

ALDEN SMITH

*PIUS AENEAS REDUX: PIUS II, ENEA SILVIO PICCOLOMINI*¹

As do all popes, Pius II had a given name; in his case, it was a name laden with history, specifically Roman history. On 18 October 1405 that future pope was born as Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini – *Aeneas Silvius* – a name that recalls both Rhea Silvia, the vestal virgin who gave birth to Romulus and Remus, the legendary eighth-century founders of Rome, and, of course, also harks back to Aeneas, the twelfth-century founder of Rome with a name beyond legend, for it was he who transformed Trojan into Roman. Years later, that ancient forebear, made famous in his Virgilian incarnation, would influence Enea in his choice of papal name, Pius, which alongside his given name echoes the famous appellation of the *Aeneid*'s eponymous character, “pius Aeneas”².

This connection is made explicit by his poetic biographer Giovanni Antonio Campano in a poem written to celebrate Enea as the new Pope Pius II (III 23, 17-27³):

*Eneas Pius et sacros poetas
et letas facili manu Camenas
affert in Latium suum, o, boni dii,
quantum letitiae huic dedistis anno! 20
Non hic Dardanio refert Penates,
aut raucum Phrygiae gregem Cybeles,
sed Iesum dominum deum Latinum.
Grandis Roma suos habet triumphos,
Eneamque suum vident Quirites. 25
Quid maius potuere dii benigni
largiri Latio, quid et Camenis?*

Pius Aeneas brings sacred poets and happy
Muses with his easy hand to his own
Latium, O, good gods, how much
joy have you given to this year!
This man does not bring back the
household gods of Troy
or the noisy crowd of Phrygian Cybele,
but he brings Jesus, the Lord of the Latin gods.

¹ The contributors to this volume, which is the fruit of a conference on Piccolomini held at Baylor University in April 2018, would like to thank Baylor deans Lee Nordt and Thomas Hibbs, and program directors Elizabeth Corey and Jennifer Good.

² E. O'BRIEN, *The "Commentaries" of Pope Pius II (1458-1464) and the Crisis of the Fifteenth-Century Papacy*, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2015, p. 26.

³ S.T.M. DE BEER, *Poetry and Patronage. Literary Strategies in the Poems of Giannantonio Campano*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Amsterdam, 2007.

Rome has its own grand triumphs
 Roman citizens see their own Aeneas.
 With what greater thing could the kindly gods
 Enrich Latium, with what greater thing
 could they enrich the Muses?

We garner more specific and sometimes less than self-laudatory details from Enea's own often baldly honest *Commentaries*, the only autobiography ever written by a sitting pontiff. These memoirs are imitative of Julius Caesar's commentaries, as Piccolomini's, too, are composed in the third person and often in a style that emulates classical Latinity. Written during the last two years of his life, they preserve for us not only a most interesting autobiography but also the reflections of a mature spiritual leader who, if less personally than Augustine in his confessions, explains the journey of his life in light of a spiritual awakening. Yet the *Commentaries* are not themselves the only record of this interesting life, for Pius III, the next, if short-lived, Piccolomini pope, would commemorate his uncle's life in frescoes in the "Piccolomini Library" (1502-08), housed in the cathedral of Siena, with each fresco telling a story of Pius II's life. Though this artwork is based on the *Commentaries*, it nonetheless offers us another perspective on the life of Enea at least somewhat separated from his autobiographical account.

In the opening chapters of the *Commentaries*, Enea informs us that he was born into a large family with as many as eighteen children, though not all of them survived infancy. As a boy he worked on his father's farm, and from these humble beginnings would go on to study in Siena and later Florence. Eventually, however, the tension between the two cities caused him to suspend his educational pursuits and, like Virgil's hero, to leave his homeland (*Comm.* 1, 2, 3⁴):

Cuius professores cum aliquot annos audivisset, exorto inter Senenses ac Florentinos gravi bello, et litterarum studia intermittere et patriae dulce solum relinquere coactus est.

When he had listened to his professors for many years on this matter [civil law], a grave conflict arose between Siena and Florence. He was thus compelled to suspend his literary studies and leave the sweet soil of his fatherland.

Enea's acumen caught the attention of Domenico Capranica, bishop of Fermo, who visited Siena en route to the Council of Basel (1431-39), and thereafter that of Michael Pfullendorf, one of Frederick III's secretaries (*Comm.* 1, 11, 4)⁵:

Neque mentitus est; nam cum redisset Gaspar atque, quid Aeneas valeret, altera in re tentaret, cum reperiret ingeniosum, industrium et laboris patientem hominem, magni facere et praeferre eum cepit.

⁴ PIUS II, *Commentaries*, edited by M. MESERVE and M. SIMONETTA, I Tatti Renaissance Library, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA, 2004; all translations are my own.

⁵ T.I.G. CHRISTIANSON and P. KREY, eds. and trans., *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius. Selected Letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*, Washington, D.C., 2006, p. 3. Generally on the life of Enea Piccolomini, see also the other important contributions in this volume, as well as M. PELLEGRINI, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 83, Roma, 2015, as well as the now outdated but still useful work of G. VOIGT, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. 3 vols., Berlin 1856-1863.

Nor was [Michael Pfullendorf] deceived [about his talent], for when Kaspar had returned and, in whatever thing Aeneas was prevailing, he would put him to the test in something else; thus [Kaspar] found [Enea] to be a clever man, industrious and enduring in hard work, and he began to regard him of great value and to prefer him [to others].

Enea's talent was quite apparent to those around him. Though he did not initially wish to take up an ecclesiastical calling, he nevertheless entered the service of the Church when asked to serve as the bishop's personal secretary (*Comm.* 1, 10, 1):

Sed noluit Aeneas eam ob causam sacris se imbuere, conclave tamen velut caerimoniarum clericus intravit viditque caerimonias omnes quibus usi sunt Basilienses in electione Amedei ducis Sabaudiae quem Felicem papam Qunitum appellaverunt.

But Aeneas did not wish to taint himself with sacred matters for this reason [the fact that he was not yet a priest]; nevertheless, he entered the conclave as clerk of ceremonies and saw all the ceremonies that those from the Council of Basel employed to elect Amedeus, the Duke of Savoy, whom they called Pope Felix V.



In 1435 Cardinal Albergati sent Enea on a mission from Basel to Scotland⁶. Pinturicchio's rendition of him embarking upon this mission is portrayed in the library on the right wall, which also depicts the scene in that distant regal court, with James I seated upon the throne and a quite young Piccolomini attending the ambassador to the left of the scene.

The significance of this painting lies in its embodiment of the cosmopolitan feel of early Cinquecento Siena, a city that owed much of its *haut culture* to its position along the Francigena. Add to this that in that same period travel, even to the furthest reaches of the known world, such as Scotland, was very much a part of the dissemination and

⁶ Further, cfr. M. WYATT, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England. A Cultural Politics of Translation*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 28-31.

germination of Renaissance culture. This fresco reveals that at the center of its first grand wave was Enea Piccolomini, whose journey abroad set him on a path that would eventually lead him to the highest office in the Holy See. The moment portrayed here took place in 1431 or 1432, when Enea was part of the coterie of Cardinal Domenico Capranica⁷. One cannot help but notice the splendor of his dress and, in particular, his hat, which is typical of a pilgrim. Indeed, the notion of pilgrimage is a fitting motif both for the connotations of his name and for his life's story. Further, the white horse here almost certainly connotes the fact that he will eventually hold the office of pope, as the papal horse's color was always white⁸.

In his *Commentaries*, Piccolomini reports that en route to Scotland he encountered storms and rough seas that pushed his ship as far afield as Norway. As a result, this young man of the world made an oath: he swore that he would walk barefoot to the nearest shrine of St. Mary, which happened to be a considerable distance from where he landed (*Comm.* 1, 5, 3f.):

Ubi navem ingressus dum Scotiam petit, in Norvegiam propellitur duabus maximis iactatus tempestatibus, quarum altera quattuordecim horas mortis metum incussit, altera duabus noctibus et una die navim concussit atque in fundo perfregit; adeoque in Oceanum et septentrionem navis excurrit ut nulla iam caeli signa nautae cognoscentes spem omnem salutis admitterent. Sed adfuit divina pietas, quae suscitatis aquilonibus navim ad contentem reppulit, ac duodecimo tandem die terram Scotiam patefecit. Ubi, apprehenso portu, Aeneas ex voto decem milia passuum ad Beatam Virginem quad de Alva Ecclesia vocitant nudis pedibus projectus.

When, having embarked upon the ship, he was for a time seeking Scotland, he was, sea-tossed, driven to Norway by two huge tempests. One of these pushed them to fear death for fourteen hours, while the other battered the ship for a day and two nights and broke it open at the bottom. The ship then ran out to sea and to the north so that the sailors, unable to recognize the constellations, lost all hope of being saved. But divine *pietas*, which pushed the ship to land when the north winds were whipped up, attended them and at length on the twelfth day, opened the coast of Scotland before them. Where, once they had come to port, Aeneas, based on a vow, set out barefoot a distance of ten thousand paces, all the way to the Blessed Virgin of Whitekirk.

While in Scotland, he had an affair and fathered a child, but it died in infancy⁹. Enea then returned to Basel, where, he recounts, he fell ill with the plague, but miraculously recovered (1, 9, 4f.).

In 1439, while still in Basel, he supported the installation of Amadeus, Duke of Savoy as antipope, who took the name of Felix V¹⁰. Not much later, on a mission to Strasbourg, he had another affair which produced another child. That child also died¹¹.

⁷ E. O'BRIEN, *op. cit.* (2015), p. 47.

⁸ A. PARAVICINI-BAGLIANI, *The Pope's Body*, translated by D.S. PETERSON, Chicago and London, 1994, p. 90. For a brief description, cfr. the Web Gallery of Art (<https://www.wga.hu/index1.html>).

⁹ WYATT, *op. cit.* (2005), p. 29. Cfr. also CHRISTIANSON-KREY, *op. cit.* (2006), p. 37.

¹⁰ CHRISTIANSON-KREY, *op. cit.* (2006), p. 24.

¹¹ T. IBZICKI, *Reject Aeneas! Pius II on the Errors of his Youth*, in Z. von MARTELS-A. VANDERJAGT (eds.), *Pius II, "el più expeditivo pontefice": Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, 1405-1464*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 187-203; N. CAWTHORNE, *Six Lives of the Popes. An Irreverent Exposé of the Bishops of Rome from St. Peter to the Present Day*, London, 1996; rev. ed. 2004, p. 154.

In 1442 Enea was crowned poet laureate by Emperor Frederick III, another significant moment from the life of the future pope. Pinturicchio's painting offers details of the event that, though perhaps not precisely historically accurate, still have significance for our understanding of Enea's life. For example, the position of Enea's hands is telling; the poet laureate holds his arms crossed against his chest, signifying a kind of piety and submission that will befit a future pope named Pius.

Becoming poet laureate afforded Enea heightened recognition as a writer and allowed him to garner the patronage of Kaspar Schlick, chancellor of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III of Vienna¹².

That chancellor's dalliances may have inspired Enea's romance *The Tale of the Two Lovers*¹³. However that may be, the importance of Schlick and Piccolomini's relationship cannot be understated. Schlick's sponsorship opened up a world of contacts for Enea, especially as Enea became Schlick's primary editor of correspondence. He was even allowed to rewrite the chancellor's letters though not, of course, to alter their meaning¹⁴.

Their relationship also led to fresh political opportunities, particularly among the Germans. In 1447 Enea was called upon to help reconcile the dying Pope Eugene with the German princes, which left the antipope without support¹⁵. Pope Eugene's successor, Pope Nicholas V (1447-55), elevated Enea to a bishopric for his efforts to isolate the antipope (*Comm.* 1, 17, 4):

Ut autem Aeneas ex Urbe recessit, post dies viginti certum nuntium de morte pontificis Tergestini maximus pontifex Nicolaus accepit, qui nullum cardinalem consulens, indicto consistorio, paludatus mitratusque in Collegium venit et admirantibus primum, deinde faventibus Sacri Senatus universis patribus, Aeneam episcopum Tergestinum pronuntiavit litterasque absque pecunia expeditas ad eum misit.

But when Aeneas departed from the city, after twenty days Nicholas received a reliable report about the death of the bishop of Trieste; without consulting any cardinal or calling a consistory, he came into the Collegium wearing his robe and mitre and before the fathers of the Sacred Senate, who were initially astonished, but were soon all approving, he proclaimed Aeneas to be bishop of Trieste and sent him the text of his pronouncement free of charge.

¹² *Comm* 1, 11, 1f.

¹³ E.J. MORRALL, *The Tale of Eurialus and Lucretia by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini and Niklas von Wyle*, in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 81 (1980), p. 434f.

¹⁴ CHRISTIANSON and KREY, *op. cit.* (2006), pp. 28f.

¹⁵ Cf. CHRISTIANSON and KREY, *op. cit.* (2006), p. 28.



Later, upon the death of Nerio, the bishop of Siena, Enea learned that he had been appointed as Nerio's successor over the candidate initially favored by the Siense, a priest named Conti, abbot of the monastery of San Galgano¹⁶. Yet the appointment of Enea was welcome news for the Siense, who ultimately received him warmly (*Comm.* 1, 20, 6).

In 1452 Enea accompanied Frederick III to Rome, where Frederick wedded Leonora of Portugal. Along with Gregor Volckenstorf and Michael Pfullendorf, Enea had a hand in arranging that relationship (*Comm.* 1, 20, 1)¹⁷:

Aeneas inter haec ad ecclesiam Tergestinam cum se recepisset, in anno Iubilaei revocatus ad caesarem cum Gregorio de Populosa et Michaele de Plena Villa, Alfonso regem Aragonum et Siciliae iussus est petere, matrimonium caesaris nomine cum Leonora, regis Portugalliae sorore, ut ibi contraberet, nam legati Portugallenses eo convenerant. Quam rem diebus quadraginta tractatum cum denique concludissent, coram rege, cardinali Morinensi apostolico legato, Clivensi, Calabriae, Suessae Silesiaeque¹⁸ ducibus et magna praelatorum comitumque multitudine, in curia Novi Castri Neapolitani de nobilitate virtuteque contrabentium orationem habuit, quae postmodum a multis conscripta est.



¹⁶ *Comm.* 1, 20, 4f.

¹⁷ *Comm.* 1, 20, 1.

¹⁸ My correction of Simonetta's text, which reads "Sclesiaeque"; my emendation is taken from the text cited by P. GIANNONE, *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli*, The Hague, 1753, 26, 6, p. 403.

In the midst of these affairs, when Aeneas had returned to the church at Trieste and was called back to the emperor in the year of Jubilee along with Gregor Volckenstorf and Michael Pfullendorf, he was ordered to go on a mission to the King Alfonso of Aragon and Sicily to contract there for a marriage in the name of the emperor with Leanora, the sister of the king of Portugal, for the Portuguese ambassadors had already gathered there. After forty days of negotiation, when they finally had concluded the matter, in the presence of the king, Cardinal of Amiens, who was apostolic legate, the dukes of Clèves, Calabria, Suessa and Sielsia and the great multitude of clergy and nobles, in the senate house of the Castelnuovo at Naples he made a speech concerning the nobility and virtue of those making the [wedding] contract; it was afterwards recopied by many.

The meeting that Pius II arranged between Fredrick III and Leonora is one of the finer panels painted by Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini Library.

Three years later, Enea went to Rome to affirm Germany's allegiance to Eugene's successor Calixtus III. In the following year (1456) he was called upon to be a cardinal. Yet not long after, Calixtus III passed away (6 August 1458). In accordance with normal church practice, a conclave of cardinals was then called to choose the successor. Enea presents some of the more salient details and includes some interesting personal observations about his fellow cardinals (*Comm.* 1, 36, 15f.; 23; 27):

Post haec videns Aeneas cardinalem Papiensem, 'Audio', inquit, 'et te cum hisce sentire, qui Rhotomagensem eligere stauerunt. Quid ais?' Tum ille, 'Bene', inquit, 'audivisti. Pactus sum vocem illi dare, ne solus remanerem. Iam enim certa res eius est. Tot sunt qui ei promiserunt.' Cui Aeneas, 'Alium te,' inquit, 'virum esse estimavi, quam invenio. En, quantum a tuis mairoibus degenras!'

...

Modus schedularum hic erat. Scripserat quilibet manu propria: 'Ego, Petrus (sive Iohannes, sive alio nomine fuerit) eligo in Romanum pontificem Aeneam cardinalem Senensem et Iacobum Ulisbonensem'. Nam et unum et duos et plures eleigere permissum est, tacita conditione, ut prior nominatus praeferatur...

...

Quo audito ceciderunt adversariorum spiritus et omnis fracta est machinatio, et cardinales universi nihil morati ad pedes Aeneae sese proiecerunt eumque pontificem salutarunt...

When Aeneas later saw the cardinal of Pavia he said, "I hear that you were of the same sentiment as these men, who had decided to elect Rouen. What say you?" He then responded, "You heard well. I agreed to voice my vote for him, lest I should be left all alone. Surely now this matter is set; there are many who have pledged to back him". Aeneas said to him, "I thought you to be another sort of man than the one I find here. Look how much you have degenerated from your forebears!"

...

This was the manner of the ballots. Whosoever wished had written in his own hand, "I Peter (or John or another name, as appropriate) select to be the Roman pontiff Aeneas, cardinal of Siena and Jaime of Lisbon. For it was permitted to select one or two or even more, with one unstated condition, that the one at the top of the list be preferred..."

...

when [the name of Aeneas] was heard, the spirits of the opposition fell and all their contrivance was broken, and all the cardinals prostrated themselves at Aeneas' feet without delay and hailed him as Pontifex.

Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville of Rouen seemed certain to be elected, but through various deals brokered behind closed doors, some of which agreements are hinted at by other suggestive details in this same chapter of the *Commentaries*, we learn that by a unanimous vote on 19 August 1458, Enea was officially chosen to be crowned pope, an event that took place on the following 3 September.

Although, in light of his background, he might well have been expected to be a rather liberal, even pagan pope, he turned out to be far more conservative than could have been foreseen, even attempting to launch a crusade against the Turks in 1460¹⁹. His view of Islam was, based on his own theological understanding and practice, quite conservative (*Comm.* 2, 1, 5):

Haec gens inimica Trinitatis Mahumetem quondam pseudopphetam sequitur... aususque prophetam se dicere et angelorum potiri alloquio.... Utebatur enim incantationibus ac praestigiis, et usum veneris ac nefarios indulgens concubitus voluptati deditam plebem facile ad se traxit.... Adeoque portentuosae legis huius auctoritas crevit, ut paene omnis Asia et Africa eius veneno infecta sit ...

This [the Turkish] nation, which is inimical to the Trinity, follows a certain false prophet, Mohamed... and he dared to say that he was a prophet and that he acquired the language of angels. ... For he was using incantations and tricks, and indulging the enjoyment of sexuality and nefarious orgies, he easily drew the common people to himself, who are themselves given over to pleasure. ...And so the authority of this monstrous law waxed great so that almost all Asia and Africa were infected by its venom.

He convened a congress of the representatives of Christian princes at Mantua to call for a fresh crusade, but the expedition never came to pass²⁰.

Just two years before his death, in September 1462 Pius wrote a long letter inviting the Emperor of Turkey Mehmet II to convert to Christianity. He opens this quite detailed exposition of the Christian faith with the following exhortation (Epistle to Mehmet 2, 1, 1)²¹:

Scripturi ad te aliqua pro tua salute et gloria proque communi multarum gentium consolatione et pace, hortamur ut benigne audias verba nostra...

As we here embark upon writing something to you for your salvation and glory, and for the common consolation and peace of many nations, we urge you to listen to our words in a kind manner...

Within a very few paragraphs and in fact over the course of numerous pages Pius II lays out the case for Mehmet II's conversion (Epistle to Mehmet 2, 7, 1, 2)²²:

Si vis inter Christianos tuum imperium propagare et nomen tuum quam gloriosum efficere, non auro, non armis, non exercitibus, non classibus opus est. Quaeris quae sit? ...Id est aquae paucillum, quo baptizeris et ad Christianorum sacra te

¹⁹ O'BRIEN, *op. cit.* (2015), pp. 100-103.

²⁰ O'BRIEN, *op. cit.* (2015), pp. 101.

²¹ Text is that of J. LEANOS, *West Meets East: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II). Epistle to Mehmet II*, with a prologue by Paul Larson, Potomac, MD, 2017.

²² A.S. PICCOLOMINI (Pope Pius II), *Epistola ad Mahomatem II*, edited and translated by A.R. BACA, New York, 1990, p. 38.

conferas et credas Evangelio. Haec si feceris, non erit in orbe princeps qui te gloria superet aut aequare potentia valeat...

If you wish to expand your empire among Christians and to render your name as glorious as possible, there is no need for gold, weapons, armies or fleets... You ask what [the thing needed] might be? ... It is a very small amount of water by which you will be baptized and you betake yourself to the sacraments of the Christians and put your faith in the Gospel. If you will have done this, there shall be no ruler on earth to surpass you in glory or able to rival you in power..."

One could, theologically speaking, perhaps fault Pius II for offering Mehmet a material, even unspiritual incentive. In any case, it was, needless to say, an ineffective plea. Some of that ineffectiveness no doubt stemmed from the fact that the tone of the letter is not very different from that which Pius II would also demonstrate in his separate treatise that encompassed a refutation of Islam²³.



Of equal if not perhaps greater consideration for our understanding of Pius II's psyche is his famous *Bulla Retractationum* of 1463, in which just one year before his death he wrote what is surely his most quotable line: *Aeneam rejicite, Pium suscipite*²⁴. Yet it may not be vital for our understanding of this complex figure that there really was, somewhere along Enea's unique journey through life, a sincere change of heart such as Pius II would express in a personal letter to Charles the Cypriot²⁵. We can, at least, surmise from the bull that he has adopted a public profile that both dovetails with his penchant for the literary past and at the same time shows his full acceptance of Christianity, at least so far as concerns his public persona as Pontifex Maximus²⁶.

Yet his own pious achievements were not the central concern for this pope, who lived up to his name, too, in recognizing the piety of others. In particular, in July of 1461, he managed to achieve the canonization of Catherine of Siena, a scene also depicted by Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini Library.

²³ M.F. ÖZDEN, *Constructing a Self-Image in the Image of the Other: Pope Pius II's Letter to Sultan Mehmet II*, in M.D.BIRNBAUM-M. SEBÖK (eds.), *Practices of Coexistence. Constructions of the Other in Early Modern Perceptions*, Budapest and New York, 2017, pp. 71-102.

²⁴ N. BEETS, *Dissertatio de Aeneae Sylvii qui postea Papa Pius Secundus, morum mentisque mutationis rationibus*, Haarlem, 1839, p. 11

²⁵ Ep. In 4^a f.p. 352.

²⁶ Further, cfr. J.G. ROWE, *The Tragedy of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II). An Interpretation*, in *Church History* 30 (1961), p. 291.

This highly significant event took place in St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome on 29 June 1461, a canonization that ensured Siena's importance as a religious center. As the largest city near Enea's birthplace, Corsignano, Siena was essentially his home town, and his work to achieve Catherine's sainthood not only helped that city but, by association, strengthened his position as pontiff.

To the right of this scene along the same southwest wall is a further scene of great relevance to Enea's clerical life, namely a portrait of Pope Pius II as he arrives in Ancona. The setting is solemn, and it reveals in the background the port of Ancona, where in 1484 the pope awaited the Venetians who were to send the fleet to lead his proposed crusade against the Turks. Though the fleet did arrive, the crusade itself never took place. Still, this scene's pathos lies not so much in the failure of the crusade as it does in the fact that this is the last portrait of the living Pius II portrayed in these panels.



In the years leading up to his relatively early death, Pius II undertook the rebuilding of Corsignano, the village in which he had been born, and in so doing fittingly renamed it Pienza, after his own papal name. He entirely rebuilt this small hamlet into an ideal Renaissance town. Again, his own words reveal his intentions (*Comm.* 2, 20, 3):

Statuit hoc in loco novam ecclesiam et palatium aedificare, conduxitque architectos et operarios non parva mercede, ut memoriale suae originis diuturnum relinqueret.

In this place [Corsignano] he decided to build a new church and palace, and he hired architects and workmen, sparing no expense, that he might leave a lasting monument to commemorate his origin.

The town, which would serve, if only briefly, as his personal retreat from Rome, is a prime and quite early example of humanist urban planning, undertaken by Florentine architect Bernardo Gambarelli (known as Bernardo Rossellino) and possibly Leon Battista Alberti, who then served as an advisor to Pius²⁷. Construction started in about 1459. Pius II consecrated the Duomo on 29 August 1462²⁸.

²⁷ *Comm.* 2, 20, 3.

²⁸ Citation and or scholarly footnote L.C. GRAGG, ed. and F.A. GABEL, trans., *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius*, New York, 1959, 2, 9, 9, p. 291.

As regards Enea's literary production, in addition to his *Commentaries* he composed the aforementioned erotic novel *The Tale of the Two Lovers*, and some comedies, of which only the *Chrysis* survives. Enea was the author of numerous erotic poems, all written before he ascended to the papacy and apparently before a deeper conversion of sorts²⁹.

As mentioned above, Pius II died in 1464 in Ancona where he had traveled to rally the army that was readying for the crusade he had proposed. Upon the pope's passing, however, the army was disbanded³⁰. His body is not interred in St. Peter's but rather, along with that of the other Piccolomini pope, Pius III, it was set into the wall of the new church dedicated to Sant'Andrea della Valle³¹. When Pius II and III were laid to rest there, however, the church, still dedicated to St. Sebastian, was a small building located on the property of Donna Costanza Piccolomini d'Aragona, the Duchess of Amalfi. Upon her final departure from Rome, she bequeathed her villa and the church to the Theatine Order. The duchess made a request that the church be rededicated to St. Andrew, the patron saint of Amalfi. To that end its interior was redesigned by Carlo Maderno. As far as concerned the exterior, Maderno worked with his nephew, Francesco Barromini, who completed the façade by 1663, nearly two hundred years after Pius II's passing.

Piccolomini's impact on the church's history may be small, but the wider impact of his literary works and the Renaissance redesign of the beautiful town that preserves his papal name is not so slight. This volume is dedicated to various aspects of Pius' literary and historical legacy³².

ABSTRACT

Questo articolo offre una rassegna della vita di Enea Silvio Piccolomini, poi Papa Pio II, con attenzione non solo all'autoritratto presente nei *Commentari*, ma anche al modo in cui le informazioni della sua vita selezionate sono ritratte nella biblioteca Piccolomini nel Duomo di Siena. La sua interessante eredità è quella di un "santo" e di un "peccatore".

This article offers a review of the life of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, with attention not only to his own self portrait in the *Commentaries* but also the way selections of his life are portrayed in the Piccolomini library in Siena's Duomo. His interesting legacy is that of both a "saint" and a "sinner."

KEYWORDS: Piccolomini; Piccolomini Library; autobiography; reception; literary production.

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²⁹ O'BRIEN (2015), pp. 57-59.

³⁰ K.M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Vol. 2, *The Fifteenth Century*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 127, Philadelphia, 1978, pp. 269-270.

³¹ SETTON, *op. cit.* (1978), p. 230.

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