Gábor Nemes
ELKH-PPKE-PTE VILMOS FRAKNÓI VATICAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH GROUP - HUNGARY

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INSTEAD OF ANTI-OTTOMAN HELP AN ANTI-IMPERIAL LEAGUE PAPAL NUNCIO GIOVANNI FRANCESCO CAPI'S MISSION OF 1526[1]

ABSTRACT
Pope Clement VII was informed about Suleiman the Magnificent's plans to occupy Buda from the reports of the nuncios. The pope sent letters to the monarchs of the Christian world on 9 February 1526 to urge a prompt aid to the Kingdom of Hungary, since it was threatened by a huge Ottoman attack. As there were further grim reports from Buda, Clement VII planned to send an extraordinary nuncio, whose main duty would have been to inform the European courts about the Ottoman campaign that threatened Hungary. At first, he chose the Florentine Paolo Vettori, the captain of the papal navy, for the role; however, he died soon after his departure. Therefore, the experienced papal diplomat, Giovanni Francesco (Capino) de'Capi was appointed. Capeno de' Capi set off in March 1526 to France, where he entered negotiations with Francis I to form an ally against the emperor. On 22 May 1526 the League of Cognac was signed by the Clement, Francis, Venice, and Milan. Consequently, Hungary's case of an anti-Ottoman campaign was rather for the sake of covering secret diplomatic negotiations.

KEYWORDS: Papal Diplomacy; Hungarian-Ottoman War; League of Cognac; Crusade; French Royal Court

The papacy's foreign policy had focused on the fight against the Turks since the middle of the 15th century. The Holy See not only helped Hungary directly with diplomatic tools or financial support. Reconciling the Christian princes and establishing the opportunity of a coordinated attack against the Ottoman Empire was also a primary aspect of shaping the relations systems of the European states[2]. These diplomatic efforts of the Pope were further impelled when the Turks occupied Belgrade in 1521, which played a key role in protecting Hungary's southern border[3].

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2 Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékkel,* vol. II (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1902); Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, voll. I-III (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976-1984).

3 Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. III, 198-200; Attila Bárány, "A Humanist Diplomat in Early 16th Century Hungary: Hieronymus Balbus", *Acta Neerlandica.*

However, the peace between the Christian princes seemed really distant during these years. Although since the Peace of Lodi of 1454 the most powerful states of the peninsula, i.e. Venice, Milan, Florence, the Papal States and the Neapolitan and the Sicilian Kingdoms, lived in a relative peace while paying particular attention to the balance of power[4], this was broken by the Italian campaign of the French king Charles VIII in 1494. A new age began in Italy: warfare for more than half a century and a period of short-lived, ever changing allies serving often only momentary interests[5].

On 8 May 1521 Emperor Charles V, English king Henry VIII and Pope Leo X formed an alliance against the French king Francis I and the Republic of Venice[6]. In the beginning, the French were defeated in the fights: first, Odet de Foix had to give up Milan[7], and then the allied army led by Prospero Colonna beat the French-Venetian armed forces in the Battle of Bicocca on 27 April 1522[8]. The French – after the Venetians abandoned them upon making a separate peace with the emperor in July 1523[9] – made a desperate counterattack in Lombardy in the autumn of 1523 but in spite of the initial successes they were beaten again by the imperial troops led by Charles de Lannoy in the Battle of Sesia on 30 April 1524[10]. After the summer counterattack of the imperials in Provence, King Francis I stood up personally to lead the French armies. The French army arrived in Lombardy in October 1524, reoccupied Milan and laid siege to Pavia to indicate its further conquest wills[11].

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The quick French victories encouraged Pope Clement VII to take steps and he – primarily on the advice of his Francophile Florentine counsellors, i.e. Francesco Guicciardini, Jacopo Salviati and Roberto Acciaiuoli – concluded a secret agreement with King Francis I. According to this if the Pope guarantees free passage to the

Bijdragen tot de Neerlandistiek Debrecen, 15 (2019): 11-48.

4 Maurizio Gattoni, *Sisto IV, Innocenzo VIII e la geopolitica dello Stato Pontificio (1474-1492)*, (Roma: Edizioni Studium, 2010).

5 Christine Shaw and Michael Mallett, *The Italian Wars 1494-1559. War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 2° ed. (Abingdon-New York: Routldge, 2019), 6-160.

6 Maurizio Gattoni, *Leone X e la geo-politica dello Stato pontificio (1513-1521)* (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2000), 235-39; Shaw and Mallett, *The Italian Wars*, 162.

7 Shaw and Mallett, *The Italian Wars*, 163-64.

8 Shaw and Mallett, *The Italian Wars*, 165.

9 Maurizio Gattoni, *Clemente VII e la geo-politica dello Stato pontificio (1523-1534)*, (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2002), 31-6; Shaw, Mallett, *The Italian Wars*, 168.

10 Gattoni, *Clemente VII*, 56-8; Shaw and Mallett, *The Italian Wars*, 169-70.

11 Gattoni, *Clemente VII*, 79-80; Shaw and Mallett, *The Italian Wars*, 170-72.

French troops to Naples, the Papal States can acquire Parma and Piacenza[12]. However, the diplomacy of the Holy See made a mistake. On 24 February 1525 Emperor Charles V defeated the French army in Pavia, even King Francis I was captured[13]. Afterwards, the Pope was only able to renege on the secret agreement with the French to the side of the emperor through awkward explanations and they renewed the alliance on 1 April 1525[14].

On 14 January 1526 Charles V and Francis I signed the Treaty of Madrid, which would fundamentally have reshaped the power map of Europe. The agreement between the emperor, who won the Battle of Pavia, and the captured French king, who was in a vulnerable situation during the peace talks, did not prove to be longlasting. The French king, who was released on 6 March, declared the peace void immediately after stepping on French soil and looked for new allies against the Habsburg Emperor, who was at the peak of his power at the time[15].

Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire was preparing against Hungary again. Because of Giovanni Antonio Burgio's report (the Apostolic Nuncio sent to the Hungarian royal court) on 18 January 1526[16] – according to which Suleiman sultan was planning to occupy Buda with a giant army – Pope Clement VII invited six older cardinals to discussion and they agreed to write to the princes and nuncios about the Turkish danger threatening Hungary[17]. So the Holy See's diplomacy found itself at a crossroads: they either prevent the excessive growth of the emperor's power, or establish peace between the Christian princes in favour of a campaign against the Ottoman Empire[18].

On 9 February 1526 Pope Clement VII sent a letter to the emperor and his brother, Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, to Henry VIII King of England and Cardinal Wolsey[19], to John III King of Portugal, as well as to Queen Louise of Savoy, who was in charge that time instead of Francis I King of France. He emphasized that Hungary is threatened by a huge Turkish danger and they should provide help as soon as possible[20].

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12 Gattoni, *Clemente VII*, 82-93.

13 Shaw and Mallett, *The Italian Wars*, 172-74.

14 Gattoni, *Clemente VII*, 94-106.

15 Robert J. Knecht, "Francis I in Aquitane: A British View"; Id., *Francis I and Sixteenth-Century France*, (London-New York: Routledge, 2015), XII, 6-8.

16 Vilmos Fraknói, ed., *Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései 1524-1526* (Budapest: kiadja a Szent-István-Társulat, 1884), n. 78, 303-07.

17 Campeggio reported on this to Cardinal Wolsey on 8 February 1526. John Sherren Brewer, ed., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII,* vol. IV/1 (London: Logman & Co., 1870), n. 1959.

18 Cardinal Campeggio reports on this dilemma to Cardinal Wolsey. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2098.

19 On 27 February 1526 Cardinal Campeggio specifically asked Wolsey to convince King Henry VIII to help Hungary. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 1998.

20 Gábor Nemes, ed., *Brevia Clementina. VII. Kelemen pápa magyar vonatkozású*

Since Nuncio Burgio sent further threatening reports[21], Pope Clement VII was planning to send a special nuncio, whose main task would have been to report on the Ottoman attack threatening Hungary in the European courts. Initially, he chose the Florentine Paolo Vettori[22], the captain of the Papal Navy. However, Vettori set off vainly, he got sick in Florence soon after his departure and died unexpectedly[23]. As a result, Giovanni Francesco (also called Capino) de' Capi[24] was chosen, who had just returned from the peace talks in Madrid to Rome on 1 February, and had been the nuncio of Mantova in the court of Charles V for years[25]. However, the majority of the recommendation letters issued to the nuncio were addressed to the influential majesties of the French court – to King Francis I and his mother, Queen Louise of Savoy, to Princess Marguerite d'Angouleme, to Antoine Duprat French Grand Chancellor, to cardinals Jean de Lorraine and François-Louis de Bourbon – and to the generals of the French king – to Anne de Montmorency[26], to Odet de Foix, to Charles (IV) de Bourbon and to Philippe de Chabot[27]. Besides, recommendation letters were prepared for the visit to the

brévéi (1523-1526) (Budapest-Győr-Róma: Gondolat, 2015), 134-45. The answer of Archduke Ferdinand, King Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey (4 March 1526, 16 April) see Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vol. II (Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1860), 661-63, 669-70.

21 Fraknói, *Magyarországi pápai követek*, 320-23, n. 83.

22 Alberto Guglielmotti, *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia dal 1500 al 1560*, I (Florence: Successori le Monnier, 1876) 121-270; Valentina Lepri, "Vettori, Paolo", in *Machiavelli. Enciclopedia machiavelliana*, vol. III, ed. Gennaro Sasso (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2014), 670-71; Marcello Simonetta, "Vettori, Paolo", in DBI, vol. 99 (2020) [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-vettori_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/].

23 Francesco Vettori, *Scritti storici e politici*, ed. Enrico Niccolini, (Bari: Gius. Laterza & figli, 1972), 222-23, 344; Rawdon Brawn, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, vol. III: 1520-1526 (London: Logmans, Green & Co., 1869), n. 1226; Pascual de Gayangos, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, vol. III/1: *1525-1526* (London: Logman & Co., 1873), n. 356; Gattoni, *Clemente VII*, 134. The Pope wrote a letter of condolence to Paolo's brother Francesco Vettori, the Florentine diplomat known as a close friend of Niccolò Machiavelli on 8 March 1526, see AAV, Arm. XL, vol. 10, fol. 137r-v, n. 167.

24 To his life see Tiziano Ascari, "Capi, Giovan Francesco", in DBI, vol. 18 (1975) [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovan-francesco-capi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/; Gattoni, *Clemente VII*, 133, 37. j].

25 Ascari, "Capi".

26 On 1 March 1526 Datarius Giovanni Matteo Giberti wrote a separate letter to him that Capi would be sent instead of Vettori, Joseph Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France. Nonciatures de Clement VII*, t. I: *Depuis la bataille de Pavie jusqu'au rappel d'Acciaiuoli* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1906), 7.

27 Nemes, *Brevia Clementina*, 146-50. The further letters issued together with these for the French royal couple and to Queen Mother Louise of Savoy see AAV, Arm. XLIV, vol. 9, fol. 433r-35v, published: Petrus Balan, ed., *Monumenta*

imperial (Charles V[28], Neapolitan Viceroy Charles de Lannoy, winning general of the Battle of Pavia and Cardinal Legate Giovanni Salviati), to the English (Henry VIII and Cardinal Thomas Wolsey), as well as to the Portugese royal courts (John III King of Portugal)[29].

Capino de' Capi set off in the beginning of March and headed straight to Bayonne[30] to greet King Francis I, who was released from his capture[31]. However, Capi travelled to Saint-Sever via Lyon[32], where he met the ruler, who set off in the meantime, and he escorted him to Bordeaux via Mont-de-Marsan[33]. After having participated in the ceremonial entry[34], Capi, together with the Venetian nuncio Andrea Rosso, started secret discussions with the king immediately, but instead of the matter of the letter of recommendation, i.e. providing help to Hungary, the topic was making a covenant against the Emperor Charles V[35].

In the meantime, both Luis Fernández de Córdoba, the Prince of Sessa and envoy of Emperor Charles V[36] and Miguel de Herrera, attorney of the embassy got suspicious

saeculi XVI. historiam illustrantia, vol. I: *Clementis VII. epistolae per Sadoletum scriptae* (Oeniponte: Libraria Academica Wagneriana, 1885), 220-21.; Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, vol. I, 7; Luigi Nanni, ed., *Epistolae ad principes*, vol. I: *1513-1565* (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1992), n. 1379-381.

28 The emperor mentions in a letter to his brother Ferdinand dated on 30 March that the brief had arrived to him, see Wilhelm Bauer, *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I*, vol. I: *Familienkorrespondenz bis 1526* (Wien: Adolf Holzhausen, 1912), 378.

29 Nemes, *Brevia Clementina*, 146-48; Gábor Nemes, "The Relations of the Holy See and Hungary under the pontificate of Clement VII (1523–1526)", in *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*, ed. Bárány Attila (Debrecen: Hungary in Medieval Europe Research Group, 2016), 180. Meanwhile the Pope sent Uberto Gambara to England, so that he can involve King Henry in establishing the anti-imperial league. About his assignment as nuncio (25-26 Feb 1526) see AAV, Arm. XL, vol. 11, fol. 103rv, 105rv, 109rv; AAV, Arm. XLIV, vol. 9, fol. 438r, 439r; Balan, *Monumenta saeculi XVI,* 218-19; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 1992-998. His mailing with Capi and Acciaiuoli see Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, in some places. To his life see Giampiero Brunelli, "Gambara, Uberto", in DBI, vol. 52 (1999) [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/uberto-gambara_(Dizionario-Biografico)].

30 King Francis I arrived to Bayonne on 17 March 1526. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2032.

31 Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2068.

32 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 7-8.

33 On 8 April Capi is already in Bordeaux. Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 8-9.

34 Capi was walking between the Grandmaster of Rhodes and Charles de Bourbon on the ceremonial entry, Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, n. 1243, 1245.

35 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 10.

36 Miguel Á. Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la diplomacia española*, vol. V: *La diplomacia de Carlos V* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 2003), 107-08.

in Rome. They both informed the emperor about their assumption that Capi's delegation was most likely about more than just helping Hungary's fight against the Turks. Moreover, the Prince of Sessa also believed that Vettori died because of the burden of the task he had been assigned to[37]. Lope de Soria, the Genoese envoy of the emperor wrote similarly: according to him the papal nuncios not only had to report on the Turkish preparations but also had to convince the French king to break the Treaty of Madrid[38]. The fact that helping Hungary was not mentioned at all when Pope Clement VII reported on the discussion between Nuncio Capi and King Francis I to Prince Sessa, proved this, as well[39].

After the entourage of Francis had moved its seat to Cognac at the end of April 1526, things moved ahead rapidly, and on 1 May Capi and Rosso had a long discussion with the French ruler about the details of the anti-imperial league[40]. There were more reasons to hurry. On the one hand, Pope Clement VII was afraid of losing Milan and Cremona under siege because of the longlasting negotiations[41]. On the other hand, it was also feared that the imperial diplomacy might persuade King Francis to desist from making an alliance[42]. The appearance of the Neapolitan viceroy Charles de Lannoy, the winning general of the Battle of Pavia, who was sent as an envoy by Emperor Charles V, did not only cause concern for the papal and the Venetian but also for the English diplomats[43]. In order to calm things down, the English-French alliance, which was made under the reign of Louise of Savoy, was ceremonially confirmed on 10 May. This, however, triggered Lannoy's disapproval[44]. During the following days the discussions made good progress and the drafting of the league's treaty, in which Capino de' Capi and Andrea Rosso took key role, was started, as well[45]. Viceroy Charles de Lannoy – who was convinced that the French king did not want to keep the Treaty of Madrid – left on 18 May[46]. Afterwards, the League of Cognac was made on 22 May 1526 upon clarifying a few moot points[47]

37 Gayangos, *Calendar of State Papers*, III/1, n. 363-64.

38 Gayangos, *Calendar of State Papers*, III/1, n. 366. It is however important to highlight that breaking the peace treaty was not only an idea of the papal diplomacy. Cardinal Wolsey encouraged Queen Louise of Savoy to the same himself. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2036.

39 Gayangos, *Calendar of State Papers*, III/1, n. 395.

40 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 16; Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, n. 1265; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2135-2136.

41 Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, nn. 1164, 1171, 1185, 1249, 1270, 1272, 1280, 1281, 1286, 1287; Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, XLVIII.

42 Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2148.

43 Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, nn. 1270, 1276.

44 Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, n. 1273.

45 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 17-20: Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, n. 1272.

46 Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2185-2186.

47 Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, n. 1284-1285; Gayangos, *Calendar of State*

among the allying parties[48]. The surviving copies about the discussions mentioned Capi's official purpose, i.e. supporting Hungary's fight against the Turks, only once. Even then he talked about it to the French king very briefly – as Capi admits it to Umberto Gambara, the papal nuncio sent to Henry VIII – in order to avoid causing confusion in the discussions about the league[49].

In the beginning, there was a kind of distrust towards Capino de' Capi from the French and English diplomacy. Partially, because he was not a papal but a Mantuan subject and partially because he was an imperial envoy[50]. Therefore, Clement VII sent another nuncio, Roberto Acciaiuoli in April 1526, to get involved in the discussions based on the instructions of Francesco Guicciardini, the Pope's chief adviser[51]. Nevertheless, an aim similar to Capi's was named in his official assignment bull, i.e. the peace between the Christian princes and the war to be started against the Turks in Hungary, as well as on the Mediterranean Sea[52]. Eventually, Acciaiuoli missed the discussions because he was still in Lyon on 23 May[53].

After Pope Clement VII had ratified the draft of the league[54], Capi was replaced by Acciaiuoli, who arrived at the French court on 9 June 1526 that was already seated in Angoulême[55]. His new task was to recruit 10.000 mercenaries in Switzerland, but instead of for Hungary's fight against the Turks, for the league. Capi – after participating on the ceremonial proclamation of the league[56] – set off on 29 June[57].

Papers, III/1, n. 431.

48 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 26-8; Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, n. 1289-1291, 1300; Riccardo Predelli, ed., *I Libri Commemoriali della Republica di Venezia. Registri*, vol. VI (Venezia: a spese delle società, 1903), 183-85. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, III, 241-42; Gattoni, *Clemente VII*, 137, 339-46; Knecht, "Francis I in Aquitane", 9-10.

49 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 22-4.

50 About this see the report of Gregorio Casale, the Roman envoy of the English king, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2058.

51 To his life see Guido Verucci, "Acciaiuoli, Roberto", in DBI, vol. 1, (1960) [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/roberto-acciaiuoli_(Dizionario-Biografico)]. Piero e Luigi Guicciardini, eds., *Opere inedite di Francesco Guicciardini*, vol. IV (Firenze: Presso M. Cellini e comp., 1863), 1-5; Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 11-2.

52 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 12-5; Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali*, 183.

53 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 24-9.

54 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 32, 44; Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, n. 1311, 1320; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2257; Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali*, 186.

55 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 33-42.

56 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 51-2; Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, III, n. 1322.

57 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 45-58, 415-16; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2288.

In the end, his mission was crowned by success: he arrived to Bergamo with 8300 Swiss soldiers on 17 August[58].

In the meantime, Hungary got in a more and more difficult situation and King Louis II would have needed external support more than ever. Because of the worrying news about the Ottoman attack Louis II wrote a letter to the Pope on 24 March[59], which was read aloud by Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo on the papal consistory on 20 April. In the end, the Pope and the College of Cardinals decided to call in all the envoys staying in Rome so that they inform their rulers about the danger threatening Hungary and ask for their help[60]. Regardless of the decision, Pope Clement VII sent a letter to the French king, Francis I, the Portuguese king, John III and to the English king, Henry VIII, as well as to Cardinal Wolsey on 23 April and asked for prompt financial help for the Hungarians[61]. The Pope emphasized that together with the cardinals they offered 50.000 ducats for the protection of Hungary[62].

By that time tensions had already run high in the relationship between the emperor and the Pope. Charles V wrote in his letter to his brother Archduke Ferdinand that he was getting so many letters from the Pope about the Turkish danger threatening Hungary that he had not even known if he should believe it or not[63]. Besides, the emperor wrote to Luis Fernández de Córdoba, his envoy in Rome, that as long as the Pope would not allow him to gather the incomes of the Holy Year's Farewell in Spain – allocated to the crusade –, he would not support the Hungarian king and shifted any further responsibility onto the Pope[64].

The Ottoman danger was mentioned on the papal consistory more and more often in the following months: Cardinals Innocenzo Cibo and Paolo Emiliano Cesi read

58 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 81-4; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2465.

59 Edgár Artner, *Magyarország mint a nyugati keresztény művelődés védőbástyája*, eds. Kornél Szovák, József Török and Péter Tusor (Budapest-Rome: Gondolat, 2004), 176-78. To this see also the reports of Burgio, Fraknói, *Magyarországi pápai követek*, 343-51, n. 88, and the letter of Brodarics István Petrus Kasza, ed., *Stephanus Brodericus: Epistulae* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2012), 138-39.

60 Péter Tusor and Gábor Nemes, eds., *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1426-1605)* (Budapest-Rome: Gondolat, 2011), n. 65. Girolamo Ghinucci, the Bishop of Worcester reported about the same to Cardinal Wolsey, see Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2124, and Luis Fernández de Córdoba to Emperor Charles V Gayangos, *Calendar of State Papers*, III/1, n. 395.

61 Nemes, *Brevia Clementina*, 157-62. The letter of King Louis II to the Pope, the letter of Archduke Ferdinand dated on 24 March and the report of Burgio dated on 27 March were certainly attached to these brieves, see Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2048, 2050, 2056.

62 Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi*, 301. The offerings of each cardinal see Artner, *Magyarország*, n. 156.

63 Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2051.

64 Gayangos, *Calendar of State Papers*, III/1, n. 401.

aloud here the reports of Nuncio Burgio and there the letters of King Louis II[65]. Cardinal Cesi read out the letter of Pál Tomori, Archbishop of Kalocsa, sent to King Louis on the session of the Papal College on 27 July. According to this the Turkish army had already reached the river Sava, which was regarded as the Southern border of Hungary[66]. On 30 July these news urged the Pope to write letters for help again: He asked the French king Francis I, the English king Henry VIII, the Portuguese king John III and Ferdinand, the Archduke of Austria to send money or weapons to Hungary urgently[67].

Unfortunately, the Pope's letters did not have much impact. The Portuguese king John sent some money[68], but his envoy was captured as he entered French soil at Bayonne and was held hostage until the end of September[69]. The envoy of Henry VIII, Sir Thomas Wallop set off in August 1526, he received the news about the heavy defeat of the Hungarian army and about the death of the Hungarian king along the way[70].

In 1526 Pope Clement VII got in a tight situation. While Italy and within it the Papal States were threatened by the remarkably increased power of the Emperor Charles V, the Ottoman Empire set off against the Christian world with a huge army. It was convenient for the Papal diplomacy in this situation to cover the secret discussions of the anti-imperial league with Hungary's anti-Ottoman fight. Although Capino de' Capi was not looking for help for Hungary, the Pope cannot be accused of abandoning the Hungarian Kingdom, as he supported the fights not only with money but also with grain and weapons[71]. On 29 August 1526 Suleiman

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65 About the consistories see Tusor and Nemes, *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia*, n. 66-74. Burgio's reports on the Turkish attacks: Fraknói, *Magyarországi pápai követek*, 370-422, n. 95-113. The letters of King Louis: Artner, *Magyarország*, n. 137-38, 140-41.

66 Tusor and Nemes, *Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia*, n. 75. The letter of Pál Tomori see AAV, A.A. I-XVIII. n. 6522, fol. 85r-86v, published: Fraknói Vilmos, "Tomori Pál kiadatlan levelei", *Magyar Történelmi Tár*, 30 (1882): 92-5. Its copy sent to the English king Henry VIII, see Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV/1, n. 2301.

67 Nemes, *Brevia Clementina*, 165-68.

68 The answer of the Portugese king on 16 June see Luis Augusto Rebello da Silva, ed., *Corpo diplomatico portuguez contendo os actos e relações politicas e diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo desde o seculo XVI até os nossos dias*, vol. II (Lisboa: Tipographia de Academia Real Das Sciencias, 1865), 268-70; Artner, *Magyarország*, n. 139.

69 Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France*, I, 81-4, 116-18.

70 György Kurucz, "Érdekek és előítéletek. A brit diplomácia és Magyarország a 18. század végéig", *Századok*, 129 (1995): 260-61.; Richárd Botlik, "Henry VIII and the New Hungarian Political Élite in 1526-1527. The Anglo-Hungarian Relationship After the Battle of Mohács", *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcinensis. Sectio Philosophica*, 12/2 (2007): 129; Attila Bárány, *Magyarország nyugati külpolitikája (1458-1526). Angol-magyar kapcsolatok Mátyás és a Jagellók korában* (PhD diss., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2014), 523-28.

71 Nemes, *The Relations*, 182.

sultan inflicted a stunning defeat on the Hungarian army, and *Sacco di Roma* meant the failure of the papal diplomacy in 1527.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAV: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano
DBI: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani

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