

Tempering the king's anger. Beatrice of Aragon's role in foreign relations

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EN Abstract. The wedding of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and Beatrice of Aragon in 1476 marked a high point of diplomatic relations between Central Europe and Italy, which strengthened an already strong interest of King Matthias in Italian matters. Although the highly educated Aragon princess has traditionally been viewed as a prominent intermediary of foreign influences in Hungary, most notably for bringing Renaissance art and Italian culture, her role in diplomacy is still not fully appreciated. By a close reading of the relations of papal legate Angelo Pecchinoli (1488–1490) and other sources, this paper examines the important role of Queen Beatrice in foreign relations. Given her familial connections and gender, Beatrice heavily complemented her husband's goals and efforts, adding a feminine component to the rulership. Using a whole set of tools, such as gifts, affective performance, or correspondence, she was able to act as a proper diplomatic agent.

Keywords: Beatrice of Aragon; Matthias Corvinus; Angelo Pecchinoli; diplomacy; affective display; gifts; correspondence

ES Aplacando la ira del rey: el papel de Beatriz de Aragón en las relaciones exteriores

ES Resumen. La boda de Matías Corvino, rey de Hungría y Bohemia, y Beatriz de Aragón en 1476 marcó un punto culminante en las relaciones diplomáticas entre Europa Central e Italia, fortaleciendo el ya intenso interés del rey Matías por los asuntos italianos. Aunque la princesa aragonesa, de gran educación, ha sido tradicionalmente vista como una destacada intermediaria de influencias extranjeras en Hungría, especialmente por la introducción del arte renacentista y la cultura italiana, su papel en la diplomacia aún no ha sido plenamente reconocido. A través de un análisis detallado de las relaciones del legado papal Angelo Pecchinoli (1488–1490) y otras fuentes, este artículo examina el papel fundamental de la reina Beatriz en las relaciones exteriores. Debido a sus conexiones familiares y su género, Beatriz complementó en gran medida los objetivos y esfuerzos de su esposo, aportando un componente femenino al gobierno. Utilizando un amplio conjunto de herramientas, como obsequios, actuaciones afectivas y correspondencia, logró actuar como una auténtica agente diplomática.

Palabras clave: Beatriz de Aragón; Matías Corvino; Angelo Pecchinoli; diplomacia; manifestación afectiva; regalos; correspondencia

Sumario: 1. Introduction. 2. Beatrice's diplomatic endeavours. 3. Beatrice in Pecchinoli's reports. 4. Tools of diplomacy. 5. Conclusion. 6. Sources and bibliography. 6.1 Printed sources. 6. Bibliography.

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1. Introduction

Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508) is one of the most well-known Hungarian queens, not least because of her marriage to Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–1490). Already shortly after Matthias's death, his reign has been deemed a Golden Age of Hungarian might and culture.¹ Beatrice's place in the story of this glorious time is paradoxical. On the one hand, she is credited with a great contribution to the splendour of Matthias's court, bringing a blood connection with the old royal house of Aragon and strengthening the influx of Humanists and Renaissance artists. On the other hand, her image is negative due to her infertility, supposed vanity and power hunger, or giving precedence to her natal family (nepotism) and foreign interests.²

Given her prime position, she has been an object of numerous studies, but as Valerie Rees points out, reevaluation of her role and queenship is long overdue.³ Older studies argued for the broad extent of Beatrice's power, who, due to her family connections, dragged Matthias into Italian matters and orchestrated several far-fetched projects.⁴ More recent studies questioned her influence and argued for a rather limited scope of her agency. Looking into the queen's charters and financial conditions, Richard Horváth and Ilona Kristóf both have concluded that Beatrice was strictly dependent on Matthias and his will.⁵ Horváth acknowledges Beatrice's, albeit very narrow, role in foreign policy—unlike in domestic political Hungarian matters, where (according to Horváth) her influence was marginal.⁶ However, both Horváth and Kristóf concur that Matthias was always able to enforce his will, and Beatrice's Italian policy was, in fact, Matthias's policy.⁷

This study does not attempt to argue for the contrary, that is, putting Beatrice as a mastermind behind the policy. Instead, it aims to shift the discourse to a non-binary perspective, prioritising neither Beatrice's nor Matthias' agency or will, but seeing it as a complementary and collaborative effort. It will rely heavily on the concepts of corporate monarchy and ruling partnership which see queenship as a necessary and integral part of rulership.⁸ Louise Fradenbourg argued that the exercise of power needed both masculine and feminine forms.⁹ Following upon that, Theresa Earenfight made a strong case to study kingship and queenship not separately but in conjunction and consider the rulership as a partnership and a malleable relationship between the royal couple.¹⁰ Political theories of the time clearly prioritised masculine expressions of power (charters, enacting of laws, warfare) while branding indirect power (influence, intercession, patronage) as feminine and private.¹¹ However, if we understand rulership as “an array of strategies and practices embedded in

¹ Péter Farbaky, “Introduction,” p. 17.

² Árpád Mikó, “Queen Beatrice of Aragon,” pp. 251–252.

³ Valery Rees, “A Woman of Valour,” p. 17.

⁴ András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, pp. 138–140; Karl Nehring, “Mátyás Külpolitikája,” p. 107; Karl Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III, und das Reich*, p. 77; Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, p. 98. Berzeviczy sees the origin of the queen's authority in a passionate love which lasted throughout Matthias and Beatrice's lives and which was based not only on physical attraction but also shared intellectual interests.

⁵ Richárd Horváth, “A ‘Mérge’ Beatrix,” pp. 133–72; Ilona Kristóf, “Beatrice d'Aragona,” pp. 375–89.

⁶ Richárd Horváth, “A ‘Mérge’ Beatrix,” pp. 136, 168.

⁷ Richárd Horváth, “A ‘Mérge’ Beatrix,” p. 135; Ilona Kristóf, “Beatrice d'Aragona,” 384.

⁸ Elena Woodacre, *Queens and Queenship*, pp. 67–73.

⁹ Louise Olga Fradenburg, “Introduction: Rethinking Queenship,” p. 1.

¹⁰ Theresa Earenfight, “Without the Persona of the Prince,” pp. 8–10.

¹¹ Theresa Earenfight, 2–3.

a cultural system that operates within the public political sphere in which both kings and queens are capable of exercising both political power and authority through official and unofficial channels,” we can get a more dynamic picture, not strapped by tight divisions of kingship and queenship.¹² Applied to our topic, this paper aims to illuminate ways in which Matthias and Beatrice worked together, relying on expressions of power traditionally associated with their respective genders, strengthening and sometimes transgressing them. This, however, does not mean denying each of them their own wishes and intentions, or even conflicts, because there were many. One of the main rifts was a completely different stance on succession. Since Beatrice was unable to bear an heir to Matthias, the king started grooming his illegitimate son, János Corvinus, which clashed with the queen’s ideas, possibly seeing herself as a ruler.¹³ Nonetheless, despite this and other significant differences and arguments, this study aims to point to the perspective on which Beatrice and Matthias’s actions might be interpreted as interdependent, bringing thus new insights not only into their rulership but also into the royal exercise of diplomacy as a collaborative effort as whole. Also, it aims to (slightly) broaden our understanding of premodern diplomacy and diplomatic agents. As Laura Oliván Santaliestra points out, scholarship has seen it as a strictly male sphere, which was caused by too narrow concepts of diplomatic activity.¹⁴ Although Beatrice and other royal women were not “accredited” envoys or ambassadors (which is even anachronistic when speaking about medieval queens), her agency and tools can hardly be seen as only ceremonial, informal, backchanneling, or inter-familial talks, as it is the case with other premodern women during the early modern period.¹⁵ Her speeches during audiences, ritual acts and performances, official dispatches, and even gifts were standard procedures for dealing with foreign dignitaries and rulers.

To reconsider Beatrice’s queenship or role in diplomacy as a whole would require a much longer analysis; this paper thus focuses on just several aspects and limits its view chronologically to 1490 (Matthias’s death). Also, it does not aspire to be an exhaustive overview of all issues, tackled by Beatrice, as these have been covered by many excellent studies.¹⁶ Firstly, it briefly sums up some domains of the queen’s foreign policy effort, then provides an analysis of Matthias and Beatrice’s partnership in diplomatic efforts by a close reading of the reports of the papal legate Angelo Pecchinoli, subsequently followed up by the examination of her diplomatic tools. Besides the editions of Beatrice’s letters and documents,¹⁷ the study relies heavily on Pecchinoli’s dispatches, given their cohesiveness, temporal brevity, vivacity, and potential to discover new insights into Beatrice’s agency. Pecchinoli, the bishop of Orte, was a papal nuncio with the rights of the legate *de latere*, meaning that he had all the canonical powers associated with the supreme legate except his cardinal status.¹⁸ His mission to Hungary, lasting for more than two years (1488–1490), covered all sorts of issues related to international relations, such as the crusade against Ottomans, peace negotiations between King Matthias and the Habsburgs, the rebellion in Ancona etc., and ecclesiastic affairs in Hungary (church liberty, bishopric nominations, heretics, reform of friaries, false preachers etc.).¹⁹ His lengthy dispatches (many of which have not survived) recount in detail the discussion he had with the king and, quite often, with the queen.

2. Beatrice’s diplomatic endeavours

From the early months in Central Europe, Beatrice was very active in diplomatic relations. As said above, scholarship has acknowledged the crucial role of the queen in Matthias’s handling

¹² Theresa Earenfight, 12.

¹³ Alberto Berzevichy, *Beatrice d’Aragona*, pp. 131–133, 184–191.

¹⁴ Quoted in Pohlig, Matthias, “Gender and the Formalisation of Diplomacy,” p.1063

¹⁵ Pohlig, Matthias, “Gender and the Formalisation of Diplomacy,” p.1065

¹⁶ For a very nuanced and extensive look into Beatrice’s position and the context of her natal and wedded courts vid. especially Ilona Kristóf, “Beatrice d’Aragona”.

¹⁷ Enrica Guerra, ed., *Il Carteggio Tra Beatrice d’Aragona*; Albert Berzevichy, ed., *Acta vitam Beatricis reginae Hungariae illustrantia*.

¹⁸ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. XXI–XXII.

¹⁹ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. LV–LXXIV.

with Italian states. But Beatrice was active, albeit not so prominently, in other geographical areas too. As Louise Wilkinson and Sara Wolfson point out, foreign queens' dynastic ties and networks logically meant that their agency was inherently international.²⁰ For Beatrice, diplomacy served as a prime point of interest and agency. Not only was she involved in peace negotiation (mediation) and marriage brokering, as we will see in a while, but diplomacy and foreign networks even made up for her main weakness—infertility. When she could not give an heir to Matthias (who decided to advance the succession of his illegitimate son János), she managed to obtain for herself a surrogate son, her nephew Ippolito d'Este (son of her sister Eleanor, Duchess of Ferrara). Over the course of several years, Beatrice fought tooth and nail to appoint Ippolito, then still minor (seven years old upon his arrival to Hungary), as an archbishop of Esztergom. She then took care of his upbringing and was constantly in his presence.²¹ “He keeps me company for my consolation and when he is with me, I have a feeling I have a son,” writes Beatrice to her sister, Ippolito's mother.²² She tried to obtain a surrogate son, Ippolito's brother Ferrante, for Matthias too, so he might “have him at his side and to train him in the mystery of arms,” but this never realised.²³ However, besides any fleeting emotional comfort, Ippolito was a strong token of Beatrice's capability of being a mother, one of the strongest sources of authority for royal women.²⁴ Although Ippolito could not be an heir to the realm, he was Beatrice's guarantee for the future, and after Matthias's death and her exclusion from public affairs, she took refuge at Ippolito's court in Esztergom.²⁵

Over the course of his reign, Matthias led or was involved in constant wars on a foreign and domestic front. His major enemies were Ottomans in the south, where he led several campaigns (including expeditions to Moldavia and Valachia) with varying degrees of success. Much more energy and money Matthias spent on the Czech campaign against the “Hussite” King George of Poděbrady and, later, against his successor Wladislaw II of Jagiellon, and against Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg. Although bloody and lengthy, these wars brought significant portions of Central Europe under his rule. At the time of his death, Matthias's dominions stretched from Bautzen (modern-day Germany) to Brassov (modern-day Romania).

Given her descent, Beatrice obviously played a key part in her husband's Italian policy. Paradoxically, on this front, she seems to have performed the role of warmonger rather than the mediator. In times of crisis, she is seen as the one urging her husband to get involved, sending Hungarian troops to the peninsula. This occurred at least three times: during the Otranto crisis (1480), when Ottomans occupied the territory of Beatrice's father; during the Ferrara war (1482–1485), when Venice threatened her sister's domain; and during the rebellion against her father in Naples (1485–1486).²⁶ As pointed out above, this mediation of hers led scholars to assert that Beatrice plunged Hungary into Italian wars, wasting thus precious resources on foreign wars. While it remains true that Beatrice was not unkeen on these matters, her reaction can hardly be denoted as overly zealous. For instance, during the Ferrara war, which posed an existential crisis for the ducal couple, Beatrice and Eleanor exchanged eight letters in total, five sent by Eleanor and three by Beatrice.²⁷ On the contrary, when discussing the appointment and transfer of Eleanor's son Ippolito to Hungary in 1485–1487, Beatrice not only deployed a whole set of social, financial, or emotional strategies but increased her correspondence significantly. Although some of them duplicated (to increase the odds that they would reach the recipient),²⁸ almost forty letters to Eleanor or Ercole d'Este touching on Ippolito's appointment and transfer show the degree of preoccupation and energy Beatrice was capable of when fully engaged.²⁹ Naturally, in

²⁰ Louise J. Wilkinson and Sara J. Wolfson, “Introduction: Premodern Queenship and Diplomacy,” p. 713.

²¹ Jessica O'Leary, *Elite Women*, pp. 45–61; Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, pp. 138–178.

²² Beatrice to Eleanor, 3 April 1488, Vienna, printed in Enrica Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, p. 142.

²³ Beatrice to Eleanor, 3 April 1486, Buda, printed in Enrica Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, 64–65.

²⁴ Elena Woodacre, *Queens and Queenship*, pp. 43–45.

²⁵ Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, pp. 242–243.

²⁶ Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, pp. 83–89, 147.

²⁷ No. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 in Enrica Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, pp. 31–41.

²⁸ Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, p. 139.

²⁹ No. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55,

this conclusion, we are strongly limited by the source basis as some letters could not be extant but she seems to have done nothing similar for her relatives threatened by war.

Although it would be natural to presume Beatrice's high concern for pushing the causes of her family, it might not be so simple. The sparse correspondence for her activity on behalf of her relative makes the *appearance* of her preoccupations and intercession, but it might be just that. In the end, Beatrice's intervention was always in line with Matthias's interests,³⁰ which obviously leads us to question whether she was not pursuing her husband's goals all along, while, at the same time, playing the role of obedient daughter and sister on the surface to maintain familial connections. The whole argument needs deeper investigation, but there are strong hints that, as Szuzsana Teke notes, not only Matthias but also Beatrice considered the Neapolitan alliance a burden.³¹ Even in Pecchinoli's reports, one can sense Beatrice's distancing from her father's politics.³² Albert Berzevicy rightly points out that the Aragonese queen did not create cultural links between Hungary and Italy;³³ but the same can be said about diplomatic links. Long before the Neapolitan wife Matthias was involved in Italian politics because he needed Venice, Milan, or Naples to neutralise or counterbalance Ottomans or Frederick III.³⁴ Beatrice's position is interstitial, to use the term by Louise Fradenbourg, standing at the "nodal points" of networks with her natal family and Italian states, but arguably not their unquestionable agent.³⁵

Beatrice's peacemaking endeavours are quite documented on the Austrian front, that is, with Emperor Frederick III. Hostility between Matthias and the emperor went back to the first years of Corvinus's reign. Frederick was a tutor and relative of Matthias's predecessor, Ladislaus the Posthumous, which enabled him to lay a claim on the Hungarian throne. Matthias pushed back but the relationship between the rulers was never friendly. On different pretexts, both rulers fought intermittently for more than thirty years, during which Matthias mostly had the upper hand, conquering large parts of Lower Austria and even seizing Vienna.³⁶ A new conflict with the emperor started soon after Beatrice's arrival in Hungary. Antonio Bonfini, Matthias's court chronicler, attributes the quick end of the war to Beatrice:

On top of that, Queen Beatrice, related by blood to the Emperor, pleaded with him by frequent letters to set aside his calamitous stubbornness and wish for peace with her husband on just terms. She also, as best as she could, encouraged and pleaded with her husband with everyday letters to not rage so much and to bring peace and prosperity to his people.³⁷

In medieval theory, peacemaking (or peacekeeping) was strictly feminine duty, with females either embodying the peace treaty (as brides during inter-dynastic alliances) or actively interceding or negotiating with the warring parties.³⁸ However, in practice, many women participated in fights and led defenses of castles or campaigns.³⁹ Beatrice's participation in military actions is not clear, but she often followed Matthias to the war, staying with him in the camps.⁴⁰

A part of the peacekeeping were dynastic marriages, and Beatrice might have been a marriage broker even prior to her arrival in Hungary. In order to get allies against Emperor Frederick,

56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66, 71, 73 in Enrica Guerra, *Il Carteggio*.

³⁰ Richárd Horváth, "A 'Mérge' Beatrix," p. 135; Ilona Kristóf, "Beatrice d'Aragona," 384.

³¹ Szuzsanna Teke, "Rapporti diplomatici tra Mattia Corvino e gli stati italiani," p. 35.

³² "Dominus rex pater meus qualem habet comoditatem Turchum invadendi? Certe nullam." Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 166–167.

³³ Alberto Berzevicy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, p. 111.

³⁴ Szuzsanna Teke, "Rapporti diplomatici tra Mattia Corvino e gli stati italiani," pp. 20–33.

³⁵ Louise Olga Fradenbourg, "Introduction: Rethinking Queenship," p. 5.

³⁶ Karl Nehring, "Mátyás Külpolitikája," pp. 105–114.

³⁷ Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, vol. 4/1, pp. 90–91; Berzevicy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, pp. 74–75.

³⁸ Katrin E. Sjursen, "Peace, War, and Gender," pp. 54–56.

³⁹ Katrin E. Sjursen, "Peace, War, and Gender," pp. 60–63.

⁴⁰ Berzevicy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, pp. 73–74. Furthermore, Beatrice dates a letter to Ippolito d'Este from 27 June 1487 from "a happy royal camp laying the siege to Wienerneustadt". Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, pp. 127.

Matthias sought to unite himself with Duke Charles of Burgundy by supporting the marriage between Charles's daughter, Mary, and Beatrice's brother, Federico.⁴¹ We do not know Beatrice's role in this project, but given her later track record, she might have been at least involved in the discussion. Once in Hungary, Beatrice proposed several matrimonial projects: of her niece, Isabella d'Este, to King Vladislaus Jagiellon of Bohemia (later, Beatrice's husband), and János Corvinus with her niece Charlotte.⁴² One might also sense her influence on Matthias's plan to marry Emperor Frederick III's daughter Kunigunde to Beatrice's brother Federico as part of the Gmund-Klosterneunburg peace treaties (1477).⁴³

3. Beatrice in Pecchinoli's reports

In his instruction to Pecchinoli, the pope specifies that the "nuncio should try to pay the same reverence and honour to the most serene queen [as to the king] and to bless her with words." He should also let her know that the pope has high hopes for her abilities in terms of peace negotiation between Matthias and the emperor. The queen should intercede at the king to hear the pope's biddings, especially in the case of imprisoned archbishop Váradi—although the instruction states—there are "many who say that the imprisonment was done mostly because of the queen".⁴⁴ A similar instruction was given to another papal legate, Bartolomeo Maresco, in 1483 and other envoys too.⁴⁵ In general, it was not unusual, especially for foreign queens with a strong foothold "abroad," to be part of the diplomatic process. Tracy Sowerby draws attention to the fact that Venetian envoys in England were also instructed to show their credentials to Catherine of Aragon and visit her regularly.⁴⁶

What issues did Pecchinoli tackle with Beatrice? From eleven reports Pecchinoli sent to the pope during Matthias's life, Beatrice appears or is mentioned in six of them.⁴⁷ Especially reports no. 24, 34, and 36 record Pecchinoli's longer discussions with the queen. Three issues, namely the case of the city of Ancona, Prince Djem, and the imprisonment of Archbishop Péter Váradi appear several times. The archbishop and the high chancellor Váradi fell from the king's favour and was detained in 1484.⁴⁸ Many contemporaries blamed Beatrice for his detention as she confesses to Pecchinoli, too,⁴⁹ but as Richard Horváth notes, these were just speculations.⁵⁰ Although the legate brought up Váradi's case in every audience with the king, he was released only after Matthias's death.⁵¹ In some discussions, Beatrice implied that her intercession might help but she does not seem to have made much effort, because Pecchinoli urged the pontiff to encourage the queen via letters to take action.⁵²

Ancona was a papal fief that, threatened by Venice, declared allegiance to Matthias and raised Hungarian banners in 1488. The king of Hungary welcomed this, as it gave him an outpost and bargaining chip against Venice and the pope, respectively. Furthermore, he also stressed the necessity of protecting the city against the Ottomans. On the other hand, the Holy See took it as a serious offense, imposing interdict on the city and pressuring Matthias to surrender the claim.⁵³ During her talks with the legate, Beatrice repeated several times that Matthias accepted Ancona's homage only because he had been attacked by Venetians and he hoped to revenge that injury by

⁴¹ Attila Bárány, "King Matthias and the Western European Powers," p. 6.

⁴² Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, pp. 80, 134.

⁴³ Karl Nehring, "Mátyás külpolitikája," p. 108.

⁴⁴ Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 30–31.

⁴⁵ Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, 93, 99.

⁴⁶ Tracey Amanda Sowerby, "Early Modern Queens Consort and Dowager and Diplomatic Gifts," 724.

⁴⁷ No. 24, 34, 36, 42; in no. 33 and 41 is just mentioned. Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*.

⁴⁸ András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, p. 130.

⁴⁹ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 85.

⁵⁰ Richárd Horváth, "A 'Mérge' Beatrix," p. 142.

⁵¹ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, LXVI.

⁵² Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, 86.

⁵³ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. LXII; András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, p. 140.

this one. The pope should not listen to those saying Matthias is about to cause more rebellions in the papal states.⁵⁴

Negotiations about Prince Djem (Cem) were allegedly also part of Matthias's crusading plans against the Ottomans. The younger brother of Sultan Bayezid II contended to get the Ottoman throne by allying himself with the Hospitallers. When this failed, he was sent as a prisoner to France, to the grand master of the Knights of St John, who later sent him to Pope Innocent VIII. Matthias constantly asked the pontiff to send Djem to him, as he wanted to use him in the crusade against the sultan. Among other arguments (for example, that Ottoman nobility has indicated its support for Djem), Matthias also claimed a blood connection with the Prince, saying that Djem's and his grandmother were sisters.⁵⁵ Beatrice stressed the importance of Djem for the crusade several times, supporting her argument with different explanations. According to her, Matthias wants to spend the rest of his life fighting Turks.⁵⁶ She repeats Matthias's claim that many "barons and nobles in Turkey wrote [to him, Matthias] to try to get hold of this brother [Djem] because they are prepared to rise up in arms". The pope should act quickly because otherwise, "those nobles and barons, who love this brother [Djem] will soon die and the young ones [...] who do not know him cannot be so easily prompted to rebellion".⁵⁷ In the later report, Beatrice thanks the pope for deciding not to send the prince to Venice and doubles down on her request to send him to Hungary:

I heard that our lord [the pope] wants to impose tithes on all nations for [paying for] the expedition [against the Ottomans], to which end much cash is needed. If His Holiness wants to collect the tithes first, it might take longer time, and meanwhile, the lord king [Matthias] might be affected by tediousness and long waiting and start to be occupied by something else, so His Holiness could send the Turk [Djem] to the lord king [Matthias, who...] could make preparations in the meantime [...]⁵⁸

Besides listing these, rather practical reasons, the queen stressed the emotional urgency of Djem's case: she allegedly heard Matthias speaking about the prince *abortis lacrimis* ("with tears in his eyes");⁵⁹ the notion of sending Djem to Venice made Matthias cry and sigh heavily, and made signs of the cross on himself; he even refused to eat and sleep, and Beatrice was not able to comfort him.⁶⁰ Such affective display was a potent tool of performative rulership and diplomacy, as we will see later, and was supposed to communicate urgency and appeal. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note here that it is a male, Matthias, who is portrayed as sensitive and uncontrollable.

Besides these three issues, Beatrice, on one occasion, also mentions the case of bishop Agostino Luciani. While still in Italy, Luciani got in touch with the Bohemian Utraquists, who needed somebody to ordain their priests because, as heretics, they lacked a valid episcopal authority. Probably driven by higher motives, Luciani came to Bohemia and officiated sacraments and delivered orations in various Bohemian cities. He envisaged himself as a proper head of the local church, which soon collided with the Utraquist leaders (the administrator of Prague and lower consistory). They were quite satisfied with Luciani just officiating sacraments but did not want him to have any say in the ecclesiastic administration. Hence, already in 1484, Luciani approached the bishop of Passau to mediate with the pope on his departure from Bohemia and pardon. This and even later attempts (1485, 1486, 1491)—either coming from Luciani or the papal curia ordaining legates to snatch him—did not materialise and Luciani stayed in Bohemia till his

⁵⁴ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 85–86.

⁵⁵ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. LXI; András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 84, 166.

⁵⁷ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 111.

⁵⁸ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 166.

⁵⁹ Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 84.

⁶⁰ "Sed postquam de Turcho audivit, ego non possum, nec valeo hominem mollire, aut in spem sue sanctitatis erigere, nec sompnos aut cibum capit solitos, sicque se propterea cruciat, quod grandes lacrimas interdum cum illum fratrem Turchi nominat dandum Venetis emictat et suspiria preter fidem profunda." Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 111.

death in 1493.⁶¹ Beatrice's letter must be thus read as one of the several attempts to bring Luciani back to Italy: she exhorted him to flee the heresy and promised to do so again.⁶² Later on, when Pecchinoli discussed Luciani's matter with Matthias, the king already said that Luciani was ready to flee pending the nuncio's promise of immunity. We do not have any proof, but it is plausible that Beatrice was the first point of contact with the renegade prelate and the Hungarian court, especially given that it is she who first raised the issue with Pecchinoli and their shared Italian background.

Another issue discussed with Pecchinoli was the case of Camilla Marzano d'Aragona (?–1514). Camilla, or Covella/Cubella, was Beatrice's first cousin. Since her father, Marino Marzano, Prince of Rossano and Duke of Sessa (1420–1494) rebelled against King Ferrante, Beatrice's father and his brother-in-law, Covella was forced to change her name to Camilla as a form of *damnatio memorie* of her traitorous parent.⁶³ Camilla was married with great splendour to condottiere Costanzo Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, in 1475.⁶⁴ After Costanzo's death, Camilla proved herself to be a very efficient diplomatic actor and managed to obtain a papal investiture for the vicariate of Pesaro. Although the rule over Pesaro was to be shared with Costanzo's illegitimate son, Giovanni Sforza (Camilla and Costanzo did not have children), it was not meant as a temporary regency. The papal instrument stated that Camilla would lose the rule only if she decided to marry again.⁶⁵ Thus, when she suddenly decided to resign from her position with the intention of leading a quiet life in a monastery, it raised no small amount of suspicion at the Italian courts, and it was rumoured that Giovanni forced her to leave.⁶⁶ Like other power holders, Beatrice pleaded with the pope via Pecchinoli not to grant Giovanni the papal investiture (to be the sole ruler of Pesaro) so quickly and to investigate the case properly. Calling Camilla “a widow and miserable person”, Beatrice urged the pope not to believe that Camilla resigned the rule voluntarily. Reportedly, Camilla has done so “against her will and coerced”, which clearly shows the treachery of her stepson.⁶⁷

Camilla was raised at the Neapolitan royal court, so Beatrice and she grew together and celebrated weddings at the same time (1475 and 1476).⁶⁸ This shared background and perhaps also a personal relationship, although not evidenced in later years, might have led Beatrice to stress the importance of the matter. In any case, familial ties, whether active or dormant, were a strong element of the queen's status, so it was in Beatrice's interest to get involved and intercede on her behalf. Nevertheless, she might have been motivated by a need to support Matthias too. Shortly before Beatrice, Matthias raised Camilla's case too, saying that it pained him deeply, and he was much surprised to hear about it. He also encouraged the pope not to grant the investiture to Giovanni, who “robbed and imprisoned the lady”, adding that he would work closely with Naples to reinstate her.⁶⁹ Rather than pushing Camilla's issue out of courtesy to his wife and her family, Matthias seems to have acted for personal reasons. He was allegedly also amazed to hear that

⁶¹ Niccolò Del Re, “Agostino Luciani, apostata hussita,” p. 425; Josef Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku*, pp. 118–131; Tomáš Černušák and others, *The Papacy and the Czech Lands*, p. 136.

⁶² “Addidit subinde, sollicitasse infelicem illum episcopum Mirandolanum ad fugam et defectionem dam-nate heresis seque propediem, si velim impunitatem, polliceri se facturam.” Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, 86.

⁶³ Francine Daenens, “La mancata dote di Camilla Sforza d'Aragona,” pp. 7, 13.

⁶⁴ Jane Bridgeman and Alan Griffiths, eds., *A Renaissance Wedding*.

⁶⁵ Francine Daenens, “La mancata dote di Camilla Sforza d'Aragona,” p. 15.

⁶⁶ Francine Daenens, “La mancata dote di Camilla Sforza d'Aragona,” pp. 17–20.

⁶⁷ “Domina regina egerime etiam rem hanc Pisaurensis fert et humiliter supplicat sanctitati vestre, digne-tur causam velle prius pro sua prudentia discutere et bene intelligere nec illi privigno, qui illam dominam spoliavit, investituram tam propere velit concedere. Sed advertat sanctitatem vestram ad iustitiam illius vidue et miserabilis persone, ut tandem sanctitatis vestre et sedis apostolice tutelam et iustitiam sen-tiat, nec facile credat sanctitas vestra, quod illa domina sponte regimini cesserit. Sed invita et coacta fecit, quod fecit, prout sue maiestati dicit bene constari et privigni illius ingratam fidem intueatur, qui in factricem suam beneficii oblitus arma movit. Hoc idem dominus rex sanctitati vestre supplicat, ut saltem sanctitas vestra in investitura supersedeat.” Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 250.

⁶⁸ Jane Bridgeman and Alan Griffiths, *A Renaissance Wedding*, pp. 22–23.

⁶⁹ Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 248–249.

the pope would leave Pesaro to either Florentines or Venetians “who would never respect Your Sanctity or the Apostolic See” and who would not be “content with Pesaro but soon afterward invade Ancona” as well.⁷⁰ Besides some Florentine financial obligations that were at stake,⁷¹ there is no evidence that either Florence or Venice would take possession of Pesaro. Matthias's claim was thus either based on bad information, or he meant it as direct misinformation, perhaps to belittle his implications in the papal fief of Ancona and put the blame on Venice.

Overall, there are several takeaways from Pecchinoli and Beatrice's interactions. Firstly, the content of their discussions followed the topics discussed with Matthias. Beatrice repeats the king's rhetoric and enriches it with her arguments and perspectives, not hesitant to use emotional appeals. Therefore, one can conclude that Beatrice was an integral part of Matthias's negotiations with the legate, providing additional support and an alternative (no less official) channel of communication. Conversely, Matthias seems to have acted in the affairs dear to the queen (Camilla) but Beatrice was keen to use “her agenda” for Matthias's goals. Secondly, Beatrice's social networks were vast and were not limited to her family members, with whose cases she is apparently concerned (Camilla), but stretched even to the dissident bishop to whom she reached out and volunteered to intercede.

4. Tools of diplomacy

Beatrice used a whole set of tools when dealing with foreign figures or relatives. Firstly, she was very skillful in gift-giving. Tracey Sowerby has shown many layers of diplomatic gifts: they could communicate mutual accord, legitimacy, or favour among rulers, create and maintain relationships, convey intimacy, or assert familial identity.⁷² Beatrice's gift-giving deserves a separate study, but let us just briefly state that gifts were, for instance, an integral part of Beatrice's peacemaking efforts. Negotiating the truce between Matthias and Frederick, she sent the emperor a cart full of watermelons because she knew Frederick would fancy them.⁷³ However, besides good wishes dispatched with the cart, the queen left him a note that she would be glad if he could send the cart back to her loaded with his envoys and an acceptable peace proposal.⁷⁴ Naturally, Frederick responded more than positively. What made the gift an efficient tool was not only the object itself but also its right choice, enabled by good intelligence about Frederick's personal cravings. Furthermore, there is a strong performative element, the witty condition which shrewdly forced Frederick to instantly reciprocate, not just by sending back the vehicle or another gift but by delivering Beatrice's main goal—peace.

Beatrice also deployed several forms of performative diplomacy, such as the expression of emotions. Matthias was famous for his outbreaks of anger, which, as András Kubinyi has noted, were often carefully staged and tempered if needed.⁷⁵ Beatrice had a prime role in this, acting as a brake or calming element. During one audience, Pecchinoli observes:

The Lady Queen entered and, seeing the king moved by such pain and anger, calmed him with sweet words, as she was accustomed to do. A few days later, I spoke with the Lady

⁷⁰ “Ubi primum novum illud de Pisauro auditum est, sua maiestas non sine cordis dolore rettulit mirari se plurimum ac dolere, quod sanctitas vestra passa sit, civitatem illam, que de vicariatu ecclesie Romane extat, venire ad manus Florentinorum aut Venetorum, qui nunquam amplius recognoscent sanctitatem vestram aut sedem apostolicam. “Et non putet,” inquit, “dominus noster, quod sive Veneti sive Florentini hoc fecerint, quod sint contenti Pisauro, sed paulatim etiam Anconam invadent, nec ad alium finem fecisse hoc credendi sunt.” Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 248.

⁷¹ Francine Daenens, “La mancata dote di Camilla Sforza d'Aragona,” p. 18.

⁷² Tracey Amanda Sowerby, “Early Modern Queens Consort and Dowager and Diplomatic Gifts,” pp. 723–730.

⁷³ Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, p. 89.

⁷⁴ “... schickte sie ihre eigene Carrette oder Leibgutsche nach Wien lude dieselbe voll Melonen weil sie wuste dass der Keyser gern davon zu essen pflüge, liesse ihm solche vortragen und ihn darbey bitten: dass er seine Gesandten mit annemlichen Friedensvorschlägen auf diesen Wagen sitzen lassen und nach Pressburg schicken wolte.” Johann Jakob Fugger, *Spiegel der Ehren*, p. 906.

⁷⁵ András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, pp. 178–179.

Queen a talk about the same things, and I exhorted her not to cease to soften and beg the mind of the Lord King by her holy adhortations...⁷⁶

Beatrice is portrayed as the only one who is able to soothe Matthias's passions, which often seem to make the best of him. On one occasion, she even acknowledged that she had kept those letters from Matthias, which might have upset him.⁷⁷ The queen, on the other hand, is often portrayed by Pecchinoli as restrained and prudent: she speaks "accurately and with great innate astuteness" (*respondit accurate et magna ingenii dexteritate*), with "quick-to-act consideration" (*prompta animi devotione*), and "elaborately" (*verba ornatissime*). All in all, her speech reportedly resembles "rivers and abundant fountains" (*fluvii et uberrimi fontes videantur*).⁷⁸ Beatrice was renowned and often lauded for her rhetorical skills.⁷⁹ The just-quoted phrases probably primarily pointed to this prowess, but one can discern a comment on her temperament. Consideration, precision, or embellished diction could have hardly been achieved without strict self-control, enabling careful choice of words.

Emotional performance, via the king's (or queen's) body, gestures, words, or attire, was a key tool of politics and, as such, carefully managed.⁸⁰ In mastering her affective display, the queen followed the fine line. When comparing the fifteenth-century handbooks for ambassadors with the conduct books for princely women, Tracy Adams has concluded that both emphasised staging of one's emotions. Both princely envoys and females were not supposed to reveal their personal commotions and try to always come off as modest, prudent, and amicable. Inner qualities and virtues, when enacted, should have been used for carefully deployed emotional manipulation.⁸¹ Queens could have staged their affections but their actions were cautiously watched and scrutinised. Beatrice thus seems to have conducted herself in this strictly measured manner.

The imperturbable appearance was just one side of the emotional performance. In other settings, especially during intercession, Beatrice and Matthias swapped roles, and it was the king who came across as the unmovable rock. Intercession was one of the most important acts attributed to medieval queens. Contrary to the older scholarship, which viewed it as compensation for the loss of real power, new studies have demonstrated that it was an integral part of rulership and political culture. Queens were just one, albeit the most prominent, of many intercessors and mediators that provided much-needed channels to redress injustice or advance patronage.⁸² In Pecchinoli's reports, Beatrice is twice said to implore the king *manibus et pedibus adnixa* (holding his hands and legs),⁸³ which might have been just a rhetorical phrase for the queen's strong push for a particular matter, but it could have been an actual gesture. A bit later source, Fugger's *Ehrenspegel*, records in detail a scene of Beatrice imploring her husband to conclude a truce with Emperor Frederick:

King Matthias [...] gave the Queen this answer: the war is allegedly not only natural to the Hungarians but also necessary. Thanks to it, knights can be trained so they would not diverge from [the ways of] their ancestors who earned great praise through arms. For him, [the war] would bring not loss but rather extraordinary glory as he [would be remembered as the one] victoriously battling the two highest worldly rulers, the Roman and Turkish emperors. [...] But despite this, so that the queen might feel as if her well-meant admonition and fairness

⁷⁶ "Aderat domina regina et regem intuita tam gravi dolore et iracundia percitum mollire suavissimis, ut solet, verbis abstinuit. Ad dies subinde aliquos habito iterato super hiis cum domina regina sermone maiestatem suam adhortatus, uti domini regis animum sanctissimis suis adhortationibus mollire et precari non cessaret..." Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 110.

⁷⁷ Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, p. 98.

⁷⁸ Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 84, 86.

⁷⁹ Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, p. 156; Antonín Kalous, "Tři Týdny Slávy, Tři Roky Šťastného Manželství," p. 196.

⁸⁰ Susan Broomhall, "Affective and Emotional Strategies," pp. 668–670.

⁸¹ Tracy Adams, "Married Noblewomen as Diplomats," pp. 52–55.

⁸² Kristen L Geaman, "Beyond Good Queen Anne," pp. 76–78. Vid. p. 77 for the overview of the older studies on intercession

⁸³ Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 84, 204.

meant something to him, he instructed [to seek peace]. The Queen was so jubilant over this unforeseen response that she threw herself on her knees before the King, embracing first his legs and then his neck, kissing him on the cheek and thanking him with tears in her eyes.⁸⁴

This scene strongly resembles the traditional scene of queenly intercession—the “female ritual,” as Nicolas Offenstadt puts it, that is, kneeling before the husband and begging, often accompanied by tears.⁸⁵ The usual elements of this ritual were unpredictability (the queen would show up unexpectedly), the hopelessness of the cause (the queen intervenes at the last moment), and the accent on the queen’s fragility.⁸⁶ Here, Beatrice’s mediation is not unforeseen, as the interaction with Matthias is just a final point of her long peacekeeping efforts and speech preceding the passage. Yet her cause seems to be hopeless and her reaction is depicted as hyper-emotional and fragile. The rendition of the scene thus affirms the traditional gender roles, as the queen is portrayed as super-feminine (abject, emotional or almost manic, fragile) while Matthias is super-masculine (proud, adamant, warlike), all in a similar vein to the most notable queenly intercession rituals.⁸⁷

Similar acts, if occurred in this or less-exaggerated manner, helped to create a martial and masculine image of Matthias, and it should be read as one of the options Beatrice and her femininity contributed to the exercise and display of rulership, relying on both feminine and masculine aspects.⁸⁸ It remains true, as Paul Strohm argues, that the queen’s fragility and marginality enabled the efficacy of the humiliating ritual/act, and it could be used by the king to change his mind without reputational damage.⁸⁹ However, it should not be read, like the entire queenly intercession via different means, as solely supplemental or reserved just to women. As Offenstadt notes, men also performed *petitio*, a similar act of humiliation and pleading. Similarly, tears were also a technique used by male petitioners.⁹⁰ As we have seen above, Matthias was also not hesitant to be portrayed as super-emotional, be that via anger fits or weeping.

The next key tool of diplomacy, correspondence, is closely linked to affective and rhetorical strategies. Jessica O’Leary showed the different persuasory strategies Beatrice used to convince her sister Eleanor to send the seven-years-old Ippolito d’Este to the far-away country. Firstly, she employed affective rhetoric in her letters to Eleanor, mentioning familial honour and the memory of their late brother Giovanni, who was a previous archbishop of Esztergom. But she was not limited to correspondence and expression of affection. As one child at the Hungarian court fell ill, Beatrice took the opportunity to showcase her aptitude and the Ferrarese envoy reported back on the queen’s motherly instincts.⁹¹ Furthermore, correspondence could channel emotional pleas. Anxious to see Ippolito, every hour waiting for him “seems to her like a thousand years”.⁹² Ippolito should arrive as soon as possible, firstly, due to Beatrice’s strong desire to have him, and secondly, “because it will shut everybody’s mouth”.⁹³ She repeatedly asks her sister to “kiss for her all her most illustrious children”.⁹⁴

During Pecchinoli’s mission, Beatrice wrote two letters to Pope Innocent VIII. In the letter from 6 February 1489, she, “the most obedient daughter”, pressed the cause of Prince Djem, imploring the pontiff to agree to Matthias’s plan and send the “Turk” (*Turchus*) to Hungary. If the pope agreed, Beatrice would prevent “many fires and bad things”.⁹⁵ Innocent replied with a short

⁸⁴ Johann Jakob Fugger, *Spiegel der Ehren*, p. 906.

⁸⁵ Nicolas Offenstadt, “Les femmes et la paix,” p. 327.

⁸⁶ Nicolas Offenstadt, “Les femmes et la paix,” 328, footnote 72.

⁸⁷ Paul Strohm, “Queens as Intercessors,” 97–101.

⁸⁸ Louise Olga Fradenburg, “Introduction: Rethinking Queenship,” p. 1.

⁸⁹ Paul Strohm, “Queens as Intercessors,” pp. 101–103.

⁹⁰ Nicolas Offenstadt, “Les femmes et la paix,” p. 328.

⁹¹ Jessalyn O’Leary, *Elite Women as Diplomatic Agents*, pp. 45–50.

⁹² Beatrice to Eleanor, 18 March 1486, Buda; printed in Enrica Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, pp. 59–61.

⁹³ Beatrice to Eleanor, 5 May 1486, Buda; printed in Enrica Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, 75–76.

⁹⁴ Beatrice to Eleanor, 18 March 1486, Buda; printed in Enrica Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, 59–61.

⁹⁵ Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 124–126.

message, encouraging Beatrice to influence Matthias to act in the intentions of the Holy See and organise the crusade against the Ottomans.⁹⁶ Although concise, the papal breve must have been a source of great joy and honour for the queen, because Pecchinoli stated, it is impossible to describe her joy from the letter which seemed to her “sweeter than wine”.⁹⁷ The queen replied with a message in Italian, full of thanks and expression of veneration towards the Holy See. She ensured the pontiff that “although there is [in her] no such high devotion to the said [Holy] See as it should be, because of our fragility, we did not and we will not, with all little power we possess, do [everything] what aims your honour and glory”.⁹⁸ As it was the only piece of writing by the pope,⁹⁹ Beatrice took the chance to stress her delight and pleasure of receiving such distinction. Display, reception of gifts, and rhetoric of gratitude for them were as important and calculated as the gifts themselves.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, we can say that the same can apply to the piece of writing which functioned as a token of favour and prestige. Moreover, Beatrice also used the expression of thanks as a conversational icebreaker because, as Pecchinoli notes, she instantly jumped to the other topic (of her father), and also to soften the fact that she possessed the views which were contrary to the papal interest.¹⁰¹

Messages were often encrypted, and Beatrice often changed cipher keys when writing to different recipients,¹⁰² which sometimes caused confusion. In one letter, Eleanor complains that Beatrice sent a message in a cipher that was different from the usual one. Eleanor still managed to get it decoded, but it was *grandissima fatica* (great hardship) and it took several days to solve. Since she did not know if the original cipher key was still extant, Eleanor rather replied with the cipher that Beatrice mistakenly used.¹⁰³ Another coding tactic baffled probably not so much the recipient of the queen's letters but rather modern scholars. Beatrice, or better, her chancellery, sometimes inserted randomly unnecessary generic words, so-called *parola nulla*, like *fortis*, *virtus*, *decus*, which were meant to confuse the unwanted reader even further. As Patrizia Cremonini pointed out, older scholarship and editions of Beatrice's letters misinterpreted one of these words (*fortis*) as a surname because it directly followed a personal name (Andriolo). Although an individual called Andriolo existed, his last name or nickname was not “Fortis”.¹⁰⁴

5. Conclusion

Queen Beatrice's role in diplomacy or rulership, as a whole, needs further examination. The brief analysis of Pecchinoli's reports to the Holy See shows that the queen was not only deeply involved with all major issues but was able to come up with additional arguments to strengthen Matthias's case. In her talks with the papal legate and elsewhere, she deployed a whole set of tools (gifts, performative behaviour, correspondence) to further her husband's (or rather, their common) efforts. Especially in the use of affective display, either enacted or in writing, Beatrice and Matthias constantly swapped places, exchanging traditionally masculine and feminine roles. Her role and position are thus a key element of Matthias's exercise of power (and vice versa); it is kaleidoscopic, always changing and adapting. It rests heavily on the perception, albeit inflated,

⁹⁶ Innocent VIII to Beatrice, Rome, 26 March 1489, in Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 129.

⁹⁷ “Impossibile est dicere, quanto gaudio quantaque laetitia sanctitas vestra serenissimam dominam reginam affecerit isto brevi, quod dudum sue maiestati sanctitatis vestre nomine reddidi. Melle dulcius hoc illi visum est.” Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 212.

⁹⁸ Beatrice to Innocent VIII, Vienna, 5 October 1489, in Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, p. 215–216.

⁹⁹ Beatrice sent other letters (e.g. 17 June 1488 or 26 March 1490, printed in Albert Berzeviczy, *Acta Vitam Beatricis Reginae Hungariae Illustrantia*, pp. 117–118, 147), but the pontiff did not reply (or at least, the responses are not extant).¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Tracey Amanda Sowerby, “Early Modern Queens Consort and Dowager and Diplomatic Gifts,” p. 732.

¹⁰¹ Antonín Kalous, *Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli*, pp. 212–213.

¹⁰² Sending new cipher keys to Eleanor: letters no. 21, 29 in Enrica Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, pp. 55, 66.

¹⁰³ Eleanor to Beatrice, 3 June 1484, Ferrara, printed in Enrica Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, pp. 41–44.

¹⁰⁴ Patrizia Cremonini, “A Hamis Andriolo „Fortis”,” pp. 66–67. It is a letter no. 21, printed (but misinterpreted) in Guerra, *Il Carteggio*, pp. 52–55.

of her influence, which is exactly, as Lois Huneycutt states, what makes the queen's power possible.¹⁰⁵ Finally, Beatrice's case manifests the complex position of medieval women in foreign affairs. Although they were not only informal or indirect actors in diplomacy and were in an ideal position to negotiate between their natal and married families, this was not as automatic as one would think, and sometimes, familial connections (or interests) bore more burden than advantage.

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¹⁰⁵ Lois Lynn Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen," p. 138.

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