimonio cedat.

4 Pontifex his auditis Urbevetanos in armis esse iussit, missaque non magna militum manu, agrestibus provinciae congregatis Salam, ipsius Gentilis antiquam domum in arcis formam redactam et loco edito sitam paucis diebus obsessam et<sup>107</sup> vi captam diruit. Exin Ficullae admovit castra, quibus Gentilis deterritus cum nullam in oppidanis spem relictam videret, deditionem fecit, eas leges subiturus quas pontifex diceret.

name of the Church. This move was very unwelcome to the people of Orvieto, for they were nervous at the thought of this restless plotter remaining so close by. When Pius became pope, to preserve the peace he removed Gentile to the Marches as though this were a great honor and made him governor of the vicariate of Mondavio. But Gentile could not abide peace; he left Mondavio in disgrace after plotting with Sigismondo and returned to Ficulle. Before long he entered into a conspiracy with certain nobles: the plan was to enter Orvieto during the sacred feast of Corpus Christi (which they celebrate there with a magnificent procession), attack the citizens while they were absorbed in their devotions, murder the leader of the opposing faction, and establish himself again as lord in the name of the Church. But Divine Mercy would not tolerate such wickedness. The plot was discovered before Gentile could enter the city. Some of those who were captured confessed to the conspiracy and were punished; others sought safety in flight.

The pope was furious with Gentile. He stripped him of Ficulle, lest he use a gift granted to him out of pity for the destruction of the Church. But Gentile, cheated of the empty hopes held out to him by certain cardinals and lured on by the promises of Count Everso and other neighboring princes, ignored the pope's orders and declared that his ancestors had founded Ficulle; he owed the Church of Rome nothing but the tribute from it; he refused to give up what he had inherited from his fathers; he would sooner die than surrender his patrimony.

When the pope heard this, he ordered the people of Orvieto to arms. He sent a modest company of soldiers and then, after mustering the peasants of the region, laid siege to Sala, Gentile's ancient family seat, which stands on high ground like a fortress. Within a few days he captured and destroyed the place. Then he moved against Ficulle. Gentile, seeing that he could not rely on the townspeople, flew into a panic and surrendered, professing himself ready to submit to the pope's terms.

5 Pius excedere omnem eius familiam ex agro<sup>108</sup> Urbevetano iussit, ipsum vero in Galliam Cisalpinam relegavit, bonorum quae reliqua fuerant<sup>109</sup> nihil ei abstulit filiarum misertus, quarum altera nupta nondum viro tradita, altera nubilis erat; nec exterminandam prorsus nobilitatem censuit, et maiorum merita posteris vel iniquis prodesse nonnihil debere. Verum haec nondum gesta erant cum Pius in Urbe Veteri fuit: in annum sequentem inciderunt; nos hoc loco ea commemoravimus ne rursus huc reverti oporteat.

: 38 :

*Balneoregiensium cum Urbevetanis contentio. Mons Flasconis et Romanorum oratores.*

1 Pius hinc discedens cum in agrum Balnei Regii pervenisset, in ipsis finitimi<sup>110</sup> limitibus rursus periculum adiit Urbevetanis et Regiensibus sedem eius concitato tumultu invadentibus. Erat enim inter illos de finibus controversia, nec portari pontificem in agro suo nisi a suis laturo videbantur. Certatum est et inermi et armata manu, et tandem sagittis aliqui vulnerati sunt, aliqui gladiis. Cohors quae pontificem praesidii causa sequebatur, pugnam diremit, et acceptam sedem longe ultra contentionis locum cum praesule asportavit; ubi Regienses viri feminaeque cum parvulis<sup>111</sup> occurrentes xenia obtulerunt, ciboque ac potu omnem pontificis comitatum recrearunt.

2 Deinde ad Montem Flasconis, quam nonnulli Faliscorum urbem fuisse contendunt, in quo errore et Leonardum Arretinum

Pius banished Gentile's entire family from the territory of 5 Orvieto. Gentile himself he exiled to Lombardy, but he allowed him to keep whatever property remained to him out of compassion for his daughters, one of whom was betrothed but not yet married while the other was of marriageable age. It seemed wrong to him, moreover, that a noble family should be utterly destroyed; the good deeds of ancestors ought to confer some benefit on their descendants, even those who were wicked. All this had not yet occurred when Pius was in Orvieto, but happened the following year. We have recorded it here to avoid returning to the subject later.

: 38 :

*A dispute between Bagnoregio and Orvieto. Montefiascone. An embassy from Rome.*

Pius then left Orvieto and entered the territory of Bagnoregio. 1 Once again he found himself in danger the moment he reached the border. His chair was mobbed by an excited crowd of citizens from both Orvieto and Bagnoregio; for these cities were involved in a border dispute and had no intention of letting Pius be carried in their territory by any but their own people. They fought both with weapons and without, leaving some wounded by arrows and some by swords. The pope's bodyguard broke up the fight and, seizing the papal chair, carried it and him well beyond the area in dispute. At that point the men and women of Bagnoregio came running out with their children to offer him presents as well as food and drink for his entire retinue.

Next the pope came to Montefiascone, which some believe was 2 the ancient city of the Faliscans, an erroneous belief which even

fuisse tradunt, ventum est. Ea civitas in alto monte iacet, immi-  
netque Vulsinensi lacui ad orientem Ciminum montem prospici-  
ens. Hic nobile palatium Galli condidere cum Romano pontifi-  
cio fungerentur, ibi ut per aestum degerent quibus Italici calores  
admodum sunt infensi.

3 Palatium in arcis modum aedificatum fuit adhibitibus aulis,<sup>112</sup> tri-  
clinii ac<sup>113</sup> cubiculis quae dignitati pontificali convenirent; nunc  
pars magna vetustate et incuria collapsa est. In eo collocatus Pius  
cum vim ventorum ferre non posset, est enim veluti quaedam Eoli  
domus, altera die Viturvium per patentem agros concessit. Nostra  
aetas Viterbium vocat et 'inermium vitam' interpretatur, tanquam  
Romano vigente Imperio veterani milites ad aquas calidas, quae ibi  
ubertim scaturiunt, acturi senium confugerent.

4 Romanorum legati in itinere occurrerunt pontificis reditum  
oraturi, quattuor viri disertissimi, quorum duo iure consulti fuere et  
Sacri Consistorii advocati: Antonius Caffarellus et Andreas  
Sanctae Crucis, duo alii ex nobilitate Romana cives primarii; quos  
pulcherrima iuventus sequebatur suo et equorum cultu ornatis-  
sima.

: 39 :

*Viturvium eiusque factiones, et Pii responsum  
Romanis legatis gratissimum.*

1 Viturvium novam esse civitatem satis constat, etsi olim castelli for-  
mam obtinens Herculi dicatum fuisse feratur. Duae hic factiones  
fuere: altera Gattorum, altera Magantiorum, quos et Tignosinos

Leonardo Bruni is said to have held. The city stands on a high  
mountain overlooking the lake of Bolsena and faces Monte  
Cimino to the east. When the French possessed the papacy they  
built a splendid summer palace here, for they find the heat of Italy  
very trying.

The palace is built like a fortress, with halls, dining rooms, and  
chambers befitting the dignity of the pope, but most of it now lies  
ruined from age and neglect. Pius lodged here but could not stand  
the violence of the winds—the place is a regular house of  
Aeolus—and so left the next day and traveled over open country  
to Viturvium, which we nowadays call Viterbo. The name is  
thought to come from *vita inermium*, that is "life of the unarmed,"  
on the theory that ancient Roman veterans used to retire here to  
spend their old age near the many warm springs which bubble up  
in the region.

The pope was met on the road by representatives from Rome  
who had come to beg him to return to the capital. There were four  
eloquent speakers, two of whom—Antonio Caffarelli and Andrea  
Santacroce—were lawyers and Consistorial Advocates, while the  
other two were prominent members of the Roman nobility. They  
were accompanied by a group of handsome youths, all magnifi-  
cently dressed and mounted on splendidly caparisoned horses.

: 39 :

*Viterbo and its factions. Pius favors the Roman ambassadors  
with a very welcome reply.*

1 It is generally agreed that Viterbo is a city of recent foundation,  
but some say it was once a small fortified town dedicated to Her-  
cules. Two factions dominated the town, the Gatti and the

appellavere. Cum esset Pius Mantuae, diximus, quo pacto Eversus comes hanc urbem invaserit, et quomodo Ravennas archiepiscopus eam recuperaverit.

2 Paulo ante, sedente Callisto Tertio gravibus discordiis eadem civitas laboravit, cum pars partem armis invaderet ac domos fugientis incenderet. Callistus ad sedandum tumultum episcopum Syracusanum transmisit, natione Cathelanum, qui vafro usus ingenio civitatem ingressus utranque partem gravibus affecit modis, aliis substantiam aliis vitam eripiens, multos in exilium mittens ita ut propemodum deserta civitas videretur.

3 Quo tempore illud memoria dignum accidit fide forsitan apud posteros cariturum: captus senex et ob seditionem neci adiudicatus, cum vitam quingentis aureis redimere posset, laqueo perire maluit, dicens sibi, quamvis dimitteretur, brevi moriendum esse, filiis qui diu vivere possent aurum conservandum.

4 Audivit in hac urbe praesul Romanos oratores assidente Collegio. Singuli per se verba fecere, ne alius alio melior videretur, cum essent eloquentia ferme pares. Narraverunt quanto in maerore Roma fuisset absente Pio, quot mala emersissent, quam inviti vidissent Romani eius abscessum, quam aegre tulissent moram in alienis aedibus, quam nunc laeti reditum expectent: iam parietes domorum, iam moenia Urbis exultare, ubi rumor auditus est red-euntis Pii, laudavere gesta praesulis in Mantuano conventu, orationes, disputationes, consilia, responsa; commendaverunt Urbem caput orbis et suos Quirites; petiere ne memor esset peccatorum, quae iuventus commisisset: nunc melius victuram quieturamque civitatem; rediret quam primum revisurus suos filios Pius pater!

Magantini (also called Tignosini). We have already described how Count Everso attacked this city when Pius was at Mantua and how the archbishop of Ravenna recovered it.<sup>78</sup>

Not long ago, during the pontificate of Calixtus III, this same city suffered serious dissension. Each faction was taking up arms against the other and then setting fire to their houses as they fled. Calixtus sent the bishop of Syracuse, a Catalan, to settle the unrest.<sup>79</sup> The bishop entered the city by a stratagem and subjected both sides to severe punishment; he deprived some of their property and others of their lives, and banished so many people that the city seemed almost deserted.

Around this time an event occurred that is worth recording, though perhaps posterity will not believe it. An old man had been taken prisoner and sentenced to death for treason. Though he might have bought his life for 500 ducats, he declared that even if he were released, he would die soon anyway, and it would be better to keep the money for his sons who might yet live longer lives.

At Viterbo the pope gave audience to the Roman envoys in the presence of the college of cardinals. Since they were all almost equally eloquent, they each took turns in speaking, lest any one seem superior to the next. They described how Rome grieved at Pius's absence, the many troubles that had arisen, the reluctance of the Romans to see him depart, their resentment at his tarrying among strangers, the joy with which they now anticipated his return. The walls of the houses, the very walls of the city rejoiced to hear that Pius was on his way home. They applauded the pope's acts at the Congress of Mantua—his speeches, arguments, judgments, and replies. They commended to his care both the city, the capital of the world, and its citizens; they begged him to forget the sins that the youth of the city had committed. The Romans would be at peace, and would lead better lives, if only Father Pius returned to see his sons as soon as he could.



- 5 Ad haec pontifex: 'Flentem,' inquit, 'et admodum dolentem flentes ipsi et vehementer dolentes Urbem reliquimus, quae patria nostra est non minus quam Senae, nam domus Piccolominea, quae nos peperit, olim ex Roma Senas migravit, sicut Aeneadum nomen ac Silviorum in familia nostra frequens ostendit. Nos Romae cardinalatum accepimus et in ea urbe ad summum pontificatum evecti sumus. Vidimus quanta fuit Romanorum alacritas, cum auditum est cardinalem Senensem Callisto successorem datum: vos mihi testes estis numquam memoria hominum tam laetos fuisse Quirites. Erat igitur molestissimum ex ea urbe recedere quae tam merita de nobis esset, et iam animus praesagebat quae postea inter vos emergerunt mala.
- 6 'At volentes animo necessitatem Ecclesiae ac fidei catholicae, quam Turchi conculcare nituntur, et quod unum erat remedium Christianae salutis, si cum principibus conveniremus, tuendamque religionem communibus opibus ac consiliis acciperemus. Inviti ac volentes iter ingressi sumus: inviti relinquebamus dilectam Sponsam, volentes studebamus Matri nostrae amantissimae subvenire. Quod si non successit ut speravimus, non tamen consilii laborisque paenitet. Intellexit universus orbis vires nobis, non animum defuisse.
- 7 'Nemo iam nos accusaverit quod Romae in delitiis agentes fidem orthodoxam perire sinamus, qui senio atque infirmitate gravati nec frigora nec pluvias neque nives horruimus. Per aliena hospitium<sup>114</sup> longam ivimus viam; vocavimus principes, admonuimus populos, expectavimus, omnia fecimus ut communi consilio publicae consuleremus utilitati. Advenere perpauci,<sup>115</sup> pauciores fuere quibus religio potior quam voluptas videretur. Et quid est quod iam nobis valeat imputari? Ipsis seculi principibus tota imputanda est negligentia, qui venientem ad se Christi vicarium de re publica consulturum audire noluerunt!
- 8 'Revertimus igitur domum, si non Turchorum, at Christianorum omnium<sup>116</sup> victores. Si non itum est, ut optavimus, in hos-

To this the pope replied, "There were tears and bitter grief on both sides when we left Rome, which is as much our country as Siena is. For the house of Piccolomini, which gave us birth, migrated long ago from Rome to Siena, as our family names, Aeneas and Silvius, prove. At Rome we were made a cardinal and there we were elevated to the papacy. We saw how the Romans rejoiced when they heard that the cardinal of Siena would succeed Calixtus. You are our witnesses; never within the memory of man were the people so happy. And so it pained us deeply to leave a city that had deserved so well of us, and in our heart we already sensed what troubles would arise among you.

"But we took thought for the needs of the Church and the Catholic Faith, which the Turks are determined to trample under foot. We knew that Christendom's only hope lay in our meeting with the princes, pooling our resources, reconciling our opinions, and thus undertaking to defend the faith. And so we set out, willing and unwilling at the same time. Unwillingly, we left our beloved spouse; but willingly we strove to aid our loving mother. If we have not succeeded as we hoped, still we do not regret the intention and the effort. The whole world understands that it is our strength, not our courage, that has failed us.

"No one can accuse us of living a life of luxury in Rome while the true Faith was left to perish. For, weighed down by age and infirmity as we are, we have not shrunk from cold or rain or snow; we have made a long journey, lodged among strangers, summoned princes, admonished peoples, waited patiently, done everything in our power that we might assemble a common front on behalf of the public good. Very few came; fewer still put their faith before their pleasure. But who can blame us for any of it? The negligence was all on the part of the secular princes, who would not listen to Christ's vicar when he came to consult with them for the common good.

"And so we return in victory — not over the Turks perhaps, but at least over the whole of Christendom. Even if no crusade is

tes, speramus tamen tale semen in terram iactum cuius aliquando secabimus segetem. Dulcis est nobis memoria laborum, qui apud Deum sua mercede non fraudabuntur.

9 'Illud vero excoquit mentem nostram quod inter vos factum accepimus. Dolemus furta, homicidia, adulteria, sacrilegia iuventutem vestram tam multa, ut fama est, perpetrasse, nec vos arguimus, qui punire crimina parati eratis, si nostri magistratus praesto fuissent. Illos accusamus qui per ignaviam ac desidiam tantopere debacchari adolescentes permisere! Fidem vestram probamus, qui tentati modis compluribus<sup>117</sup> ab officio non recessistis. Viri sane et probi et prudentes estis, qui vestro domino constanter servitis, quamvis vestra servitus regnum est!

10 'Et quae civitas reperitur<sup>118</sup> Roma liberior? Vos sine ullo vectigali estis; vobis nulla imponuntur onera; vos magistratus in Urbe geritis honestissimos; vina vestra, frumenta vestra, quanti vultis, venditis; domus vestrae pensiones vobis uberes pendent. Et quis praeterea vester dominus est? Forsitan comes, marchio, dux, rex, imperator? Maior his omnibus<sup>119</sup> cui paretis: Romanus praesul, Beati Petri successor, Iesu Christi vicarius, cuius pedes cuncti reges osculari desiderant! Recte hic rex regum et dominus dominantium pro Christi reverentia dicitur, cuius vices in terris gerit! Sapitis, viri Romani, qui hunc vestrum dominum observatis, colitis, veneramini! Nam is est qui vos praeclaros efficit, qui vos ditat, qui toto ex orbe ad vos divitias affert: siquidem Romana Curia quam pascitis ipsa vos pascit, et aurum ex omni regione ad vos portat.

11 'Gaudemus quia bonum vestrum et cognoscitis et conservatis. Gaudemus nos expectare laetam Urbem, quando et laeti pergimus illuc. Hora nobis annus est prae cupiditate revisendi sacra Urbis moenia et sancta martyrum atque apostolorum ossa et terram il-

launched against the Turks, as we had wished, still we hope that a seed has been sown from which we shall some day reap a harvest. It is sweet to recall the labors we faced, which will not fail of their reward before God.

"And yet we are troubled to hear what has happened among you. It pains us to hear of so many robberies and murders, so many acts of adultery and sacrilege apparently committed by your young men. We do not accuse you, who were ready to punish these crimes had our magistrates supported you; rather we accuse those whose cowardice and negligence allowed the youth to run riot in the first place. We commend your loyalty. In the face of so many trials, you have not failed in your duty. You are truly wise and upright men, faithful servants of your master—though your servitude is in fact sovereignty.

"For what state is more free than Rome? You pay no duties; you have no tax burdens imposed upon you; you hold honorable offices in the city; you name your own prices for the wine and grain you sell; your houses earn you high rents. And who is your master? A count, perhaps, or a marquis, a duke, a king, an emperor? Greater than all these is he whom you obey, the bishop of Rome, the successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, whose feet all kings desire to kiss. Truly he is called King of Kings and Lord of Lords<sup>80</sup> out of reverence for Christ, whose representative he is on earth. You are indeed wise, men of Rome, to obey, honor, and revere this lord of yours. For it is he who gives you fame and riches, who brings you the wealth of the world; and the Roman Curia, which you maintain, itself maintains you and brings you gold from every corner of the earth.

"We rejoice that you acknowledge and want to protect your good fortune. We rejoice that a joyful city awaits us, since we ourselves are hastening there in joy. An hour seems like a year to us, so eager are we to see the city's hallowed walls again, the sacred bones of martyrs and apostles, the soil watered by holy blood, all

lam pio sanguine rigatam et caros Quirites quos veluti filios amamus. Nulla gens carior nobis est quam Romana. Desiderio desideramus quam primum esse cum familia nostra et cum peculiari populo nostro in sede nostra.

12 'Quod si Mantuano peracto conventu non statim huc advolvimus et<sup>120</sup> remorati sumus, tres fuere causae: prima, ut apud balneas valetudini consuleremus; altera, ne per aestatem Romam ingrederemur, quo tempore ex Gallia mitique caelo redeuntibus noxius ac pestifer est aer; tertia, ut Senenses civili et externo bello iam pridem exhaustos Curiae nostrae mora paululum reficeremus, quibus consulentes Romae consulimus, nam Senae occidentem versus Urbis est murus. Nec nos vobis aut alteri cuiquam mentiti<sup>121</sup> sumus: quo tempore promisimus reditum, eo revertimur. Non tam cupide nos expectatis quam libenter ad vos pergimus. Morabimur hic brevissimo tempore, dum quae sunt ad securitatem itineris necessaria praeparantur; nam ultra progredi absque praesidio non est tutum. Diem profectionis cum fratrum consilio statuemus, statutum mox intelligetis.'

13 Legati responsum<sup>122</sup> pontificis mirifice collaudantes conservatoribus Urbis conscripserunt, Romanumque populum ingenti affecerunt gaudio iamiam Curiam adesse putantem.

our beloved citizens whom we cherish as our sons. No people is dearer to us than the Romans. With longing we long<sup>81</sup> to be back in our own household as soon as we can, and with our own special people<sup>82</sup> and in our own see.

"It is true that we did not hurry home at once after the Congress of Mantua, but tarried a while. There were three reasons for this. First, we wanted to undergo treatment for our ill health at the baths; second, we did not want to come back to Rome in summer, when the climate is unhealthy and dangerous for those returning from the milder air of northern Italy; third, by staying at Siena with our Curia, we wanted to offer the people of that city some relief, for they have long been exhausted by foreign wars and domestic strife. In taking thought for them, we also took thought for Rome, for Siena is Rome's western wall. Nor did we lie to you or to anyone else; we are returning when we promised to return. Your eagerness to see us is not so great as our joy in coming to you. We shall stay here for a very short spell, while steps are taken to make the journey secure, for it is not safe to proceed without an armed guard. We will consult with our brethren and then settle on a day for our departure, and as soon as it is fixed you shall know."

The envoys received the pope's reply with enthusiasm and communicated it to the Conservators of the city. The people of Rome were overjoyed at the thought that the Curia would soon be back with them.

*Picini progressus, et Pii magnanima de reditu deliberatio,  
et descriptio Canapinae.*

- 1 Inter haec nuntium affertur Picininum cum infestis exercitibus occupato Taliacozii comitatu, Farfensisque monasterii inuisis nonnullis oppidis Urbi appropinquare; Columnenses, Sabellos, Eversum ei affoederatos esse; iuventutem Romanam arma tenere ac res novas cupere; Sfortiadas et Ecclesiae milites nondum adventasse; Picininum agros atque urbes inuisisse; Reatinos Tiburtinosque et in Campania plures civitates cum eo sentire; haud dubium quin brevi Roma potiatur.
- 2 Quibus auditis rettulit de suo itinere pontifex ad Collegium cardinalium. In quo cum variae sententiae dicerentur, nec certum aliquod consilium inveniretur, secretiores amicos consulere placuit. Quorum una<sup>123</sup> vox fuit et una suasio: ad Urbem minime festinandum esse, manendum Viturvi aut in Urbe Veteri, donec adsit exercitus Ecclesiae, qui Picininum ex agro Romano propulset; ille si Latium et Sabinos occupet, Eversus Transtiberina possideat, pontificem Romae clausum iri, Romanos amissis pecoribus in eum conspiraturos, Urbemque Picinino prodituros; et quo se conferat praesul in tanto periculo? Nec terra iter patebit, nec mari Gallicis classibus obsesso; in Mole Adriani quaerenda salus, et ibi tandem facienda deditio, quae morte multo deterior fuerit. Quod si rerum exitus apud Viturvium expectetur, aut cum victoria reditus patebit in Urbem, aut si vicerit hostis, salvari apud Senenses Curia pot-

*Piccinino's progress. Pius bravely decides to return to Rome.  
A description of Canepina.*

Meanwhile news came that enemy forces led by Piccinino had occupied the countryside around Tagliacozzo and seized certain towns belonging to the abbey of Farfa, and were now approaching Rome. The Colonna, the Savelli, and Everso were all in league with Piccinino; the youth of Rome had taken up arms and were eager for revolution; the troops raised by Sforza and the Church had not yet arrived; Piccinino had already overrun some territory and towns; the people of Rieti, Tivoli, and several towns of the campagna were siding with him; and there was no doubt he would soon be master of Rome.

When the pope heard all this, he met with the college of cardinals to discuss his return to Rome. As various opinions were expressed and no definite decision was reached, he proceeded to consult with his inner circle of advisers. To a man, they all urged him not to hasten to the capital but to stay at Viterbo or Orvieto until the Church's troops could arrive to drive Piccinino out of Roman territory. If Piccinino occupied Lazio and the Sabine country and Everso occupied the other bank of the Tiber, the pope would be trapped in Rome; the Romans would lose their livestock and would conspire against him to betray the city to Piccinino. Where could the pope turn in such a crisis? There would be no escape by land, nor by the sea, which was under blockade by the French fleet. The pope would have to take refuge in Castel Sant'Angelo and in the end he would have to surrender there—a fate far worse than death itself. But if he awaited the outcome at Viterbo, then in the event of victory, the way to his return would be clear; in the event of defeat, the Curia could take refuge at Siena. They reminded him of the time the Romans took Eugenius captive after

erit. Afferebant et Eugenii exemplum, quem ob animalia perdita Romani in custodiam recepissent, et Nicolao paratas insidias; Romanos nullam perpeti fortunam posse: in adversis aperte rebellare, in secundis insolescere; pontificem, nisi armis stipatus fuerit, apud eos non esse securum.

3 Ad ea Pius: 'Omnes,' inquit, 'in hoc loco manendum suadetis, nos eundem putamus. Nisi prius Urbem quam Picininus ingredi-mur, debellatum est regnum, nec scimus an diebus nostris Roma recuperari possit. Eugenius, qui eam perdidit, novem annis per aliena erravit hospitia. Et quae gloria pontifici maximo perdita Roma esse potest? Nullum litteris eius inesse pondus videtur, nisi dentur Romae apud Sanctum Petrum. 'At Picininus circumiacen-tes occupat agros!' Verum, ut<sup>124</sup> aiunt. Sed ultra Tiberim dicitis et citra Eversum arma tenere. Fatemur. Verum non is est qui nos-trum remorari transitum queat. Evitabimus eius fines,<sup>125</sup> nec suas insidias vereri oportebit; noster erit maior comitatus quam suus exercitus.

4 "Sed Picinini miles furtim transmisso Tiberi obvius erit!" Si omnia quae possunt accidere, metimur ac veremur pericula, quid tandem audebimus? Et nunc quoque tectum hoc ruere potest et nos opprimere. Quocunque te vertas, semper adsunt discrimina! Non fit sine periculo magnum facinus et memorabile. 'Possumus in Urbe,' ut dicitis, 'claudi, possumus capi, possumus occidi.' Non negamus. Sed ubi honestius quam Romae Romanus pontifex moriatur? Ubi dignius quam in Vaticano sepeliatur? Nos Deum adiutorem piae causae futurum confidimus. Quod si occulto ali-quo divino iudicio decretum est hostiles nos manus incidere aut impio ferro cadere, non recusamus pro Roma et in Roma mori: mortem oppetere pro Patrimonio Beati Petri gloriosum est, effu-

they lost their flocks and herds, and of the plot that was hatched against Nicholas. The Romans, they said, could never endure fortune good or bad: in hard times they broke into open rebel-lion and were overbearing when things were going well. The pope would not be safe among them unless surrounded by armed guards.

Pius replied, "All of you urge us to stay here, but we think we ought to go. Unless we enter Rome before Piccinino, our kingdom is lost, and we doubt whether Rome could be regained in our life-time. Eugenius lost it and wandered for nine years lodging with others. What glory is left to the pope if Rome is lost? His letters seem to have no weight unless they are dated from St. Peter's at Rome. You say Piccinino holds the surrounding country. That is true, according to report. You say Everso has troops placed on both sides of the Tiber. We admit it. But he will not be able to de-lay our passage. We will avoid his territory, nor have we reason to fear an ambush from him. Our escort will be larger than his army.

4 "But Piccinino will quietly cross the Tiber with his troops and stand in our way.' But if we take into account every danger which may conceivably arise and fret over it, what in heaven's name will we have the courage to do? The roof could fall in and crush us here and now. There are always hazards no matter where one goes. No great and memorable deed is done without risk. We may be trapped in the city, as you say; we may be captured; we may be killed. We do not deny it. But what more honorable place is there for a bishop of Rome to die in than Rome? What tomb more fitting than the Vatican? As for us, we trust that God will aid the righteous cause. But if some inscrutable divine judgment decrees that we are to fall into the enemy's hands or die by an unholy sword, we shall not refuse to die for Rome and in Rome; to meet death for the patrimony of St. Peter is a glorious thing; to flee

gere miserum. Ite igitur ac renuntiate cardinalibus nos e vestigio iter ad Urbem ingressuros!

5 Quod cum rescitum est, tota Curia tumultuavit, aliis gaudio, aliis timore correptis. Exin horam circiter vigesimam pontifex mediam per urbem iter facit, quamvis occultam extra moenia viam tendendam nonnulli censerent. Cum ad duo milia passuum itum esset, in summo Cimino lepus elevatus est, qui huc atque illuc diffugiens extra hominum multitudinem evadere non potuit; vivum cepere pedites. Quod omni<sup>126</sup> bono duxerunt, malum iudicaturi si evasisset.

6 Ventum est iam vespere ad Canapinam, ibique pernoctatum. Hic locus prope ad radices Cimini montis iacet qua sol ei oritur, verum obscura in valle atque profundissima, ita ut minimum solis videat. Rivus e monte cadens oppidi lambit muros, castanea multa vestit colles quae locum aestivo tempore obscuriorem reddit. Vix alia est arbor praeter nuces et malos aliquas. Casas ex materia fecerunt incolae atque in his compressi velut apes in alveariis habitant; quamvis parva domus plures familias continet. Promiscua inhabitatio gentem multiplicat. Fumus qui plurimus inest malos desiccatur humores. Praesul in parvo cubiculo, nec lectulo maiori, ut sine fumo esset sine igne mansit.

from it is shameful. So go and tell the cardinals that we leave for the city today."

When they heard the news, the entire Curia flew into uproar, 5 some overcome with joy and others with fear. The pope set out about half past one in the afternoon, making his way through the middle of Viterbo, though some thought they ought to go by a less visible route outside the walls. When they had gone about two miles, they roused a hare at the top of Monte Cimino which, though it twisted and turned, could not escape the crowd. The soldiers took it alive. They considered this a good omen and would have thought it a bad one if the animal had got away.

By evening they had arrived at Canepina, where they spent the 6 night. This place lies near the eastern foothills of Monte Cimino in a dark and deep valley where the sun rarely penetrates. A stream running down from the mountain brushes the walls of the town, and the hills are thickly forested with chestnut trees which in summer make the place even darker. Hardly any other kind of tree grows there except walnuts and a few apples. The people have built wooden huts where they live jammed together like bees in their hives. Even the smallest of these can hold several families—a promiscuous manner of living which tends to increase the population. The thick smoke that collects inside these dwellings dries up any noxious moisture. The pope was put in a small chamber hardly bigger than the bed, without a fire so as to avoid the smoke.

*Nepesi descriptio Formellique, et Romanorum occursus,  
ingressusque in Urbem festivissimus.*

- 1 Ex hoc loco Nepesina civitas petita est pervetusta ac munitissima. Duo rivi collem in quo sita est ambiunt altissimas habentes ripas quae pro muro sunt, neque ascendi sine scala possunt eaque longissima; qua desunt rupes, quod modicum est, arx iacet turribus et muris custodita praealtis, quibus Pius multum munimenti adiecit. Nepesini mortuo Callisto Tertio praefectum arcis natione Cathelanum vi captum crudeliter interfecere, id crimini dantes, quod in feminas fuisset iniurius. Scelus inultum mansit, cum aliter dedere se cives noluerint nisi facinorosorum impunitate obtenta.
- 2 Praesul hic pransus mox abiit. Coniunx Neapolionis Ursini cenam ei in Campagnano suo more dubiam paraverat. Ipse Formellum petiit, ubi nihil omnino parati repperit: non cibus, non potus, non lecti reperiebantur. Quaesita sunt a rusticis, quae famem auferrent, panes et caepae; vinum tum primum ex uvis expressum aquae cessit, eaque sitim extinxit. Cardinalis Avinionensis nullius incommodi patiens Campagnanum petiit, et pro pontifice honoratus cenam eius voravit. Columnensis Ursinos tanquam hostes evitans ad Sabellos se contulit. Formellum quarto decimo miliario ab Urbe distat; Ursinorum locus non admodum munitus, quamvis arcem habet non contemnendam.
- 3 Hinc sequenti die, priusquam illucesceret, pontifex Romam versus iter arripuit, et quia cena fuerat praeterita nocte sterilior, iussit media in via prandium apparari apud lucidum et perennem fontem, qui ex antiquo specu sub nemore umbroso et in valle

*Nepi and Formello. Pius is met by the Romans and makes a triumphant entry into the city.*

From there he made for Nepi, a very ancient and well-fortified 1  
city. The hill on which it is built is surrounded by two high-  
banked rivers which serve as its walls; they cannot be scaled with-  
out ladders and these must be very long. In the short stretch  
where there are no cliffs, there is a fortress protected by very high  
towers and walls which Pius reinforced further. When Calixtus III  
died, the people of Nepi seized the Catalan commandant of this  
castle and brutally murdered him on the grounds that he had sex-  
ually assaulted their women. Their revolt went unpunished, for  
the citizens refused to surrender unless the ringleaders were  
granted immunity.

The pope had lunch at Nepi and left soon after. The wife of 2  
Napoleone Orsini had prepared one of her "puzzling dinners"<sup>83</sup>  
for him at Campagnano, but he went on to Formello where he  
found no preparations had been made at all—no food, no drink,  
no bed. They had to ask the peasants for bread and onions to sat-  
isfy their hunger and quenched their thirst with water, which was  
preferred to the newly pressed wine. The cardinal of Avignon,  
who could endure no discomfort, went to Campagnano where he  
was received with honor in the pope's place and ate the dinner in-  
tended for him. Cardinal Colonna wanted to avoid his enemies  
the Orsini and so went to the Savelli instead. Formello lies four-  
teen miles from Rome. An Orsini possession, it is not very well  
fortified, though the castle is impressive.

The next day the pope set out for Rome before dawn. Because 3  
the previous evening's dinner had been rather sparse, he ordered  
lunch to be prepared on the way, by a clear and constant spring  
which bubbles up from an ancient grotto in a shady grove set in a

reducta scaturit. Hic dum prandetur, gubernator et senator Urbis et multi nobilium laetabundi occurrerunt<sup>127</sup> et cardinalis Sanctae Anastasiae cum Symone fratre medico; omnes mensa pontificis accepti<sup>128</sup> sunt. Qua finita rursus iter continuatum est.

4 Pleni erant occurrentium agri salutantiumque pontificem. Conservatores ad sextum ferme lapidem primoribus associati civibus pedestrem iuventutem adduxere, quae pontificis lecticam subiret humeris. Erant ii iuvenes magna pars eorum, qui novis rebus studuerant furentis Tiburtii comites; propter quam rem suadebant amici pontifici, ne sceleratae iuventuti se crederet portandum, potius suae cohorti committeret.

5 Risit consilium pontifex, iubensque Romanos accedere ac selam subire: "Super aspidem," inquit, "et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem." Quod propheticum et alias saepe impletum est, et nunc implebitur. Nam quae immanior fera est quam homo? Quae bestia peiora facit, quam homo? Verum animal mutabile homo est, et saevissima saepe mitescunt ingenia. Ii iuvenes et Urbem nobis et vitam auferre, si potuissent, parati erant. Non potuere. Errorem novere suum. Mites effecti portabunt humeris quem calcare pedibus voluerunt.

6 Nec fefellit opinio pontificem: subiere cupidissimi iuvenes selam eius, et ad portam usque Flamineam, quae nunc Populi appellatur, laetabundi suum dominum gestavere. Ipse in monasterio, quod intra muros est adhaeretque portae, noctem peregit. Beatae Mariae dicatus est locus, in quo Neronem occisum ferunt; bonum id omen ductum, quod et suos Neronem occisurus esset Sanctissimae<sup>129</sup> Virginis auxilio Pius.

7 Sequenti die, id est Nonis Octobris, pompam ducens et quasi triumphans per mediam Urbem miro populi applausu, ornatis domibus, opertis panno plateis, stratis flore atque herba vicis omni-

deep valley.<sup>84</sup> While he was lunching there, the Governor and the Senator of Rome<sup>85</sup> and many nobles came to meet him, all in high spirits, accompanied by the cardinal of Sant'Anastasia and his brother, the physician Simone.<sup>86</sup> All were welcomed to the pope's table; when lunch was finished they took to the road again.

The fields were full of people coming to meet the pope and pay 4 their respects. The Conservators and chief citizens met him about six miles from the city, bringing with them a group of young men on foot to carry the pope's chair on their shoulders. Most of them were former accomplices of the wild Tiburzio and had once thirsted for revolution. The pope's friends advised him not to trust himself to these young miscreants but to be carried instead by his own guards. The pope laughed at their advice and, bidding the 5 Romans approach and take up his chair, said, "*Thou shalt tread on the adder and the basilisk; the lion and the dragon thou shalt trample under foot.*"<sup>87</sup> This prophecy has often come true in the past and will be fulfilled again today. For what beast is more savage than man? What animal does more harm? But man is a changeable animal and the fiercest hearts often grow tame. These youths were ready to part us from our city and our life if they could. But they could not. They have realized the error of their ways. Now they have grown tame, they will carry on their shoulders the one they wanted to trample under foot." Nor was Pius wrong in this view. 6 The young men took up his chair with the greatest enthusiasm and merrily carried their lord to the Porta Flaminia, now called the Porta del Popolo. Here Pius spent the night in the monastery of the Blessed Virgin which stands next to the gate inside the walls.<sup>88</sup> They say Nero was murdered here—and this was considered a good omen, for with the help of the Holy Virgin, Pius would now destroy his Neros too.

The next day, October 7, the pope progressed like a triumphant 7 hero through the city to St. Peter's, to extraordinary popular acclaim. All along the way he saw houses decorated, the squares cov-



bus ad Sanctum Petrum pervenit. Intra ecclesiam laniatum est pallium quod supra pontificis caput ferebatur, et dum pro rapina pugnatur complures vulnerati sunt. Praesul ad aram maiorem genua flectens non sine lacrimis sanctorum apostolorum veneratus est ossa, deinde in Palatium et in cubiculum suum sese recepit. Ad noctem universus populus in equis cum luminaribus ad aedes pontificis accurrit, ductaque per gyrum pompa ante fores Palatii magno clamore et ingenti gaudio vitam et foelicitatem optavit Pio.

ered in carpets, and the streets everywhere strewn with branches and flowers. Once inside the basilica, the pallium which the pope had been wearing around his neck was torn to shreds, and many were injured in the fight to get hold of it. The pope knelt at the high altar and, in tears, did reverence to the bones of the holy apostles. Then he withdrew to his own chamber within the papal palace. At nightfall the entire population came to the pope's abode on horseback and carrying torches, and wound past the palace doors in a long procession. Shouting loudly and with great rejoicing, they wished long life and happiness for Pius.