Lateran V and Peace among Christian Princes

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Abstract

The establishment of peace among Christian princes was a task assigned to the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17) by the election capitularies of Julius II (1503–13) and Leo X (1513–21), formally adopted in the bull of convocation, and repeated in the conciliar speeches of the popes and orators. The popes intervened to settle squabbles among conciliar participants and had the council issue bulls calling for peace and mandating prayers for it and the sending of letters, nuncios, and legates to promote it. Outside the council chamber, Leo X worked tirelessly to negotiate peace terms that would unite the Christian princes in a joint crusade against the infidels. He ended the council with peace agreements in place that would be broken by the French and then by others.

Keywords

Crusade – Fernando of Aragon – Fifth Lateran Council – Francis I – Leo X – Maximilian I – Peace

1 Peace as Traditional Goal of Councils and of Recent Election Capitularies

That a council should have as its goal the establishment of peace among Christian princes was not original with Lateran V. John XXIII in convoking the Council of Konstanz (1414–18) in his decree Intendentes of 16 November 1414 assigned to the assembly the task of establishing the peace, exaltation, and reformation of the Church and the tranquility of the Christian people.¹ The Council

¹ Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta, editio critica, G. ALBERIGO/ A. MELLONI (eds.), 3 vols., Vol. 11/1: The General Councils of Latin Christendom. From
of Basel (1431–49) in its inaugural documents claimed that once *wars have been quieted* the Church may flourish and that it had as one of its goals to work for the *triviality and peace of the whole Christendom.* To this end the council sent a peace delegation to Poland in 1433 in an effort to end the hostilities between the Teutonic Knights and Poland. It also sent delegates to the congress of Arras in 1435 that helped to negotiate peace between Burgundy and France. It succeeded in ending the hostilities between the Hussites and the Roman Catholics with the *Compactata* of Prague approved at Jihlava in 1436.

The need for peace among Christian princes was made more urgent by the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Warring Italian states signed the Peace of Lodi (1454) and entered into the Italian League (1455) to guarantee peace on the Italian peninsula. The Congress of Mantova which met in 1460 (ten years after the close of the Council of Basel-Lausanne, as if meeting in some way the requirements of *Frequens*) tried to bring Christian princes together to organize a crusade against the Turks, an effort which failed with the death of Pius II in Ancona (1464) while awaiting the arrival of the crusaders. Venice over the years took advantage of instability in the Papal States to seize

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control of papal cities along the Adriatic coast and to occupy territories in Romagna. The League’s system of a balance of powers collapsed when France entered the peninsula in 1494 to assert its claim to the Kingdom of Naples, but it was supplanted as ruler of the kingdom in 1503 by Aragon. Those who had grievances against Venice entered into the League of Cambrai (1508), with Julius II joining it in 1509 in an effort to regain control of the papal territories previously confiscated by Venice. When the pope betrayed his allies by making a separate peace with the Most Serene Republic of San Marco and used the spiritual weapon of excommunication to punish his vassal, Alfonso d’Este, the duke of Ferrara, for refusing to go along with his treachery, Julius found himself to be the enemy of many of his former allies, especially France and the Empire.

The French bishops meeting in Tours in September of 1510 protested against the pope’s use of a spiritual weapon in a secular affair and they urged King Louis XII to send a delegation to Julius II to seek peace and concord with Christian princes. Should the pope refuse to follow this advice, a free council should be convoked according to the provisions of canon law and the decrees of the Council of Basel. In his election capitularies Julius II had promised to convoke a council because for the peace of Christians and the reformation of the Church and for the reduction of the many exactions and an expedition against the infidels it is fitting to gather quickly a general council.

Serious efforts were made to resolve the conflict. The ambassadors of the Empire, France, Spain, and the Papacy met in Mantova in March of 1511 to draw up peace plans which were taken to Julius II in Bologna in April. The pope, however, insisted on punishing his disobedient ducal vassal and the Empire demanded a return of the imperial cities and territories occupied by Venice. Subsequent negotiations directly with Louis XII also failed to resolve the issues.

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7 Promotiones & progressus sacrosancti pisani concilii moderni indicti & incohati anno domini M.D.xi., Z. Ferreri (ed.), Paris 1512, fol. 3v: Item quia ad pacem christianorum: & ecclesiae reformationem: ac reductionem multarum exactionum: expeditionem quoque contra infideles plurimum: conuenit generale concilium celerius congregari; promittere; iurabit: & uowebit intra biennium a creatione sua illud indicere ...


9 Ibid., 76–92.
Given the collapse of these high-level negotiations, a group of dissident cardinals meeting in Milan and supported by Louis xii and Emperor Maximilian I convoked on 16 May 1511 the Council of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon (1511–12) for the true peace of Christians, a crusade against the infidels, and the reform of the universal Church. The council set up four deputations, the fourth of which was of peace. At its eighth session on 21 April 1512 in Milan, where it had transferred, the council suspended Julius from the spiritual and temporal administration of his office because he contumaciously refused to support this council that has been called for the peace of the whole Christian people and the reform of a fallen Church. He was guilty of urging on the enemy of peace and has engaged in the most cruel and unheard shedding of Christian blood in an effort to destroy the council.

To counter the Council of Pisa-Milan, Julius convoked on 18 July 1511 his own council to meet in the Lateran Basilica in Rome. Among the goals he assigned to it was establishing peace.

2 Establishing Peace Among Council Members

One of the problems that plagued his council was the need to establish peace within and near the walls of the conciliar chamber in the Lateran Basilica. Indications of difficulties were foreshadowed in the very procession to open the

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10 Promotiones (as note 7), fol. 6v: pro uera pace christianorum fundanda.
11 Ibid., fol. 38v: Quarto deputationem pacis.
13 COGD, 11/2 (as note 2), 1338: 285–89: bellorumque imminentium sedationi consulatur, uniciuque quod suum est reddatur, iustitia et pax invicem osculatur, Christique fideles in pace et unitate, in Dei nomine, non ex passionum privatarum fomite, quae (ut ex gestis diversorum conciliorum apparat), pessimos effectus parere consuevit, congregati... and Ibid., 1341: 346–347: fideliumque praedictorum pacem et salutem concernunt, caritate muniti intendant.
council. The Knights of Jerusalem and Rhodes were appointed the guards of the pope and rode on horses immediately before the pope. The papal mazziere marched on foot before the Knights. This order was contested by the two masters of ceremonies: Bernardino Guttierrez arguing that the mazziere as papal officials took precedence over the Knights, while Paride de Grassi insisting that the Knights with their ceremonial weapons functioned less like an armed phalanx going into war. The resolution of the controversy was by a congregation of cardinals charged with ceremonial matters and by decisions of both popes Julius II and Leo X.\\(^\text{14}\) 

Another controversy involved the conservators of Rome and the ambassadors of Christian princes. The conservators wanted a position closer to the pope on the grounds that they were superior to the ambassadors of rulers, eventually claiming superiority even over those of the emperor and kings. Julius II denied them such status, telling them to stand guard outside the entrance to the conciliar chamber. Leo tried to resolve the controversy by designating the conservators as assistants to the governor of Rome and accompanying him in the procession and thus taking precedence over the ambassadors and by calling them to a position on the papal dais within the conciliar chamber, while de Grassi had them sit with the barons of Rome on benches close to the cardinal deacons. When the conservators became more aggressive, Leo assigned them the task of guarding the entrances of the street on which the pope would pass.\\(^\text{15}\) 

A more serious controversy involved the imperial ambassador, Alberto Pio, prince of Carpi. He tangled with Carlo Tocco Paleologus, the exiled despot of Arte, who demanded precedence over him on the basis of heredity and had the support of cardinals Domenico Grimani, Federigo Sanseverino, Luigi d’Aragon, and Ippolyto d’Este. Pio had recourse to the masters of ceremonies for a decision and they backed him. The Emperor got involved and asked to see a copy of the consuetudo of the Roman Curia on the precedence of ambassadors. Pio sent him the relevant extracts from the book of the master of ceremonies. The Emperor suggested that should the pope decide that Carlo is a king, even if in exile, then he takes precedence over a mere ambassador, but Maximilian felt it was not just (equum) that the imperial dignity and the position of his ambassador should be suppressed.\\(^\text{16}\) Pio also protested over the precedence given at

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\(^\text{15}\) Ibid. 321 nr. 901: 8; 353 nr. 1081: 4; 357 −58 nrs. 116: 10, 14: 367 nr.12301

\(^\text{16}\) Letters of Maximilian: to Alberto Pio, Lille, 12.11.1513, Maximiliana, Vienna, Haus-Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, box 29, folder IV, fol. 49r–v; to Leo X [?], Augsburg, 12.11.13, Ibid., 30,
the fifth session to Federico Gonzaga, the son of the marquis of Mantova, by de Grassi having him incensed and given him the peace before the ambassadors. De Grassi argued that as a prince Gonzaga was superior to ambassadors. Pio retorted that he himself was also a prince. De Grassi responded that when the pope declared him superior to a marquis, he would so honor him. The case was sent to a congregation of cardinals to resolve. At the eighth session, Pio protested against the misrepresentation in the French mandate regarding the role Maximilian played in the Pisan schism.\textsuperscript{17}

Quarrels also broke out at the council regarding representatives of various dukes. At the seventh session the ambassador of the dukes of Maszowe, although subject to the king of Poland, wanted to be seated with the ambassadors of important rulers. While Leo granted him the request, de Grassi ignored the pope's decision and boldly excluded him. At the eighth session the representative of the duke of Milan protested when the mandate of the king of France was read in which he claimed the title of duke of Milan. Leo X tried to restore peace by declaring that he accepted the mandate without prejudice to anyone. Before the tenth session the ambassador of Milan got into another controversy, this time over precedence. Leo X consulted de Grassi for the legal and customary practice and for his personal advice. Based on records in the Camera, Chancellery, and office of the master of ceremonies, Savoy holds \textit{de jure} the first position of honor, Milan the second, and Venice the third. Leo initially doubted de Grassi until he brought him the books to read. De Grassi pointed out, however, that the actual practice was different. For example, Milan has on occasion yielded its position to Venice, but that is not the case recently. To obviate a potential scandalous quarrel, popes have asked one ambassador to absent himself from a ceremony, and the other from the next ceremony. Leo decided to follow that practice and told de Grassi to propose that to Venetian and Milanese ambassadors. And because the pope's brother Giuliano was married to Filaberta of Savoy and was also captain of the Church, Savoy

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should take precedence and sit on the bench next to the cardinal deacons. The popes had thus intervened to bring peace within the conciliar chamber to the contending representatives of Christian princes.

3 Julian Phase of the Council: Speeches of the Pope and Orators

The popes were more concerned, however, with establishing peace outside the council’s walls. In his speech to the conciliar fathers on 3 May 1512 read by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Julius claimed that he had delayed calling the council because of the need first to quiet the wars raging among Christians. But these wars continued and he lamented, Look at the whole Christian world vexed and set afire by arms and wars. He has convoked the council in the hope that with the Lord’s assistance, among other things, he might compose a peace among Christian princes. With God’s help, let everything be led to the peace and tranquility of Christians and to the unity of His holy Church so that they may unite in a crusade against the enemies of the Faith.

The pope’s speech was followed by that of Egidio Antonini da Viterbo, famed orator and prior general of the Augustinian friars. Among the issues addressed by the friar was that of restoring peace. While praising Julius for having recovered the lands belonging to the Papal States, he blamed the recent defeat at Ravenna on the pope’s dependence on military means to defend the interests of the Church. Let the pope use instead his proper arms, let him turn to prayer, zealous piety, the deeds of religion, and doing what is holy. Peace will not come from more warfare.

The other conciliar orators during the Julian phase of the council also addressed the question of peace. At the first session, the Venetian curial prelate and archbishop of Split, Bernardo Zane, urged the pope and council to declare a truce so that each prince would keep whatever territories he currently held. To end strife and warfare, the pope should enforce the instituta of the Christian religion. The Master General of the Order of Preachers, Tommaso de Vio (Cajetan), addressed the second session. While admitting that the pope possessed

18 Dykmans (as note 14), 340 nr. 985: 11 (Maszowe); 350 nr. 1039: 12 (Milan); 357–58, nr. 1116: 14 (Savoy, Milan, Venice).
19 N. H. Minnich, Concepts of Reform Proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council, in: AHP 7 (1969) 163–251, here 237: videtis universum orbem Christianum vexari, et exardescere armis et bellis ... omnia redigantur ad pacem et tranquillitatem christianorum et unitatem ecclesiae suae sanctae ... ; Mansi (as note 6), 32: 667B, D.
20 Ibid. 32: 673DE, 674B–675A.
two swords, the temporal and spiritual, Julius should give the temporal one over to princes and imitate the Prince of Peace by showing to all a mercy that will bring them into the unity of the Church. The Greek bishop of Molfetta, Alexios Celadoni, told the fathers at the third session that warfare was to be blamed on pernicious ambition. Fraud, cupidity for the property of others, and licentiousness have led to discord, wars, and the slaughter of fellow Christians. Let there be an end to this strife, the establishment of peace everywhere in Christendom, and an expedition against the infidels. The Venetian cleric Cristoforo Marcello took a more positive view of warfare. While praising peace as the basis of life, happiness, friendship, family, society, virtue, and religion, he insisted on the benefits of just warfare. No one should be forced to suffer unjust usurpations and violent domination. It is more beautiful to die defending liberty that to live in turpitude and ignominy. Pope Julius has fought valiantly against most powerful foes, has liberated Bologna, has added Reggio, Parma, and Piacenza to the Papal States (something none of his predecessors ever accomplished), and has driven the enemy from Italy. All rejoice in his achievements. He should now turn his attention to church reform, using laws instead of arms, and provide for a true, holy, and enduring peace from which will come rich fruit. He should use his spiritual authority so that the true Christ will dwell in the family of Christ and the golden age return. At the fifth session, as Julius lay dying, the youthful archbishop of Siponto, Gian Maria del Monte called upon the pope to extinguish the flames of warfare in the Christian world, to revitalize justice, and to preserve unity. Peace is a gift of Christ. If Christians must fight as a punishment for their sins, let the warfare be directed against the infidel Turks.\[21\\]

Julius II was more inclined to follow the advice of Marcello, than that of the friars Antonini or de Vio. While he carried on peace negotiations with his enemies, he was unwilling to compromise on various issues and saw the negotiations a strategy for buying time until his military position improved. And indeed it did. He ultimately succeeded in driving the French from Italy and the Bentivogli from Bologna and in gaining for the Papal States the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Piacenza. He forced Alfonso d’Este to come to Rome to seek absolution, but his subsequent dealings with him led to his flight and return to power in Ferrara. Julius II was hailed as the second founder of the Papal States. He used the Lateran Council as a tool for condemning the French and winning allies to his cause. At the third session he had the council reaffirm his

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21 Mansi (as note 6), 32: 702E, 703B (Zane); 726C–727A (de Vio); 741E–742A (Celadoni); 760A–D, 761C–762B (Marcello); 780D–781C (del Monte).
bull *Ad reprimendum* of 13 August 1512 that placed France under an interdict. During his presidency of the council, there is no evidence that it was engaged in peace-making.\(^{22}\) The death of Julius II on 21 February 1513 created new opportunities for peace.

## 4 Leonine Phase of the Council: Speeches of the Pope and Orators

The election of Giovanni dei Medici as Pope Leo X raised hopes for new peace initiatives. Among his election capitularies was the same one Julius had sworn to ten years earlier: to pursue peace among Christian princes through the work of the council.\(^{23}\) The new pope was seen as someone who would pursue a policy of peace. Along the route of his *possessio* procession to the Lateran Basilica on 11 April 1513 various banners were displayed: on one arch *Leo X. Pont. Max. unionem Ecclesiae instaurandi christianosque tumultus sedandi studio*; on another in front of the house of the banker Agostino Chigi *Leoni X. Pont. Max. pacis restitutori felicissimo*; at the house of the Sauli banker *L.X.P.M. exoptatae tranquillitatis suo sideri*; yet another banner proclaimed *Cuncti fideles gaudium celebrantur quia tu pacis et caritatis amator mundum gubernas; item prostratis placidus rebellibus ferox.*\(^{24}\) While Leo did work to restore peace among Christian princes by diplomatic means, he was also willing to combine them with military might. He saw the Lateran Council as a partner in this effort and as a forum for registering his victories.

True to his election capitulary and the hopes of Christendom, Leo reassembled the Lateran Council. At the first session with him as president on 27 April 1513 he gave a speech in which he announced his intention to continue the

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22 Minnich, Healing of the Pisan Schism (as note 8), 91–96; Mansi (as note 6), 32: 734B–D; M. Brosch, Papst Julius II und die Gründung des Kirchenstaates, Gotha 1878.


24 Sanuto (as note 23), xvi, 163–64.
council until there was a universal concord and peace among Christians. At the
ninth session he declared that nothing is of greater importance than quelling
the wars that afflict Christendom.

During the Leonine phase of the council six orators delivered speeches
in which they dealt in varying degrees with the council’s goal of establishing
peace among Christian princes. The Croatian bishop of Modrus, Simon Kožičić
Begna, devoted most of his sermon at the sixth session to an account of the
atrocities committed by the Turks. Instead of coming to the aid of fellow Chris-
tians, the princes of Europe out of private hatred and strife have fought each
other on the Italian peninsula and elsewhere; Italians are slain by their fellow
countrymen and by foreigners. Look too at all the graves of the fallen in Spain
and England. Citing the words of the Apocalypse (6:10), he claimed that their
blood is calling from the earth for divine retribution. But now that Italian af-
fairs have settled down, it is time for Leo to unsheathe his sword and come to
the aid of the victims of Turkish aggression. Let peace reign among Christians,
for this we were born, let us love and embrace it. Let a golden peace be re-
called. At the seventh session the Spanish cleric Baltasar del Río, the secre-
tary to the Spanish cardinal resident in Rome, Jaime Serra, focused his oration
on the need for a crusade. To further that goal, the pope should call together
the secular princes of our religion to get them to end their rivalries and enter
into a three-year truce. Let there be no divisions among these princes, for dis-
cord among them shakes the very foundations of the Christian religion. What
lacks concord will fall apart. Let them therefore form a firm and solid body of
troops that can take on the infidels. The Sienese Knight of Rhodes, Giam Bat-
tista de Garghis, also called for a crusade in his speech at the eighth session.
He lamented that Christian princes prefer to attack each other rather than
their common enemy the Turk. Concord is rare among these rulers and thus
Christendom suffers misfortunes. They even show contempt for a crusade. Leo
was elected to feed the sheep of Christ and above all to bring help for pacify-
ing Christian souls. Let him rebuke the counsels of princes, compose a peace
among them, get them to put aside their delay in defending Christendom, and
lead them in battle array against the Turk.

25 Mansi (as note 6), 32: 788E: donec fiat universalis concordia & pax inter christianos. See
also COGD, 11/2 (as note 2), 1358: 932–39.
26 COGD, 11/2 (as note 2), 1370: 1337–43.
27 Mansi (as note 6), 32: 802E–803B, 804A, E, 805C: aurea pax revocabitur.
28 Ibid., 32: 825D–E.
29 Ibid., 32: 856D–857C.
about peace. Pucci denounced the continuous warfare that consumes the lives, wealth, weapons, strength, and talents of Christians in Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and England. He cried out: *Alas, alas, our tempest is miserable and too worthy of tears!* He claimed that 520,000 Christians had been put to the sword in the past year due to innumerable incursions, burnings, and slaughters. Let a serious effort be made to compose a peace by sending legates and nuncios who will negotiate a peace by resorting to reason over fear, hatred, and contempt. Let the pope use his spiritual and temporal authority to impose this peace for the common good. Let him show that he desires nothing more than a peace that will allow for an expedition against the infidels.\(^{30}\) The aged Venetian titular archbishop of Patras, Stefano Taleazzi, placed the council’s goal of peace within an apocalyptic framework of reformation in the seventh stage of history and the coming of the Second Sabbath. Without a reformation there can be no union of princes in a crusade. At present these princes seek what is not theirs. Indeed, for the last twenty years much blood has been shed in Italy and elsewhere. *Oh, the most miserable condition of the Christian people!* *Oh the loss of so many souls that is to be deplored with the greatest tears!* *Oh the most cruel trampling under foot and depredation of wretched Italy!* In which a wider way is given to the enemies of our faith by the destruction of our fortresses. Because such authors of this cruellest war, led on by their excessive cupidity and practicing warfare among Christians, have given themselves over to the greatest slaughter of Christian blood, they have turned away from a defense of the Christian republic. If instead they united, they could recover that lands occupied by the infidels who are now fighting among themselves. Let Leo use his two swords and impose a universal peace among Christians to last at least ten-years so that there can be an expedition against the infidels.\(^{31}\) At the twelfth and final session the Neapolitan diplomat and bishop of Isernia, Massimo Bruno Corvino, spoke at length about councils. The only mention he made regarding the Lateran Council’s goal of establishing a peace was in his final words when he claimed that it had restored peace to the Christian republic.\(^{32}\)

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 32: 892E–893E, 897E, 892E: *heu, heu, miseram nostram nimisque lacrymabilem tempestatem.*


\(^{32}\) Ibid., 32: 999C.
Leonine Phase: Deputation on Peace and Conciliar Bulls Promoting Peace

To promote the cause of peace and the other goals of the council, Leo X soon after his election gathered in the aula concilii of the Lateran Palace on 14 May eighty-seven episcopal prelates and had them choose twenty-four of their number to sit on the three conciliar deputations that would meet in the presence of the pope to discuss the agenda of the council. On 3 June he announced the composition of the deputations. The first was entitled for the composing of a universal peace among Christian princes and for the extirpation of schism. Among its twenty members were the non-Italians, cardinals Tamas Bakócz of Hungary and Francisco Remolines of Spain and the primate of Poland Jan Łaski; among its Italian members were three future popes: Giulio dei Medici (Clement VII), Alessandro Farnese (Paul III), and Gian Pietro Carafa (Paul IV). 33 Exactly what the deputation recommended is not clear. Leo X later stated that the task of the deputation was to examine carefully many useful and necessary topics and to send him an accurate report of the subjects discussed so that he could decide the issues with the approval of the council. 34 The peace deputation would have been an appropriate forum for resolving the conflict between the king of Poland-Lithuania and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, had they agreed to the council deciding the matter. The controversies that erupted at the council over the position of precedence of ambassadors was something some thought the council itself should resolve, but the pope and the master of ceremonies who was also the official assigner of seating made provisional rulings. 35 Leo X turned over to a committee composed of most of the cardinal members of the peace deputation the resolution of the controversies with Alfonso d'Este and Annibale Bentivogli. 36

33 Ibid., 32: 794C–95B, 795A–D.
34 CODG, 11/2 (as note 2), 1451, lines 4010–14.
35 Dykmans (as note 14), 332, nr. 923: 17; on the proposal to have the Lateran Council decide the issues between the Knights and Poland, see: Minnich, Struggle (as note 3), 213, 215–219, 223–224.
36 Minnich, Healing of Pisan Schism (as note 8), 98–103. The commission consisted of seven cardinals Riario, Farnese, Soderini, Bakócz, Flisco, Castellesi, and a seventh variously identified as d’Aragona, Gonzaga, or Vigerio. The cardinals not members of the conciliar peace deputation were Riario, d’Aragona, and Vigerio - Mansi (as note 6), 32: 796BC.
6 Conciliar Nuncios and Legates as Angels of Peace

At the seventh session on 17 June 1513 the council approved the bull Meditatio cordis that ordered the sending of legates and nuncios of peace to the rulers of Christendom to discuss and compose a universal peace. It also required the ambassadors of these rulers present at the council to notify their masters of their coming and to ask that they receive in a kindly and honorable way these legates, listen to their just and pious requests, and compose a peace for the security and quiet of Christendom so that an expedition against the bloodthirsty infidels can be organized.  

Leo X tried to implement this provision by sending important persons as legates of peace. On 15 July 1513, with the consent of the College of Cardinals but with no mention of the Lateran Council’s decree, the pope appointed by the bull Deum optimum et maximum the cardinal-primate of Hungary, Támas Bakócz, a member of the conciliar peace deputation, as legatus a latere to the Jagiellonian kingdoms of Hungary and Poland-Lithuania, and also to Russia and the Baltic regions with ample faculties lasting for three years to act as an angel of peace in our name and that of the Apostolic See for undertaking and making the holy and especially necessary expedition against the Turks and Tartars. By a bull Cum te ad partes of 20 September 1513 he commissioned him to work for the reconciliation of the Hussites in those regions. On 28 October by one report or on 9 November by another, Bakócz left Rome to undertake his mission. On 9 December 1513 King Zygmunt of Poland suggested that Bakócz could function as a mediator in the dispute between the king and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, but that proposal failed because Leo X wanted the case remitted to him personally or to the council.

Leo also appointed the Breton cardinal Robert Gibe as legatus a latere to Louis XII. But the cardinal’s health prevented him from going and he tried to send in his place his nephew François Hamon, bishop of Nantes. The French king Louis XII suggested that Ippolyto d’Este, brother of his ally, the duke of

37 COGD, II/2 (as note 2), 1362: lines 1064–89.
Ferrara, be sent instead as cardinal legate, while his ambassador Louis Forbin pushed the candidacy of Fedrigo Sanseverino, the reconciled former cardinal supporter of the Pisan Council. In August Leo announced his intention to appoint as his nuncio to Louis XII the experienced diplomat Count Luigi Canossa, bishop of Tricarico. The nuncio’s instructions were drawn up on September 14th, with faculties granted on October 11th, but his departure was delayed until 20 May 1514.40

Leo wanted to appoint as *legatus a latere* to Henry VIII of England the English cardinal Christopher Bainbridge, archbishop of York but resident in Rome. Bainbridge, however, was reluctant to go and urged the king not to receive any legate of peace, for the mission was only for show. Leo then thought of sending Federigo Fregoso, archbishop of Salerno and member of the conciliar peace deputation. The College of Cardinals, however, urged the pope to send to Henry VIII a cardinal legate, as recommended by the decree of the council. The pope again proposed appointing Bainbridge, but the cardinal hesitated to accept, pending word of the king’s pleasure in this matter. Leo wrote to various English prelates requesting their support for the effort to make a universal peace. Two bishops, Richard Foxe of Winchester and Thomas Wolsey of Lincoln, reported that the king will not allow a legate to enter England or Calais. They counseled against sending some grand personage, warning that Bainbridge could not be sent without suspicion, given his close ties to the king. Gian Pietro Carafa, the bishop of Chieti and member of the conciliar peace deputation who was currently in England, could function as a nuncio for negotiating peace, which is allowed by the Lateran decree. In Erasmus’s opinion the effort by Carafa was in vain. In the end, Leo had Canossa, his nuncio to France, function as his nuncio also to England, and he arrived there in mid-June of 1514 and left a month later.41


41 Ibid., I/2, 918 nr. 2029; 1047 nr. 2353; 1142 nr. 2611; Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, P. S. Allen (ed.), vol. I: 1484–1514, 550, ep. 287: 7–9 *Adest Londini summi Pontificis nuncius, Episcopus Theatinus, vir, ut aiunt, vndequaque doctissimus, de pace inter Principes tractaturus; sed frustra*. On Canossa’s mission to England, see: Letter and Papers (as note
Leo tried to make other appointments. Bainbridge was also proposed as legate of peace to the Emperor. But the pope preferred for that task the experienced diplomat and nuncio Lorenzo Campeggio, the bishop of Feltre, currently in the Empire. Leo also enlisted the support of Cardinal Matthaeus Lang, bishop of Gurk and special emissary of Emperor Maximilian to the Lateran Council and papal court, but the pope refused to make him a legatus a latere, much to the cardinal's displeasure. The papal messengers sent to Fernando of Aragon were Antonio Serón sent in August of 1513 and the Bolognese diplomat Galeazzo Butrigari who arrived at the Spanish court on 8 January 1514. Leo thought initially to send Bishop Vicenzo de Andreis of Ottochaz as his nuncio to the Croatian region of Hungary, but then decide to send instead the bishop of Krba/Madrus, Simon Kožičić Begna.42

It was not through the efforts of his nuncios, however, that Leo X scored his first major peace agreement. While posing as neutral but secretly providing money and supplies to the anti-French combined Imperial, Swiss, and Spanish forces that resulted in the defeats of the French at Novara (6 June 1513) and of their Venetian allies at Olmo near Vicenza (7 October 1513) and by careful negotiations with the French ambassador Claude de Seyssel, Leo secured the disbanding of the Pisan Council then in Lyon and the adhesion of the French king to the Lateran Council, a victory registered at the eighth session of the Lateran Council.43

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40), I/2, 1296 nr. 3004, 1298 nr. 3009, 1301 nr. 3018; and the letter of Marino Caraccioli to Massimiliano Sforza, Rome, 27 July 1514, Maxililiana (as note 16), 33, i, 106r.

42 On Campeggio, see: D. S. Chambers, Pope Paul IV, in: Contemporaries of Erasmus (as note 40), III, 56–57; E. V. Cardinal, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio: Legate to the Courts of Henry VIII and Charles V, Boston 1935, 45–48; Pastor (as note 40), VII, 63 n; and the letter of Maximilian to Leo X, Innsbruck, 2 December 1514, Maximiliana (as note 16), 33, i, 70r where he reports that Campeggio had urged him to put aside private hatreds and make peace with our enemies for the sake of a crusade. On Lang, see the secret instruction given to him by Leo X on 29 April 1514 to work for peace among Christian princes, ASV, aa Arm. 1–XVI, nr. 2621, fols.ir–2v. On Lang being denied the status of cardinal legate, see: Letters and Papers (as note 40), I/2, 1262 nr. 2921. On the messengers sent to Spain, see: Terrateig (as note 23), I, 458, II, 289–290, 311–312, 319 (Butrigari send to negotiate a possible marriage alliance with Giuliano dei Medici and the king’s granddaughter Duchess Teresa de Cardona), and Letters and Papers (as note 40), I/2, 1136 nr. 2595. His name there is given as Goleaz Butrigario; on the sending of Simon Kožičić Begna as nuncio, see: Sanuto (as note 23), 16: 600.

43 Minnich, Healing of the Pisan Council (as note 8), 111–138; both Julius II and Leo X made efforts to keep the Swiss in an alliance with the papacy – see: M. Gatto, Leone X e la geo-politica dello stato pontificio (1513–1521), Città del Vaticano 2000 (= CAV 47) 12, 90–91, 279–284.
At the eighth session on 19 December 1513 Leo X issued with the approval of the council the bull *Ad omnipotentis* that repeated his desire to bring about a universal peace. Echoing Job and John that Christ nurtures peace and concord in the heavenly realms and on His departure from this world bequeathed peace as an inheritance to His disciples, Leo protested his desire to bring about a peace among Christian princes. He recalled how he had established the conciliar peace deputation and how the bull *Meditatio cordis* of the previous session had called for the sending of legates and nuncios of peace and for the cooperation of ambassadors at the council to secure a proper reception of these “angels of peace” by their rulers. The pope insisted that he had sent letters and nuncios to the rulers of Christendom as soon as was possible. He hoped to nominate soon in secret consistory as messengers of peace cardinal legates who will work for establishing a universal peace among Christians. He mentioned in particular the cardinal legate Támas Bakócz who has already set out for Hungary and Bohemia with the mission of working for the reconciliation of the Hussites.44

7 Negotiations for Peace and Calls for Prayer

Leo saw as the great obstacle to peace the alliance between France and Venice, each eager to recover its previous losses. The pope had held out to Louis XII, when resolving the spiritual issues surrounding the Council of Pisa, the possibilities of a political alliance. In January of 1514 Louis indicated that he was willing for the pope to resolve the differences the French had with Henry VIII and the others. Leo wanted this accomplished *de jure* and *de facto* and requested a mandate authorizing him to negotiate a settlement. Meanwhile the French were doing everything possible to prevent a peace agreement between the Empire and Venice.45 Leo was in a difficult position as a member of the Holy League that included the Empire, Spain, England, Milan, and some minor states, all united in their opposition to France and Venice. Maximilian wanted to restore imperial authority over the cities of the Venetian Terraferma, Henry VIII was conquering the French cities of Thérouanne and Tornai and hoped to win the crown of France itself, promised by Julius II to a victorious

44 Cogd, 11/2 (as note 2), 1365–68, esp. lines 1186–88 and 1219–55. The bull commissioning Bakócz was dated 20 September 1513. The scripture quotes are from Job 25: 2 and John 14: 27.

45 Sanuto (as note 23), 17: 51; letters of Alberto Pio to Maximilian, 3 and 31 March 1514, Rome, Maximiliana (as note 16), 30, 111, 10r and 31, 1, 155v–156r.
English king. The death of the French queen, Anne of Brittany, on 9 January 1514 opened up other possibilities of putting a Tudor on the French throne through the marriage of the widower Louis XI with one of Henry’s sisters, Margaret, the recently widowed queen of Scotland, or the eighteen-year old Mary. Fernando wanted to keep the Spanish portion of the kingdom of Navarre he had conquered in 1512 from Jean II d’Albret, France’s ally. The Spanish king also wanted to provide for his dear grandson and namesake, asking Emperor Maximilian to conquer Venice and invest the youthful Ferdinand with it as an imperial fiefdom to be joined with part of the County of Tyrol. To this end the king was willing to sell his crown to help finance the war against Venice and to send the youth to Germany to learn both German and Italian. Leo proposed the draft of a settlement on 11 March 1514 that would allow the Emperor to keep Verona, Bergamo, and Brescia, while Venice would retain control of Padova and Treviso. Vicenza and Crema would be put in the hands of the pope. While this agreement seemed acceptable to his allies, these members of the Holy League were not firm in their commitments to each other. Leo became anxious when he learned that the Spanish agent Pedro Quintana, without first consulting the pope or the English king, had gone to Maximilian to secure his agreement for a Spanish-French truce that was signed on 13 March 1514. In this agreement Fernando proposed the marriage of his grandson Ferdinand with the king’s daughter Renée, with Milan as the dowry and after Fernando’s death his grandson will get Naples. Fernando wrote to his ambassador in Rome to explain: that the truce was for one year; that Louis agreed during that time not to make any attempts on Milan and will work for a general peace; and that the truce was open for various parties to co-sign: the Emperor, the king of England, Scotland, Milan, and the pope. Leo should put aside his suspicions and join this league which will open the way to a general peace and not make a separate secret agreement with Louis. Despite these assurances, Leo sought

47 Letter of Lang to Maximilian, Viterbo, 16 November 1513, Maximiliana (as note 16), 30, 11, fol. 68r–v; and Gattoni (as note 43), 80.
48 Ibid., 83.
49 Fernando supported the agreement and urged Maximilian to support it too – see: Terrateig (as note 23), II, 270–271.
50 Letter of Maximilian to Lang, 25 February 1514, Wels, Maximiliana (as note 16) 30, 111, 230r (Leo upset over Quintana mission); Terrateig (as note 23), II, 271–274, 279–281, 288–289, 306–307 (explaining the terms of the truce, its openness to other members, and
to make his own deal with Louis and sent an outline of it by way of his nuncio Canossa.51

The settlement that Leo proposed consisted of various elements. He insists that because of his pastoral office he seeks peace among all Christian princes and he wants a fair agreement by which no prince will be totally destroyed. As the head of all Christians he should be the author of any agreement, it should be done with his knowledge and consent. He proposes that Henry VIII be given a pension or tribute and be allowed to keep the two cities of Thérouanne and Tournai he acquired by warfare the previous year. Let Maximilian agree to this since the cities lie within the Empire. These cities can also be exchanged for others closer to the sea and more convenient. Let Louis agree not to intervene in Scottish affairs. Maximilian should receive some tribute for Provence and the Delphinate which are imperial fiefs. The pope agrees that Fernando of Spain may have the whole kingdom of Navarre either by reason of law because his queen Germaine de Foix has a claim on it or because he acquired it legally by defeating Jean d'Albret who had adhered to the schismatics. Regarding the duchy of Milan, the French king should accept an annual tribute on the basis of his legal claims to it. The king is also held to consent to the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges and thus support the liberty of the Church. Maximilian should be content to hold Bergamo and the Addige region and accept a sum of money and tribute for the other lands in the Veneto. If peace is made among Louis, Fernando, and Maximilian by way of some marriage that involves Milan as a dowry, the pope wants the current duke Massimiliano Sforza to remain in place and the tribute he now gives to Louis be given to an offspring of Maximilian who is given in marriage to a daughter of Louis. If Maximilian insists on having a portion of the duchy of Milan, let it be the area between the Adda and Addige Rivers that is not to be governed by the Spanish but by the persons appointed by Maximilian or Lang or by the offspring himself. The pope will not agree to all of Italy being under the Emperor which seems to be Maximilian's intent in desiring both Milan and Venice. There cannot be friendship with the Emperor if he attempts to take both. If he wants

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51 Letter of Maximilian to Lang, Wels, 25 February 1514, Maximiliana (as note 16), iii, 230r–v (claims Louis hopes to regain Naples and has offered Leo Milan, thus excluding the Empire and Spain from Italy); and letter of Balthassare Turini de Piscia to Lorenzo dei Medici, Rome, 18 April 1514, Archivio di Stato - Firenze, MAP, Filza 107, nr. 10, fol. 10r–v (Leo leans toward an alliance with Louis, urged on by his cousin Luigi Rossi, but has not agreed to the truce because he still hopes for a universal peace and will do what is best for the interests of the Church).
Milan, let him make peace with the Venetians who are willing to pay him ten hundred thousand ducats plus an annual tribute. Let Maximilian not attempt anything against Florence or the Papal States. If Louis is willing to accept as a wife a daughter or niece of the Emperor or one of the sisters of the King of England; or if the Emperor accepts as a wife a relative of the king of France with a proper dowry, the extent of the dowry could be seen as a condition of the peace. Negotiations dragged out over the summer with Canossa complaining of uncivil treatment, nonetheless principally through the efforts of Wolsey and Canossa on 7 August 1514 a treaty was signed whereby Louis agreed to marry Henry's sister Mary, to let him keep Thérouanne and Tournai, and to pay the sum of 1,000,000 crowns.

Leo also wanted a peace with Venice. For this he needed the co-operation of Emperor Maximilian. To secure this he sent a secret message by means of Lang in which he laid out his positions. The pope wants a universal peace, the security of Italy and of the Papal States, and thus continues to support the Holy League which he wants open so that others could join it. He is opposed, however, to any agreement that would have both Milan and the neighboring Venetian Terraferma (i.e., Lombardy) and the kingdom of Naples being held by either the Empire and Spain separately or eventually by their joint heir (Archduke Charles), for such a conjunction would cause the papacy to lose its independence and be always subject to every and exclusive preference and decision of these princes. To prevent a unified Lombardy, Leo proposes a three-state Lombardy: Milan, Venetian territory, and a middle state between them either controlled by France or joined to the County of Tyrol. Or let the Emperor decide which of the two states he wants: Milan or Venice, but not both. The pope is therefore willing that the Empire and Spain come to an agreement with France so that it has a foothold in Lombardy. But Leo does not want France returning to Italy without the agreement of the pope. And he wants the safety of Florence assured as guaranteed by one of the articles of the confederation. The pope is ready to make a new and more detailed league/confederation for the defense of Italy and for an expedition against the infidels.

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52 Capitula tractanda inter Leonem x et Regem Christianissimum pro salute Reipublicae Christianae, BAV, Vat. Lat. 12208, fols. 23r–25v (formerly asv, Miscellanea, Arm xi, nr. 132).  
53 Baumgartner (as note 50), 238–39; J. J. Scarisbrick, Henry viii, Berkeley 1968, 52–54; Letters and Papers (as note 40) I/2, 1298 nr. 3009 (Canossa arrived in England by 17.vi.1514 and remains hidden in the house, not showing himself); 1324 nr. 3096 (Canossa returns to France by 15.vii.1514); 1326 nr. 3105 (Canossa complains of uncivil treatment in England).  
54 Instructio secretissima a Leone x data Reverendissimo Gurcensi pro pace inter principes, Rome, 29 April 1514, asv, AA. Arm. I–XVIII, nr. 2621, fols.1r–2v, 1r: semper ad omnem solam
Having heard the peace proposals made by the ambassadors of Aragon and the Empire, Vich and Lang, Leo gave a response which he characterized as his own opinions and not strict conclusions. He protested his good will toward both rulers, based in good part on a previous agreement to share a common fortune. Due to his pastoral office, he greatly desires a universal peace and crusade, but this is blocked by wars with Venice and France. He would like to make peace with one and then the other. Venice seems more willing for a truce or peace and the pope would like the Empire and Spain to go along. How achieve this peace? One option would be for the Empire to restore to Venice all the conquered lands and have Venice pay him in return ten hundred thousand florens annually. Or the Emperor could keep only Verona and Venice pay him four hundred thousand florens. Brescia would be put in the hands of the pope until Venice paid that sum. There should be a truce lasting from one to ten years with the pope holding Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, and other places. Or the Emperor would keep Verona and the other lands be restored to Venice with the revenues from Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, and Vicenza being divided between the Empire and Venice. Regarding the war with the French, the pope cannot in good conscience concur with the rulers of Spain and the Empire since they have no just cause for continuing the warfare. Leaving aside spiritual matters, Leo is content to do nothing that is contrary to the interests of these rulers, and he will not negotiate or ratify a peace without first consulting them. Because the pope does not see a solid and good financial basis for waging war with either Venice or France, but rather many dangers, especially with the French not desisting from an effort to return to Italy and other things, he would in a paternal and sincere way seek to eliminate or suspend one of these wars so that there is not a continuous and perpetual state of unrest and suspicion of wars. Leo states that he would much appreciate it if the Empire and Spain were willing to give Ferrara together with Parma and Piacenza and their four dependent cities as a fiefdom to the pope’s brother Giuliano, with a wife who is a relative of the Emperor and give to his nephew Lorenzo a state in the Neapolitan kingdom worth ten or twelve thousand ducats annually, together with a wife who is a relative of the king of Spain, confirmation of Medici control of Florence and with some honorable title, and take both Medici relatives of the pope under the protection of the Emperor and king of Spain. Let there be put into an

\textit{discretionem et arbitrium praefatorum principum.} A copy of it is printed in: \textsc{Gattoni} (as note 43), 94, 103–105.
article of a treaty the agreed money and troops to be devoted to prosecuting the wars with Ferrara and Venice. Should the Emperor invest his grandson Ferdinand and no one else with the state of Venice, let him govern it for him and for no other. The duke of Milan should be compensated for the loss of Parma and Piacenza by being given Asti, Crema, and Bergamo, or in some other way. Should the Milanese duke not agree to this or Ferrara not be given to Giuliano, the pope does not wish without these to accept the rest, but nonetheless will content himself with the above-mentioned marriage and state in Italy for his brother. To pursue more securely warfare against Ferrara and Venice, let Venice be separated from France. To this end the pope favors a truce with Venice lasting six to eight months during which the war with Ferrara can be pursued. For a renewed Venetian war, the pope promises both money and troops. About these proposals let there be a quick consultation with the Emperor and king of Spain and let them immediately indicate what pleases them and send mandates for concluding an agreement. In the meantime by papal brief let there be a cessation of warfare for one to two months.55

On 4 May 1514, the day before the ninth session of the council met, the pope sponsored a ceremony at which his proxies and the representatives of Christian princes signed truce agreements. He had told the Venetians ahead of time that he was sympathetic to their current situation and was ready to be allied with them secretly until either the king of France or the Swiss (or both) are totally with us for the recuperation of the lost lands in the Terraferma. To avoid all suspicions, both are obligated not to make any agreements with other powers without the consent and inclusion of both parties, knowing that the adherents of agreements are obligated within a month to nominate as parties our allies and those who are in agreement with us. The document was personally signed by Leo. In the presence of Cardinal Giulio dei Medici and of Giuliano dei Medici, Pietro Lando, representing Venice, also subscribed to it in virtue of a mandate given to him in April.56 Then in a ceremony on 4 May 1514 in the pope’s private chapel in the apostolic palace in Rome a public instrument was ratified by the procurators of Leo X, namely cardinals Giulio dei Medici and Bernardo Dovizi, witnessed by Alberto Pio (the imperial ambassador),

55 Capitula inter Leonem X et Caesarem et Catholicum Regem tractanda, BAV, Vat. Lat. 12208, fols. 7r–9v.

56 Quaedam tractanda inter Leonem X et Venetos, Rome, April 1514, BAV, Vat. Lat. 12208, fols. 21r–22v (also ASV, AA, Arm. 1–XVIII, nr. 2667); see also Gattoni (as note 43), 93–94 nn. 22–23.
Jeronimo Vich (ambassador of Aragon), and Giovanni Lazaro De Magistris of Aquileja (also known as Serapica). As the only competent judge of peace and out of his pastoral concern for a universal peace, Pope Leo X ratified in the name of the Venetians a truce for three months and he gave to Lang the sum of 25,000 large golden ducats which he will seek to recover from the Venetians. The pope reserved for himself the faculty to extend up to one year the time for ratification by Venice. The truce called for a cessation of hostilities between Venice and Maximilian; each party is to keep the territories it now holds in Friuli, Belluno, and Feltre; the Venetians are to pay within thirty days 25,000 golden ducats, and another 25,000 within three months, and 10,000 more when the pope decides; the pope will decide the status of Cremona and Vicenza; and within one year the pope will decide the points still in disagreement such as should Maximilian keep Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo and should Venice keep Padova. While Maximilian had given his approval of the truce, Venice continued to delay ratifying it.

At that same ceremony a public instrument was signed concluding a league for one year between Maximilian and Fernando, with Lang acting as procurator of Maximilian and Vich of Fernando. They agreed to protect the pope and foreswore any plotting against his person, authority, state, goods, or security. They agreed to defend each other with arms to the best of their abilities regarding their possessions in Italy against any invader. Leo is obligated to defend the Emperor only with regard to Verona and the area between Verona and the Adda River. The pope expects within four months to agree with Fernando on the terms for a peace with Venice. During the period of the league they cannot enter into any friendship with others that prejudices their allies nor take the prince of another under their protection. The Emperor and king of Spain promise to defend Florence. The league is open for others to join it, especially the Swiss. They agree to observe this agreement inviolately and leave it to the pope to determine the penalties for any violation. No other treaty or agreement can override this one. While awaiting a formal ratification of this

58 Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, Coté B 18, 862, nr. 31, 132.
59 Letter of Lang to Maximilian, Rome, 23 April 1514, Maximiliana (as note 16), 31, 11, fol 70r.
agreement, it is to be observed. This document is note-worthy for not identifying Venice as their common enemy.

Given these agreements with the Emperor, Spain, and Venice and the negotiations with France and England, the pope could honestly announce at the Lateran Council the next day that through the effort of his nuncios and the ambassadors of rulers truces have been or are about to be arranged.

At the ninth session on 5 May 1514 Leo issued with the approval of the council the bull Posteaquam that urged Christian princes to make peace so that they can join in a crusade against the infidels. As pope he considered the greatest danger to Christendom to be the constant warfare among Christian princes and the most important thing to accomplish to be the termination of wars and the uniting in a crusade against their common enemy, the infidels. The Lateran Council has this as its goal. While the pope so far has not been able to send legates to princes, they have sent him letters and messengers agreeing on the necessity of peace and saying that the sending of cardinal legates was neither expedient nor required. In their stead Leo has been able to send nuncios, men of discretion and trust who are endowed with the episcopal rank, to the warring princes in the hope that peace agreements may soon be approved. Leo claimed that through their efforts truces have been or are about to be arranged. Should this happen, the pope hopes that his postponement in sending legates will end and they can be sent to conclude stable and perpetual peace treaties. In the meantime he will not cease to urge by letters and nuncios the establishment of a universal peace.

In addition, to beg God’s assistance from on high, the pope ordered in virtue of holy obedience that each and every primate, patriarch, archbishop, bishop, and head of an ecclesiastical institution having pastoral care or the ministry of preaching or alms-collecting or expounding God’s word to the people that both during and outside the solemnities of the Mass and the divine office they offer prayers for the peace of Christians and the confusion of infidels, using two special collects that beg God’s help to establish peace: Deus, a quo sancta desideria and Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, in cujus manu. Let all ecclesiastical superiors pour forth prayers to God and to His Mother, using the Lord’s Prayer (Our Father) and Angelic Salutation (Hail Mary), to petition peace among Christians and the extermination of the infidels. Let them all exhort and

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60 Capitula inter Leonem X et Caesarem et Catholicum Regem de anno MDXIII, BAV, Vat. Lat.12208, fols. 13r–16v (also ASV, AA, Arm., I–XVIII, nr. 2665 [draft] and nr. 2670 [good copy]).
61 GATTONI (as note 43), 94.
persuade secular rulers of all ranks and their advisers to support a universal peace and crusade, and to put aside private feuds and open animosities. The pope prohibited anyone from putting obstacles directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, in the way of his legates and nuncios of peace. And finally he granted an indulgence of one-hundred days of imposed penances to those who, truly contrite and confessed, pray for peace and a crusade, whether during Mass, sermons, or the divine office, or to those who individually pray privately seven times a day or as often as they can, or who work with civil officials to promote this peace. He ordered ecclesiastical authorities to publicize and implement this decree. It is tempting to see in the provisions of this bull that mandated prayers for peace the influence of the Augustinian prior general Egidio Antonio da Viterbo who called for this in his inaugural speech before the council and who was a member of the peace deputation that helped to draft the decree.

The plans Leo had so carefully laid out for peace soon met difficulties. While Fernando commissioned Pedro Urrea to conclude a peace between Maximilian and the Venetians that he promised to ratify within two months, he made it contingent on Maximilian having undoubted control of Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo with their neighboring territories and having received the payments from Venice. While Venice said it was willing to go along with whatever Leo decided, it insisted on retaining not only Padova and Treviso, but also Brescia and Bergamo, something Lang rejected unless Venice paid a large sum of money and he was given a legation. Leo became exasperated with the Venetians’ refusal to sign the peace accord. He sent Pietro Bembo to Venice to exhort them to sever their ties with the French by making a separate peace. The Venetian protested that the conditions in the treaty were evil and would not produce a stable and secure peace. They were unwilling to give up Verona

62 COGD, II/2 (as note 2), 1370–76, esp. lines 1330–1454. For the text of the collects, see P. Bruylants, Les oraisons du missel romain, Abbaye du Mont César 1952, 63 nr. 201, 216 nr. 763.
63 Mandatum Catholici Regis in Dominum Hieronymum de Vich super foedere innuendo cum nonnullis principibus et communitatibus, Valladolid, 26 August 1514, ASV, AA, Arm. I–XVIII, nr. 2678, signed by King Fernando; testimony of Pedro Urrea (Spanish ambassador), July 1514, Maximiliana (as note 16), 32, I, fol. 127r.
64 Apparently in early January of 1514, Maximilian gave Lang a mandate to conclude a peace with Venice with Leo as the arbiter, Maximiliana (as note 16), 30, 111, fols. 75r–76v; letter of Baltassare Turini to Lorenzo dei Medici, Rome, 1 May 1514, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Medici avanti il Principato, filza 107, nr.16, fol. 16v.
and Brescia, especially Verona with its multiple borders that can give rise to war after war. While they are willing to make a peace based on the payment of money, they refuse to break faith with the French, for it is against the practice of their republic to violate an alliance.\textsuperscript{65} The situation became even more difficult with the death of Louis XII and the coming of Francis I (1515–47) to the throne of France. He was determined to regain Milan and at the battle of Marignano (13–14 September 1515) he defeated the Swiss allies of the duke of Milan and was poised to help the Venetians regain their lost territories. Leo came to terms with the changed situation and sent Egidio Antonini da Viterbo, a member of the conciliar peace deputation, to Maximilian to assure him of the pope’s friendship after he had made an agreement with Francis in Bologna.\textsuperscript{66} So too did other rulers. The new king of Spain, Charles Habsburg (1516–56), negotiated with Francis I the Treaty of Noyon on 13 August 1516 by which France gave up its claims on the kingdom of Naples in favor of his daughter Louise whom Charles promised to marry, but the French retained the duchy of Milan. The Swiss made a perpetual peace with France on 29 November 1516. Maximilian adhered to the treaty of Noyon on 3 December 1516, agreeing to restore to Venice the cities of Brescia and Verona in return for a payment. A treaty of peace between Maximilian and the Doge Leonardo Lauredano was signed in Brussels on 6 January 1516/7 with a meeting in Mantova to work out its implementation. A conference in Cambrai on 11 March of 1517 resulted in a League to promote peace and a crusade. Leo rejoiced when England agreed to join with Spain, France, and the Empire in a joint expedition against the Turks. And he ordered a five-year truce among Christian princes.\textsuperscript{67} The participation

\textsuperscript{65} Letter of Alberto Pio to Maximilian, Rome, 4 January 1515, Maximiliana (as note 16), 33, 11, 5r, 7v.

\textsuperscript{66} Gattoni (as note 43), 292 (treaty of peace between Leo X and Francis I, Viterbo, 13 October 1515): \textit{Promittimus una cum prefato Christianissimo Rege dare operam ut fiat pax universalis inter eodem principes Christianos ut arma et magnus exercitus adversus inmanissimum turcum hostemque fidei christianae facilius moveri et congregari possint in quorum fidem presentem scripturam fieri ac annuli piscatoris sigilli iussimus impressione muniri}; Sanuto (as note 23), 21: 496.

\textsuperscript{67} Pastor (as note 40), VII, 159–165; L. Nanni, Epistolae ad principes, i: Leo X – Pius IV (1513–1565), Città del Vaticano 1992 (= CAV 28), 141 nr. 841; for a copies of the treaty of Cambrai, see Maximiliana (as note 16), 36, 111, fols. 88r–91v (in German) and IV, fols. 38r–44v (in French); for a copy of the Brussels peace agreement, see: Venice, Marciana, Manoscritti 6679 (formerly Classe XI, Cod.CCXLVIII], fols. 1r–2r; for the implementation conference, see the letter of Maximilian to his orators at the papal court, Innsbruck, 1.X.1517, Maximiliana (as note 16), 37, 11, fol. 48r.
of Hungary in the crusade was made more likely after the Treaty of Vienna back on 22 July 1515 between the Jagiellians and Hapsburgs that resulted in the double marriages of Ferdinand with Anne (sister of king Louis) and Louis with Mary (sister of Ferdinand) that ended Hapsburg designs on Jagiellian lands.\footnote{Maximilian to Pio, Vienna, July 1515, Maximiliana (as note 16), 34, 11, fol. 83r–v: the marriages will undoubtedly be for the \textit{incremento et conservationi Religionis nostrae sanctae sedis apostolicae et totius Republicae Christianae futura, praesertim pro illa necessaria expeditione contra Turchos perfidissimos Christiani nominis hostes….Neque dubitamus si certi Christiani principes a turbanda Republica Christiana desisterent et aliquando respicerent qui statim expeditio illa sancta atque felicissima et omni aevi memoranda cum gloria et incremento non solum S.D. N. et aliorum principum Christianorum sed totius Religionis et Republicae Christianae. N. Minnich, Lateran V and the Call for a Crusade, in: Begegnung der Kirche in Ost und West im Spiegel der synodalen Strukturen: Festschrift for Petar Vrankić, J. Grohe/G. Wurst/Z. Strika/H. Fischer (eds.), St. Ottillien 2017, 207–236.}

The pope’s efforts to make a universal peace among Christian princes seemed to have succeeded.

8 On the Verge of a Universal Peace Among Christian Princes

On the eve of the final session of the council, the imperial ambassador to the council, Alberto Pio, reported to Emperor Maximilian that \textit{peace had been conciliated among princes} and that due to Leo’s exhortations regarding a crusade \textit{individual princes had responded to him, persuading and admonishing about it, that they were ready and prepared to contribute to the expedition according to their strengths.}\footnote{Id., The Function of Sacred Scripture in the Decrees of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17), in: AHC 18 (1986) 319–329, here 329 n. 26: \textit{pacem inter Principes esse conciliatam … principum conciliatio … singulos quoque Principes respondisse, sibi suadenti et admonenti de ea re, promptos et paratos esse pro viribus contribuere ad eam expeditionem …}}

In the bull \textit{Constituti iuxta} of the twelfth session on 16 March 1517 that closed the Lateran Council, Leo X lamented that of the goals set for the council only that of establishing a universal peace and of organizing a crusade had not yet been achieved. The pope protested that he had labored mightily for this end through letters and nuncios sent to princes. He claimed that his efforts were about to bear fruit, so that a \textit{peace has almost been concluded in spirit} and that any remaining issues will soon be resolved. May God grant that the peace thus achieved will endure.\footnote{COGD, 11/2 (as note 2), 1452–53, lines 4043–69, esp. 4060–63: \textit{ut fere inter omnes pax tamdiu a nobis pro reipublicae christianae universali bono desiderata, animo conclusa fuerit, et si quid superest, prope diem componendum (ipso Deo favente) speretur…}}
Further negotiations were required. Leo X appointed a committee of eight cardinals to draw up a plan that was sent to Francis I and Maximilian for their approval. He issued on 6 March 1518 a bull imposing a five-year truce and finally sent the “angels of peace,” five cardinal legates to get the princes to ratify the truce: Tommaso da Vio, OP, to the Empire where he met opposition over the crusade tax; Bernardo Dovizi to France where he received public royal protestsations of support for a crusade; Lorenzo Campeggio to England where Cardinal Thomas Wolsey scuttled Leo’s five-year truce for a separate French-English treaty; and Egidio Antonino da Viterbo, OESA, to Spain where he was enthusiastically received by the king and people, but opposed by the clergy who resisted the tithe. Leo also sent as nuncio to Hungary, Poland, the Teutonic Knights, and Moscovy the Dominican friar Nicholas von Schönberg to assist the “angels of peace” Cardinal Tamas Bakocz sent there earlier. But Francis I violated the truce by invading Spanish Navarre and Charles V retaliated by attacking the French in Italy. A universal peace among Christian princes and a crusade against the infidels, goals set for the Lateran Council, were ultimately never achieved despite the sincere efforts of the council and its president, Leo X.71

9 Conclusion

What role did the Lateran Council play in the promotion of peace among Christian princes? The election capitularies which both Julius II and Leo X swore to observe had stipulated that they hold a council to establish peace among Christian princes and that it not be concluded until it had reached this goal. The Lateran Council thus became an incentive for papal action on peace-making. Within the conciliar chamber the pope had brought peace among the squabbling ambassadors and Roman officials. The sermons at the council called for peace. Members of its deputation on peace discussed the issues, made recommendations, and served at times as legates or nuncios of peace. The ambassadors sent to the council were recruited to promote these peace efforts. Leo reported to the council on the progress of his efforts and had the council order the saying of prayers for peace and forbid anyone from putting

obstacles in the way of peace. While the council was also proposed as a forum for resolving controversies among Christian rulers, thus sparing the pope from siding with one and alienating the other, this offer was declined by the king of Poland in his conflict with the Teutonic Knights. The principal promoter of peace was the president of the council, Leo X, and the council functioned mostly as a stage on which he could tell the world of his tireless efforts to promote a universal peace among Christian princes so that they could join in an expedition against the infidels.