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Oration “Est mihi non parum” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (21 October 1447, Milan). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 6th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 13)

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 13)

**Oration “*Est mihi non parum*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini
(21 October 1447, Milan). Edited and translated by
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6th version

2019

Abstract

At the death of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan in 1447 the House of Visconti became extinct. Among the pretendants to the Visconti heritage was Emperor Friedrich III who, with some justice, claimed that Milan was an imperial feud that had now reverted to the Empire. The emperor sent three successive embassies to Milan to persuade the city to accept his direct lordship, and Enea Silvio Piccolomini was a member of the first (1447) and the last (1449). One of the speeches he delivered in this context is the "*Est mihi non parum*" of 21 October 1447, in which he presented the emperor's claim to the duchy and the advantages to the Milanese of direct imperial rule, i.e. freedom, peace, glory, and wealth.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius; Aeneas Sylvius; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); The Holy Roman Empire; Milan; Duke Filippo Maria Visconti; Milano; History of diplomacy; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1447

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Foreword

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II. Altogether 80¹ orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

At a later stage the project was expanded to include ambassadors' orations to the pope, of which about 40 are presently known.

I do not, actually, plan to publish further versions of the present volume, but I do reserve the option in case I – during my future studies - come across other manuscripts containing interesting versions of the oration or if important new research data on the subject matter are published, making it appropriate to modify or expand the present text. It will therefore always be useful to check if a later version than the one the reader may have previously found via the Internet is available.

I shall much appreciate to be notified by readers who discover errors and problems in the text and translation or unrecognized quotations.

12 September 2019

MCS

¹ 81 orations, if the "*Cum animadverto*" is counted is a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

At the death of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan on 13 August 1447, the House of Visconti became extinct. A number of pretendants to the rich Visconti heritage soon presented themselves: King Alfonso V of Aragon (by virtue of testament), the condottiero Francesco Sforza (by virtue of marriage), and the Duke of Orleans (by virtue of heritage). And Venice, of course, was quite ready to conquer some of the neighbouring territories in Lombardy belonging to the Milanese state.

Also Holy Roman Emperor, Friedrich III, presented his claim to Milan. This claim was based on feudal law, Milan being in principle a feudal grant by earlier emperors to the Viscontis, which had now reverted to the Empire (by devolution).

The Milanese themselves would rather be an independent commune, like Venice and Florence. An agent of Sforza reported to him: *Sento da alcuni boni et notabili cittadini che la dispositione di questa citade è, dopo la morte de costui, fare consiglio generale fra loro et de proponere et invocare la libertade.*²

The cautious emperor, for his part, was not willing to commit himself to a military adventure in Italy. He limited himself to diplomatic action and sent three embassies to Milan, in the years 1447-1449.³ These missions were not hopeless, as the Milanese might possibly prefer a practically autonomous regime under the nominal direct overlordship of the emperor, but when it became apparent that the emperor was not willing to use military power to protect the Milanese (or against the Milanese themselves), the field was left open to those who would.

Enea Silvio Piccolomini was a member of the first and the third imperial embassy.⁴ The first embassy was headed by the imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, and the other members were

¹ CO, I, 18-19 (Meserve, I, pp. 80-93); HA / 1. version (Knödler, I, pp. 48-80); Piccolomini: *De Europa*, bk. 49 (Brown, pp. 222-231); see also letters of Piccolomini, in WO, II, pp. 225-226, 265, 271; Ady, pp. 104-105; Boulting, 182-184; Cellerino, ch. II, 3; Hufnagel, pp. 405-419; Paparelli, pp. 217-128; Reinhardt, pp. 147-149. Voigt, II, pp. 431-435

² Cellerino, p. 605

³ Piccolomini: *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarius* (Reject, p. 384): *The king of the Romans sent envoys among whom was Aeneas, and asked that rule devolve to him on the death of the duke of Milan. ... They [the Milanese] declared themselves subjects of the king of the Romans, but they thought nothing was due him beyond reverence and honor. ... Caesar sent twice to them afterwards. The last time, Aeneas arrived. ... But Aeneas, who had been commissioned to receive all, could not conclude these things without some compromise.* This indicates that there were actually three embassies to Milan from the emperor, and that Aeneas only participated in the first (1447) and the last (1449). See also HA / 1. version (Knödler, I, pp. 48-80)

⁴ He may not have participated in the second because at that time he lived in Trieste, his new bishopric, in royal disfavour connected with the chancellor's fall

high-ranking court officials.¹ Piccolomini had been appointed Bishop of Trieste six months previously, so he was now bishop-elect, to be consecrated only after his return to Vienna from the first of the missions.

His advice to the emperor in the matter had already been prepared in his *Pentalogus* of 1443, i.e. four years before, where he directly says that when the Duke of Milan dies, his duchy will revert to the empire.²

The first imperial embassy arrived in Milan on 19 October 1447 and departed again on 10 November.

The mission report to the emperor was written up by Piccolomini, presumably in close collaboration with the chancellor and in his name.³ The report states that the royal ambassadors were received honourably by the Milanese:

On the next day⁴ we rested so that we could organize our arguments and be better prepared to speak. As a sign of respect towards the Lord whom we represented, the conservators offered to come to our lodgings and hear us there, but we absolutely preferred to go to their place, firstly because it was us who had been sent to them, and secondly because that big place could hold a greater number of people. So, on the third day⁵ the conservators (or governors) came to us accompanied by a great number of magnates and led us to their residence. There, a great assembly of nobles and doctors had assembled so that the auditorium was full of eminent men.

When all were seated and silence was made, the royal letters were presented, and after an appropriate introduction we presented our embassy and its proposals.

As leader of the embassy, the chancellor spoke first, and afterwards the Bishop-Elect of Trieste gave a polished but direct oration, the "*Etsi mihi non parum.*"⁶

After the oration, the ambassadors returned to their lodgings, and later the Milanese representatives came to them and gave their answer in the form of a speech by Niccolò Arcimboldi:

¹ Hufnagel, p. 408

² *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, p. 180): *Nec dubium est quin eo mortuo, quantum jus est, ducatus ad imperium revertatur*

³ WO, II, pp. 263-278

⁴ 20 October 1447

⁵ 21 October 1447, cf. Hufnagel, p. 409

⁶ Hufnagel, p. 409, quoting Schlick's own words embassy report: *Ego incepi, Tergestinus prosecutus est*

When these matters had been set forth and explained at length (the text of the oration is available), the Milanese decided to discuss the matter. Later, they came to our lodgings and made Niccolò Arcimboldi reply on their behalf.¹

In his *Commentarii* from 1462-1464, he wrote about the events:

The people of Milan ... rejected the claims of the king and the duke² but, after hearing Aeneas speak for the emperor, they acknowledged Frederick as their lord, though they still claimed the right to their own city. As the negotiations concluded, they were on the point of accepting Frederick's rule provided certain conditions were met; and this, though less than he deserved to accomplish, seemed to Aeneas reasonably satisfactory under the circumstances. But his German colleagues, by demanding too much, lost everything.³

It would appear that Piccolomini also had the opportunity to address the people during the subsequent negotiations, on 6 November when he spoke for an hour, as reported to the emperor.⁴ His address seems to not have survived, neither in full nor in summary.

During the third and last imperial embassy to Milan, Piccolomini again spoke to the Milanese. The content of the oration is only known from a summary given by himself in the *Commentarii*:

After displaying the emperor's letter and reading it aloud, Aeneas made a speech along these lines: he said that at Filippo's death the emperor had sent ambassadors to take control of the city⁵ but, though his demands were just, he had not been heeded. Instead, the Milanese let their new liberty go to their heads; they had elected their own magistrates to run the government, an act of rebellion that persisted down to the present day. But the emperor, mild as ever, refused to be provoked despite the injustice of his rejection. In the meantime, Francesco Sforza had appeared on the scene. Once their friend, now their enemy, he had reduced the surrounding towns to his control. Milan was under siege and enduring great hardships; the troops had deserted to Francesco; food was scarce; none of the

¹ WO, I, II, pp. 267-268: *Supersedimus sequenti die, ut recolligeremus dicenda et melius deliberati ad proponendum veniremus. Offerebant se conservatores ad hospitium nostrum venturos ibique nos audituros, quia loco domini sui nos venerarentur. Nobis autem placuit omnino eos accedere, tum quia missi ad eos eramus, tum quia in loco amplo major haberetur populi multitudo. Accesserunt igitur die tertia nos ipsi conservatores sive gubernatores cum plurimis magnatibus nosque ad locum residentiae suae conduxerunt. Ibi magna nobilium et doctorum copia fuit, plenum erat auditorium notabilibus viris. Postquam omnes consederunt, facto silentio praesentatis litteris regis et condigna salutatione praemissa, propositionem et expositionem ambassiatiae in hunc fecimus effectum. ... His dictis et ad longum expositis, ut exstat oratio ad verbum scripta, Mediolanenses deliberationem receperunt et venientes postea ad hospitium nostrum per dominum Nicolaum de Arziboldis responderi fecerunt.*

² King Alfonso V and Duke Charles of Orléans

³ CO, I, 18 (Meserve, I, p. 81)

⁴ WO, I, II, p. 271: *Die igitur lunae, in festo sancti Leonardi, de sero habuimus audientiam ac per horam locuti sumus .* Possibly "locuti sumus" does not indicate a formal speech, but an exchange of views

⁵ The first imperial embassy to Milan, during which Piccolomini delivered the "Est mihi non parum"

neighbouring princes would bring them aid. The emperor alone, heedless of every insult, took pity on their plight. If they would now, at last, submit to the Holy Empire and acknowledge the emperor as their lord, he was ready to help them. They should keep in mind that agreements had already been made with the emperor's cousin, Duke Sigismund, a neighbor of the Lombards; in a short time a large force would cross the Alps and descend into their territory. They could not rely on themselves alone, for that would be hopeless, but neither should they imagine that acknowledging the emperor as their sovereign would mean the loss of their freedom. To serve a legitimate and natural lord was the only true liberty; in cities ruled in the name of the people, some groups of men always emerged to subject the people to their will. Indeed, the choice lay between the imperial rule or that of Sforza¹, for it had got to point where, unless they submitted to the emperor, they would never escape the lordship² of Francesco. If they would only acknowledge the emperor, he would shower his citizens with extraordinary favors and important privileges: they would trade freely throughout Germany and make Milan a magnificent city, the capital of Italy.³

The imperial intervention in this whole matter was unsuccessful, and the diplomatic missions are barely mentioned in the Italian chronicles of the time.⁴ Piccolomini himself wrote on the affair of the Milanese succession in his *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarius* from 1450,⁵ in his *Historia Austriacis* / 1. Version from 1453,⁶ and in his *De Europa* 1458,⁷ but without mentioning his own orations.

The whole issue was settled by military power when Francesco Sforza, after a lengthy siege, entered Milan with his troops on 26 February 1450.⁸

¹ Francesco Sforza

² "dominatum": Meserve translates as "tyranny"

³ CO, I, 19 (Meserve, pp. 86-89)

⁴ Voigt, II, p. 433

⁵ WO, II, pp. 164-228; Reject, pp. 321-387, and especially pp. 383-385

⁶ HA / 1. version (Knödler, I, pp. 48-80)

⁷ Piccolomini: *De Europa*, 187-189 (Brown, pp. 222-231)

⁸ Gamberini, p. 158: *Following the death of Filippo Maria (1447) the major change was, clearly, that of the ruling dynasty. The main line of the Visconti dynasty had no male heirs, and from the competition for the succession the victor who emerged was the condottiero Francesco Sforza, husband of the only descendant of the late duke, Bianca Maria. With difficulty, Francesco established his control over a state that was once more fragmenting, and on 26 February 1450 he entered the capital: a Milan that, following the death of Filippo Maria, had experienced a republican government. However, Francesco Sforza could not obtain acknowledgement by the emperor. As the investiture of 1395 excluded the possibility of succession through the female line, Frederick III claimed the duchy to be devolved to the empire. By appealing to the right of Milan to choose its own rulers, the new prince was content with legitimation 'from below'. He obtained the title of duke by a general assembly of the people and received the symbols of the office during a public ceremony in the presence of the highest ranks of Milanese aristocracy*

2. Themes

The mission report to the emperor of the first embassy to Milan in 1447 gave this summary of the oration:

Firstly, we related that Your Imperial Majesty had heard about the death of the Duke of Milan and how grieved you were, for various reasons.

Secondly we announced that at his death the Duchy of Milan and the other lands of the late duke had by law devolved on the Holy Empire, and we formally presented your claim to them, showing that for the Milanese there was no other secure and honourable issue than that offered by the king. We also praised the way the Milanese had, in the meantime, defended their country, and we expressed the hope that they had done so for the honour of the Empire.

Thirdly, we related how greatly the situation of the City of Milan had changed over the centuries, sometimes being joyous and sometimes sad, adding that it would now regain its former glory if they would live under direct imperial rule, as they ought to. We also stated the four main benefits the Milanese would gain if they obeyed the emperor duly: honourable freedom, lasting peace, immense glory, and increasing wealth. Finally we offered needful assistance against those endeavouring to molest the Milanese.

Fourthly we gave a brief conclusion, repeating the rights of the empire which Your Royal Majesty would in no way neglect.¹

The summary does not mention the dynastic connection that Piccolomini refers to several times in the oration. Friederich III was the greatgrandson of Bernabò Visconti, sole lord of Milan from 1379-1385. Bernabò's daughter, Viridis, married Leopold III, Duke of Austria and Friedrich's grandfather. This relationship did not give the emperor a strong dynastic claim on Milan, but it did provide his ambassador with the flattering argument that the emperor was a Milanese blood.

¹ WO, I, II, pp. 267-268: *Primo exposuimus, quomodo regia majestas audiverat mortem ducis Mediolani, de qua doluerat pluribus respectibus. Secundo diximus, per mortem ejus ducatum Mediolanensem ceteraque dominia quondam Filippi ad imperium sacrum pleno jure devoluta fore eaque debitis modis petivimus, monstrantes nullam aliam viam tenere Mediolanenses posse securam et honestam, quam viam regis, laudantes, quae medio tempore Mediolanenses fecerant defendendo patriam, sperantes, quod omnia pro honore imperii fecissent. Tertio narravimus statum urbis Mediolanensis, quam varius fuerit superioribus temporibus, nunc laetus, nunc tristis, adjicientes, quod nunc ad pristinam gloriam reverterentur, si sub imperio vellent degere, uti deberent, exponentes quatuor principalia bona, quas ipsi Mediolanenses assequerentur, si regiae majestati debite parerent, libertatem honestam, pacem longam, gloriam ingentem et divitiarum incrementa, offerentes subsidia oportuna adversus eos, qui turbare Mediolanenses niterentur. Quarto fecimus de omnibus dictis brevem epilogum cum repetitione juris imperii, quod regia majestas nullatenus esset neglectura*

Neither does the summary mention the promise to the Milanese that the emperor would make Milan his imperial residence. This promise might have had certain advantages for the Milanese, but it might not have reassured them that they would retain a high degree of autonomy under imperial rule. Anyway, the emperor could not possibly have committed himself to such a course, and to promise it in an oration was really quite preposterous.

3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was delivered on 21 October 1447.¹

The place was the town hall of Milan.²

The audience was an assembly of prominent men in Milan.

The format was that of a diplomatic oration on behalf of the emperor. The speech is called an *oratio* both in the title and in the report to the emperor.

It is possible that the oration was delivered in Italian, out of consideration for the members of the audience many of whom might not have Latin, and afterwards edited in a Latin version.

4. Text³

The text of the oration was undoubtedly drafted by Piccolomini and discussed between the members of the embassy or at least between Schlick and Piccolomini - as would have been the case with the mission report itself which explicitly mentions the *textus orationis*.⁴

The oration was included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, a compilation of Pius' orations compiled 1462-1464. To what extent the text was revised in this context is not known.

¹ Voigt, I, p. 432

² Hufnagel, p. 409

³ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

⁴ WO, II, p. 268

It is not known either why the oration Piccolomini held during the third imperial mission to Milan in 1449 was not included in the Collected Orations, but the reason may have been that in that oration Piccolomini had explicitly argued against Francesco Sforza as ruler of the city. He had not done so in a personal capacity, but as an imperial diplomat. Still, during Pius' papacy, Sforza, now Duke of Milan, was his main Italian ally, and it might therefore have been found awkward to include the oration in the official papal collection of orations.

4.1. Manuscripts

The oration is included in all seven manuscripts containing the Collected Orations of Pius II^{1 2}:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 51v-53v (G)*
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Communale**
100, ff. 71r-74r (F)*
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
I. 97 inf., ff. 45r-47v (E)*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 47r-50r (D)*
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 34r-36r (A)*
Chis. J.VIII.286, 65r-69r (C)*
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 47r-50r (B)*

4.2. Editions

The "*Est mihi non parum*" was published by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca, 1755-1759 / Vol. 2, 1755, pp. 122-128.

¹ Cf. *Collected orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, ch. 5.2

² Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 9-10.

Text:

The present edition is based on all the seven extant manuscripts. The lead manuscript is the Chis. J.VIII.284.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the Chis. J.VIII.284.

5. Sources

This oration is completely, and uncharacteristically, without oratorical embellishments (*ornatus*) and quotes from classical, biblical, patristic or other sources.

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.284

B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1788

C = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.286

D = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VI.211

E = Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I. 97 inf.

F = Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale / 100

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

Abbreviations

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

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

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

MA = Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759

MPL = Migne, Jacques-Paul: *Patrologia latina*. 217 vols. 1841-1865

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

WO = *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918

Decretum = *Decretum magistri Gratiani*. Ed. Lipsiensis secunda. Eds. A.L. Richter & A. Friedberg. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1879

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Rainaldus = *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit.* Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663

Reject = *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II).* Intr. and transl. by T.M. Izbicki *et al.* Washington, D.C., 2006

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratio Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei Senensis qui postea pontificatum maximum adeptus Pius II. appellatus est ad populum Mediolanensem post obitum Philippi Mariae¹ ducis, cum esset legatus Friderici Caesaris²

[1] {34r} Est mihi non parum oneris, reverendi patres, magnifici et spectabiles domini, ceterique viri praestantes, in hoc amplissimo loco gloriosissimi domini³ nostri, domini Friderici, Romanorum regis, semper Augusti, quae suscepimus, mandata referre, quamvis justissima sunt, et vobis erunt, sicut⁴ arbitror, omnibus gratissima et per jocunda. Scio namque, quia nec rerum magnitudini, nec auditorum dignitati, nec mittentis⁵ auctoritati parem orationem habebō. Solatur me tamen unum, postquam parere collegis⁶ oportet, in auditorio namque sapientum virorum loquar, apud quos potentior est nuda veritas quam vestita, qui nec verborum⁷ lenocinia diligunt, nec artificiosis orationibus delectantur. Parebo igitur superioribus meis, et aperto sermone, quae nobis commissa sunt, absolvam paucis. Vos non tantum aures, obsecro, sed etiam animos adhibete⁸. Res enim maximas et huic utiles populo totique patriae gloriosas exponam.

¹ Mediolansis B; Mariae Mediolansis E

² Oratio ... Caesaris : Oratio Enee Silvii Piccolominei Senensis, legati Friderici Caesaris, ad populum Mediolanensem D, G

³ domini *add.* F

⁴ ut G

⁵ mittenti C

⁶ parere collegis : collegis parere G

⁷ *omit.* G

⁸ adhibere F

Oration of Enea Silvio Piccolomini from Siena who, after he became pope was called Pius II, to the people of Milan after the death of Duke Filippo Maria, as legate of the Emperor

0. Introduction

[1] Reverend fathers, great and revered lords, and you others, eminent men, it is no small task for me to relate, in this grand place, the mandate given to us by our glorious Lord Friedrich,¹ King of the Romans, always Augustus, though it is absolutely legitimate and will be, I think, most welcome and joyful to you all. For I know that my oration cannot do proper justice to the importance of the matter, nor to the dignity of the audience, nor to the authority of the sender. But as I must obey the wishes of my colleagues, one thing comforts me: I shall be speaking to an audience of wise men to whom the naked truth counts for more than truth "done up", and who do not like flattering words, nor delight in artful orations. So, I shall obey my superiors and, speaking frankly and succinctly, perform the task entrusted to us. And you, do not open your ears alone, but also your minds, for I shall be speaking about highly important matters that are to the advantage and honour² of this people and the whole country.

¹ Friedrich III (1415-1493): Duke of the House of Austria, elected emperor 1440 (King of the Romans), crowned emperor in Rome 1452

² "gloria"

[2] Accepit sane regia sublimitas, non multi sunt dies, clausisse oculos naturaeque debitum {34v} persolvere indelebilis clarissimaeque¹ memoriae dominum quondam Philippum Mariam, ducem et principem vestrum. Indoluit ejus obitum regia majestas, nam et consanguineum amisit carissimum, qui multis victoriis magnisque rebus gestis claruerat, et imperium sacrum fideli ac memorabili principe destitutum videbat, ferventeque bello timebat, ne mors tanti domini magnam aliquam mutationem clademque pareret. Et quoniam de Mediolanensi sanguine origo est illi, quanto magis afficitur huic urbi, tanto de vobis statuque vestro sollicitiorem curam gerebat.

[3] Intellexistis jam vos suis ex litteris, quomodo Venetis et aliis per circuitum existentibus mandatum est, ne quam vobis molestiam inferant, sed urbem istam totumque dominium sub imperii sacri devotione ac sub aliis² regiae majestatis tamquam veri naturalis et ordinarii³ domini honesta libertate paceque frui permittant. Intellexistis etiam decrevisse regiam majestatem oratores suos huc transmittere mentem suam significare plenius, totisque conatibus suis ad tuitionem vestram navare operas. Medio tempore vos, uti fortes viros decebat, patriam tutati estis, libertatem defendistis, nec alienari dominium permisistis. Commendat hoc regia majestas, confidens vos, uti fideles⁴ praestantesque viros ad honorem et commodum imperii, cujus estis peculiaries, omnia direxisse.

¹ clarissime F

² aliis E

³ ordinari E

⁴ fortes B, E

1. Emperor's sorrow at the death of the duke

[2] A short time ago, His Royal Highness heard that your duke and prince, Lord Filippo Maria,¹ of indelible and noble memory, had closed his eyes and paid his due to nature. His death was a great sorrow to His Royal Majesty, knowing that he personally had lost a very dear relative, famous for many victories and great deeds, and that the Holy Empire had been deprived of a faithful and outstanding² prince. As war was raging, he feared that the death of this great lord would cause upheavals and devastation. And as he is of Milanese blood, he is greatly concerned about this city and therefore concerned about you and about your state.

2. Milan's devolution to the Empire

[3] You already know from his letter³ how he has ordered the Venetians and others around you not to molest you in any way, but to let this city and this whole state enjoy honest freedom and peace, as belonging to the Holy Empire and being under the wings of His Royal Majesty, its true, natural and ordinary lord. You have also heard that His Royal Majesty decided to send his ambassadors here to explain more fully his intentions⁴ and to support your cause by all means. In the meantime, you yourselves, as befits strong men, have protected your country, defended your freedom, and not allowed the lordship to pass on to others. His Royal Majesty commends this course of action in the firm belief that, as the loyal and outstanding men you are, you have done everything in order to uphold the honour and advantage of the empire whose subjects⁵ you are.

¹ Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447): Duke of Milan from 1412 to his death

² "memorabilis"

³ On 1 September 1445, the emperor sent letters to Milan declaring it to have devolved to the empire, and to Venice ordering it to leave Milan in peace, see Hufnagel, p. 406

⁴ "mentem"

⁵ "peculiares"

[4] Nec enim vos latet hanc urbem ceteraque dominia istius patriae, quae fuerunt ducis praefati, ad imperium sacrum serenissimumque dominum nostrum, Romanorum regem, tamquam feudi dominum, pleno jure per mortem ejus esse devoluta, solamque regiam majestatem de jure in his habere jurisdictionem. Adsumus jam igitur nos oratores regii, quos cernitis, plenaque potestate fulciti: rogamus dignitates vestras et requirimus magnificentias, ut postpositis aliis tractatibus, si qui sunt obliqui, regio culmini, vero et naturali domino vestro, dumtaxat auscultetis. Namque cum sacro imperio, cui juridice subestis, honorem suum et debitum vestrum praestabitis, gloriosam pacem adipiscemini, nulli de vobis querela supererit, et firmus erit status vester.

[5] Accepimus aliquos¹ esse, qui vobis multa repromittunt. Neminem nominamus, vos illos melius nobis² nostis. Videant amicitiae vestrae, ne sub blandis verbis deceptiones lateant, ne plus quaeratur, quam offeratur. Fugiendi sunt adulterini domini. Qui verus est haeres, cui jus competit, illi dandus est honor. Justa imperia firma sunt, stabilia, perpetua. Cum tyrannis abortivisque³ dominis nulla potest esse firma tranquillitas, nulla pax, nulla quies. Saepius experta est hoc Lombardica terra. Quidquid violentum est, caducum est. Infirmus est {35r} principatus, quem gladius non fides tuetur. Justum imperium non indiget ferro. Melius ista cognoscitis, quam nos fari possimus. Et quoniam imperiales estis, nullam viam intelligitis esse securam, nullum stabile foedus, nullum solidum regimen, cui non faverit culmen imperiale. Exhortatur itaque populum istum regia majestas, ut secum de hac florenti republica conveniatis, sibi que tamquam justo principi vestro, de⁴ vestro sanguine originem habenti, condignum praebentes honorem. Ad cujus praesignis domini gubernationem suis auxiliis et consiliis⁵ auscultare velitis, quia non solum protegere et conservare, sed etiam augere totis viribus pristinam vestram dignitatem intendit.

¹ forsitan [crossed out] *add.* A, C

² *del.* D ; *omit.* G

³ abortivis B, E

⁴ *omit.* E

⁵ auxiliis et consiliis : consiliis et auxiliis G

[4] For you know, of course, that this city and the other regions of the country¹ belonging to the aforesaid duke, have by his death rightfully² reverted to the Holy Empire and to our Most Serene Lord, the King of the Romans, as the feudal lord, and that, now, only His Royal Majesty has legitimate jurisdiction over them. Therefore, we, the ambassadors of the king, whom you see before you, have come, invested with full powers. We ask and require that Your Excellencies³ set aside any treaties that may contravene our purpose⁴ and that you only follow His Royal Highness, your true and natural lord. For as you honour and give your due to the Holy Empire, whose rightful subjects you are, you will gain a glorious peace, you will suffer no more conflict, and your state will stand firm.

[5] We are informed that other people⁵ may be making great promises to you. We name nobody, you know them better than we do. Friends, look carefully for the deceptions hidden behind the flattering words, asking for more than they give. False lords should be avoided. Honour should be given to the true heir who has right on his side. Just reigns are firm, stable and enduring. With tyrants and ephemeral lords there can be no firm tranquility, no peace, no calm. This has often been felt by the Lombard land. All that is based on violence is fragile. Weak is the lordship that is protected by the sword and not by loyalty. Legitimate lordship does not need the sword. This you know better than we can express it. And since you belong to the Empire, you understand that no way is safe, no treaty is lasting, and no regime is solid if it is not protected by His Imperial Highness. Therefore His Royal Majesty invites your people to come to an agreement with him concerning this flourishing state and to give due honour to himself as your legitimate prince, descending from your own blood.⁶ Accept his assistance and heed his advice concerning the government of this excellent realm for he intends not only to protect and preserve it, but even with all his might raise it above its former high status⁷.

¹ "patria"

² "pleno jure"

³ "dignitates et magnificentias vestras"

⁴ "obloqui"

⁵ I.e. the other pretendants to the Duchy of Milan

⁶ One of the greatgrandfathers of the emperor was Bernabò Visconti, see Introduction

⁷ "dignitatem"

[6] Novit serenitas imperatoria urbem istam splendidam ac magnificentissimam, quae caeli clementia, soli ubertate, ac industria civium non solum Galliae Cisalpinae, sed Italiae totius praecellit urbes, ut tradunt historici, duobus millibus annorum et amplius semper Insubrium caput fuisse, et nunc magnorum ducum, nunc regum, nunc Caesarum sedem extitisse. Nam et Theodosium et Valentinianum Romanosque¹ plures imperatores hoc loci² sedisse, jura reddidisse³, concilia celebrasse constat. Semper autem magnum et clarum Mediolanensis populi nomen erat. Multae subinde varietates fuerunt, utque nutant semper mortalia, nunc floridus, nunc obscurus hujus urbis status fuit.

[7] Ad manus demum nobilissimae domus Vicecomitum venistis, qui primo munere divi Henrici Caesaris septimi⁴ imperiales⁵ vicarii⁶ et tandem gratia gloriosissimi regis Wenceslai⁷ ⁸ creati duces, annis centum et ultra principatum in hac urbe tenuerunt. Multa superioribus temporibus perpeesus est hic populus dura, dum fortunarum potius quam fidei jacturam vult⁹ pati. Modo, quia¹⁰ rursus ad imperium reversi estis, non ambigit regia sublimitas, quin vos imperio fideles sitis, qui fuistis ducibus fidelissimi. Quod si feceritis, uti¹¹ spes est indubia, post maximam tempestatem felici serenitate fruemini, redibunt tempora prisca, rursusque triumphabit.

[8] Quattuor autem potissime bona sub devotione et oboedientia sacri imperii consequemini¹²: libertatem honestam, pacem longam, gloriam ingentem, et divitiarum¹³ incrementa.

¹ Theodosius et Valentinianus apud Mediolanum *in marg.* D, G

² imperatores hoc loci : hoc loci imperatores G

³ redisse A, B, C, E, F; reddidisse *corr. ex redisse* D; reddidisse G

⁴ Henricus septimus vicarios *in marg.* C; Henricus Septimus *in marg.* D, G

⁵ imperialis G

⁶ vicarium E

⁷ Wenceslai B, D, E, F, G

⁸ Wenceslaus duces *in marg.* C; Wenceslaus rex *in marg.* D, G

⁹ jacturam vult : vult iacturam G

¹⁰ qui G

¹¹ ut D, G

¹² consequimini F

¹³ libertatem honestam ... divitiarum *omit.* F

3. History of Milan

[6] His Serene Highness knows this splendid and magnificent city that surpasses all other cities not only in Cisalpine Gaul,¹ but in all of Italy, with regard to the mild climate, the fertile soil, and the citizens' industry. According to the historians, it has been the capital of Lombardy² for more than 2.000 years and the seat sometimes of grand dukes, sometimes of kings, and sometimes of emperors. For it is a fact that both Theodosius³ and Valentinianus⁴ and several other Roman emperors had their residence here, and gave laws, and held meetings. All that time, the name of the Milanese people was great and famous. Later, many changes occurred, as human affairs are always unstable: at times the city flourished, and at other times it fell into obscurity.

[7] Finally, it came into the hands of the noble house of the Viscontis. First⁵ they were granted status as imperial vicars by Heinrich VII, Holy Emperor,⁶ and later⁷ they were created dukes by the grace of King Wenceslas.⁸ In all, they have ruled this city for more than a hundred years.⁹ Previously, this people endured many hardships when it had to suffer the consequences of fortune rather than loyalty. But now that you have reverted to the Empire, His Royal Highness does not doubt that you will be faithful to it, just as you were very faithful to your dukes. If you do so, as it is firmly hoped, then you will, after this great upheaval, enjoy serene happiness, the former times will return, and you shall be triumphant once again.

4. Advantages of direct imperial rule

[8] Through devotion and obedience to the Empire you will gain four advantages: honourable freedom, enduring peace, immense glory, and increasing wealth.

¹ i.e. Northern Italy

² "Insubrium"

³ Theodosius I (347-395): Roman Emperor from 379 to his death

⁴ Valentinianus (321-375): Roman emperor from 364 to his death

⁵ 1311

⁶ Heinrich VII (1274-1313): elected emperor 1308 and crowned as such in 1308

⁷ 1395

⁸ Wenceslaus (1361-1419): King of Bohemia. Elected King of the Romans 1376 and deposed as such in 1400 in favour of his brother, Sigismund

⁹ The Viscontis ruled Milan from 1277 to 1447

[9] Quae sunt enim privilegia vestra ex¹ indulgentia Caesarum vobis concessa et rite confirmata, rata vult manere regia benignitas, novas et inordinatas exactiones, gabellas insolitas gravesque tollere, jura et libertates vestras, uti rationabiliter processerunt, sine violatione consistere, utque libertas sit omnibus bene vivendi, novis et decentibus honoribus hunc populum sublimare.

[10] Vicinos vestros ad pacem vel inducet vel {35v} compellet regalis providentia. Non est parva, ut omnes sciunt, potentia serenissimi domini² regis nostri, qui patrualem suam gubernat, Hungariae Bohemiaeque regem. Inclita domus Austriae, cui praesidet regalis sublimitas, longe lateque dominatur: Italiam ab Adriatico sinu secus Forum Julii per Athesinos pluresque montes usque³ in Sabaudiam cingit. Consanguinitate et affinitate conjuncta est omnibus Germaniae Galliaeque principibus. His accedunt vires imperii incomparabiles, maximi domini potentesque civitates⁴ Alamaniae ad imperii gloriam decusque voluntariae. Nec in Italia desunt, uti Deo dante videbitis, qui favent imperio, principes populique. His adjumentis vobis debite juvantibus, beato Ambrosio, protectore vestro, opem ferente, et justitia suffragante, non erit difficile sublimitati regiae, quod proposuit: hostes propulsare, agros tueri vestros, vindicare, quae sunt erepta, pacemque perpetuam constituere.

[11] Ex his nascetur ingens gloria populo Mediolanensi, qui ex ducali factus imperialis⁵ libertatem defenderit, hostes terruerit, amissa recuperaverit, pacem obtinuerit: qui nulli subest, nisi cui subsunt omnes, qui regem habet de sanguine suo cretum, affectum sibi prae omnibus et gratiosum, qui solo paret imperatori, cujus officium, dignitas, et auctoritas⁶ omnibus⁷ praestat saecularibus potestatibus, cui subesse libertas est, et regnare potius quam servire.

¹ *omit.* F

² *omit.* F

³ *omit.* G

⁴ potentesque civitates : civitatesque potentes G

⁵ factus imperialis : imperialis factus G

⁶ omnibus et gratiosum ... auctoritas *omit.* B, E

⁷ et gratiosum *add.* A [*by erroneous repetition of et gratiosum from previous line*]; se gratiosum *add.* D, G [*trying to correct the error in A*]. [C *omits the erroneous repetition*]

4.1. Freedom

[9] All privileges granted to you and duly confirmed by the emperors, your benevolent king will ratify. Moreover, he intends to abolish all new and extraordinary exactions as well as unusual and heavy taxes, and to keep your rights and freedoms inviolate insofar as they have developed reasonably. And so that all may be free to live well, he desires to raise this people to new and well-deserved honours.

4.2. Peace

[10] Through the King's providence your neighbours will be brought to or forced to peace. For as everyone knows, the power of our Most Serene Lord and King is not small: he governs his nephew, the King of Hungary and Bohemia.¹ The illustrious House of Austria over which he presides rules far and wide, spanning Italy from the Adriatic Gulf as far as Friuli over the Etsch and many mountains to Savoy. It is related by blood and marriage to all the princes of Germany and France. Moreover, the strength of the empire is incomparable, and great lords and powerful cities in Germany willingly support its glory and splendour. Also in Italy there are, as you will see – God willing - princes and peoples who support the empire. With such help to support you, with the assistance of Saint Ambrose, your protector,² and with the aid of justice it will not be difficult for His Royal Highness to do as he intends: to drive out your enemies, to protect your lands, to reclaim what has been taken away, and to establish a permanent peace.

4.3. Glory

[11] From these, immense glory will accrue to the people of Milan when, having been raised from ducal to imperial status, it has defended its liberty, scared the enemies away, recovered what was lost, and gained peace. It will be directly under a ruler who rules all. It will have a king born of its own blood, who loves and treasures it more than all others. It will only obey the emperor whose office, dignity, and authority surpass all other secular powers, and to obey whom is to be free and *to rule rather than to serve*.³

¹ The boy king, Ladislaus Posthumous (1440-1457): born Duke of Austria, King of Hungary from 1444 and King of Bohemia from 1453. Nephew and ward of Friederich III

² Ambrosius, Aurelius (ca. 340-397). Archbishop of Milan. Doctor of the Church. Saint. Piccolomini also mentions his protectorship of Milan in the oration "*Si quis me roget*" [2] (sect. 31), delivered on his feastday in 1438

³ From the *Missa pro pace* in the Roman missal . Also used in Pius' oration "*Ingentes vobis quirites*" [61] of 6 October 1460, but there it is applied to the pope and the Romans

[12] Ex his etiam pace parta, ampliabuntur divitiae vestrae. Folia bellorum paupertas est, pax est mater opum. Uberes sunt agri tempore pacis, utilia flumina, feraces etiam silvae, omnia in pace fructificant. Multa ex pace vobis succrescent¹ commoda. Ex praesentia quoque regiae majestatis non parvam sugetis utilitatem. Venire namque ad vos decrevit personaliter, morari inter vos, suamque sedem more majorum, ut opus esse cognoverit, hic locare. Sequentur multi ex Alania principes, clarisque semper ejus² curia florebit plena magnatibus. Habebitis hic principem humanissimum, nulli gravem, omnibus mitem, pium, religiosum, justitiae cultorem, quem semper³ affari poteritis, ac ejus aspectu benignissimo jocundoque perfrui. Clerus vester sub religioso principe religiosam observabit⁴ vitam gaudebitque libere suis bonis. Nobilitas in curia regia splendidior fiet. Litterati industriosique omnes viri tribunal imperatorium circumdabunt. Mercatoribus terra mariaque patebunt. Quotidianum lucrum artifices duplicabunt. Conditionem suam singuli meliorem efficient auctaque civitas haec divitiis, potentatu, honore, gloria⁵ ad pristinam {36r} dignitatem splendoremque revertetur, cum sedentibus hic Caesaribus Romam alteram appellabunt Mediolanum.

¹ excrescent F

² *omit.* F

³ saepe B, E

⁴ servabit E

⁵ gloriam E

4.4. Wealth

[12] When peace has come, your wealth will grow. Poverty is the daughter of war, and peace is the mother of wealth. In times of peace fields are bountiful, rivers useful, and even forests are prolific. During peace everything bears fruit. Peace will bring you many and great benefits, and the presence of His Royal Majesty will be highly advantageous. For he has decided to come to you in person, to stay with you, and to establish his residence here after the custom of the forefathers – for he knows this to be necessary. Many princes will follow him from Germany, and his court will flourish and always be full of illustrious magnates. Here you will have a gentle prince, harsh against nobody, kind towards everybody, pious, religious and just. You will always be able to talk to him and enjoy his kind and happy demeanour. Your clergy will lead a religious life under a religious prince, and it will enjoy its possessions freely. The nobility at the royal court will be more splendid. Learned and industrious men will surround the imperial tribunal. All lands and seas will be open to your merchants. The artisans will double their profits. All individuals will have better conditions of life, and when the city has grown in prosperity, power, honour and glory it will return to its former dignity and splendour. With the emperors residing here, Milan will be called the Second Rome.

[13] Quae cum ista sint futura verisimiliter, cum vera intelligatis esse, quae dixerim, omnia - nec¹ aliquis ea justa saltim² ratione refellere possit - cumque hoc dominium ad imperium sacrum jure pertineat, cum velit possitque regia majestas vos tueri, cum libertatis honestae pacisque bonum vobis repromittatur, cum gloria et utilitas hinc maxima redundet, cum proculdubio status nullus in hac patria sine justitia et imperiali³ beneplacito stabilis esse queat, cum dominus noster, divus Caesar Fridericus ex sanguine Mediolanensi natus huic civitati affectissimus tamquam Romanorum rex vester sit naturalis, ordinarius, verus et supremus dominus, velint magnificentiae vestrae suam majestatem uti dominum vestrum debite venerari sibi, sicut par est, circa regimen hujus urbis directionemque vestri status et aliarum terrarum⁴ in his, quae justa et rationabilia sunt, acquiescere et una secum nobis mediantibus pertractare ac concludere, ut descendat super vos benedictio domini, qui vos totamque vestram communitatem sub devotione, oboedientia atque obsequio regiae majestatis ad laudem et gloriam superni numinis et imperii sacri decus felicioribus in dies efferat incrementis. Amen⁵.

¹ ne F

² saltem C

³ et imperiali : imperialique B, E

⁴ ceterarum B, E

⁵ *omit.* B, E

5. Conclusion

[13] This is what will most likely happen, and you will understand that all the things I say are true and cannot be refuted by anybody, on any grounds. This realm legitimately belongs to the empire. His Royal Majesty will and can protect you.¹ You have been given the promise of honourable freedom and the benefit of peace. Glory and great advantage will accrue to you. Undoubtedly, no state in this country can be stable without justice and imperial favour. Our Lord and Holy Emperor Friedrich, born of Milanese blood, is greatly devoted to this city, and as King of the Romans he is your natural, ordinary, true and supreme lord. For all these reasons, I ask your Magnificent Lordships to give due honour to His Majesty as your lord, to accede to his wishes concerning the rule of this city and the government of your state and other territories, since they are just and reasonable. I also ask you to negotiate and conclude an agreement with him, with us as mediators. Then may the blessing of the Lord descend upon you. And as you and your whole community live in devotion, obedience and respect towards His Royal Majesty, to the praise and glory of the supreme Divinity and the honour of the Holy Empire, then may the Lord daily bring you happy growth. Amen.

¹ Well-informed Milanese might have doubted the emperor's interest in and ability to undertake a serious military intervention in Italy. It was well-known that the emperor was involved in a number of conflicts in Austria, Germany and Central Europe, and the threat of a Turkish invasion was growing all the time, especially after the decisive Turkish victory at Varna, three years before. By then it was always known that the emperor himself was quite unwarlike and cautious.