



ST ANDREWS STUDIES IN  
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# The Correspondence of Reginald Pole

3. A Calendar, 1555–1558:  
Restoring the English Church



Thomas F. Mayer

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Volume 3. A Calendar, 1555–1558:  
Restoring the English Church

THOMAS F. MAYER

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# Abbreviations

## I. Counties

Since there are no standard abbreviations for counties in England and Wales, the following have been adopted with an eye to making the reference as short as is consistent with sense and as close as possible to those used by the Ordnance Survey. Counties which are not abbreviated (e.g., Devon) have been omitted. Pre-1974 names have been retained, and county boundaries as of that date used instead of those in force in the sixteenth century. The somewhat cumbersome four ridings of Yorkshire have been rendered in modern notation (e.g., W. York). In the case of counties where confusion might arise between their abbreviated names and that of the county town (e.g. Derby or many Welsh counties), the county has retained a terminal 's'.

### A. England

Bed	Bedfordshire
Berk	Berkshire
Buck	Buckinghamshire
Camb	Cambridgeshire
Ches	Cheshire
Corn	Cornwall
Cumb	Cumbria
Derbys	Derbyshire
Dor	Dorset
Dur	Durham
E. York	East Yorkshire
Glos	Gloucestershire
Hant	Hampshire
Heref	Herefordshire
Hert	Hertfordshire
Hunt	Huntingdonshire
Lanc	Lancashire
Leic	Leicestershire
Linc	Lincolnshire
Middx	Middlesex
Norf	Norfolk
N. York	North Yorkshire
Northant	Northamptonshire

Northum	Northumberland
Nott	Nottinghamshire
Oxon	Oxfordshire
Rutl	Rutland
Salop	Shropshire
Soms	Somerset
S. York	South Yorkshire
Staff	Staffordshire
Suff	Suffolk
Suss	Sussex
Warw	Warwickshire
W. York	West Yorkshire
Westm	Westmoreland
Wilt	Wiltshire
Worc	Worcestershire

#### B. Wales

Brecon.	Brecknockshire (full stop retained to distinguish from town of same name)
Caernarvons	Caernarvonshire
Cardigans	Cardiganshire
Carmarthens	Carmarthenshire
Denbighs	Denbighshire
Flints	Flintshire
Glam	Glamorgan
Merioneths	Merionethshire
Monmouths	Monmouthshire
Montgomerys	Montgomeryshire
Pembks	Pembrokeshire
Radnor	Radnorshire

#### II. Archives, repositories, sources, and other abbreviations

AAW	Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster, London
ACDFSO	Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Sanctum officium
AGS	Archivio general, Simancas
Ancel	René Ancel, <i>Nonciatures de France. Nonciatures de Paul IV. Nonciatures de Sebastiano Gualterio et de Cesare Brancatio</i> , 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Victor LeCoffre, 1909, 1911)
APC	J. R. Dasent, ed., <i>Acts of the privy council</i> , 32 vols (London: HMSO, 1890–1907)
ARG	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i>

- ARSI Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome  
 ASAS Archivio Stella in Archivio Silvestri, Biblioteca civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo  
 AsBol Archivio di Stato, Bologna  
 ASF Archivio di stato, Florence  
 ASF:CC Archivio di stato, Florence, Carte Cerviniane  
 ASM Archivio di stato, Mantua  
 ASM:AG Archivio di stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga  
 ASM:CEG Archivio di stato, Mantua, Copialettere di Ercole Gonzaga  
 ASP Archivio di stato, Parma  
 ASP:CFE Archivio di stato, Parma, Carteggio Farnesiano estero. NB: Most of these *buste* are unfoliated, unless otherwise indicated  
 ASP:RP Archivio di stato, Parma, Epistolario scelto, busta 13, Reginaldo Pole  
 AST Archivio di stato, Trent  
 ASV Archivio segreto vaticano  
 ASV, Cam. ap., Div. cam. Camera apostolica, Diversa cameraria  
 ASV, Segr. Stato Archivio segreto vaticano, Segretaria di Stato  
     Segr. Stato, Ingh. Segretaria di Stato, Inghilterra  
     Segr. Stato, Nunz. div. Segretaria di Stato, Nunziature diverse  
 ASVe:APR Archivio di stato, Venice, Archivio proprio, Roma  
 Aug. Augustana College Library  
 Baronio/Rinaldi Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ed. Oderico Rinaldi and Jacopo Laderchi, 34 vols (Paris: Confraternité St Paul, 1880 and Lucca: Venturini, 1738–56)  
 BAV Biblioteca apostolica vaticana  
 BC&CanL Bachelor of both (civil and canon) laws  
 BCanL Bachelor of canon law  
 BCL Bachelor of civil law  
 BCQ Biblioteca civica Queriniana, Brescia  
 Beccadelli Ludovico Beccadelli, 'Vita del cardinale Reginaldo Polo', in G. B. Morandi, ed., *Monumenti di varia letteratura*, 2 vols (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze, 1797–1804), 1:2, pp. 277–333. Also in *ERP*, 5, pp. 355–91  
 BI Borthwick Institute, University of York  
 BL British Library, London  
 BMD Bibliothèque municipale, Douai  
 BMF Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence

## BMIC24 or 25

- Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ital. C. 24 or 25
- BNF Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- BNM Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Venice
- BNN Biblioteca nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III', Naples
- Bodl. Bodleian Library, Oxford
- Bonelli Giuseppe Bonelli, 'Un archivio privato del Cinquecento: Le Carte Stella', *Archivio storico Lombardo*, 34 (1907), pp. 332–86
- BPP Biblioteca palatina, Parma
- BTh Bachelor of theology
- BUP Biblioteca universitaria, Padua
- Burnet/Pocock Nicholas Pocock, ed., *The history of the reformation of the church of England by Gilbert Burnet*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865)
- C16 etc sixteenth-century
- Carranza y Pole* J. I. Tellechea Idigoras, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el Cardenal Pole. Un Navarro en la restauración católica (1554–1558)* (Pamplona: CIES, 1977)
- CCA, DCc Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Dean and chapter
- CCCC Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
- CE Peter G. Bietenholz, ed., *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a biographical register of the renaissance & reformation*, 3 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974–87)
- Corsini Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome
- CPEC Thomas F. Mayer, *Cardinal Pole in European context: a via media in the reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000)
- CPM Thomas F. Mayer, *A reluctant author: Cardinal Pole and his manuscripts. Proceedings of the American philosophical society*, 99:4 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999)
- CPRPM *Calendar of patent rolls, Philip and Mary*, 4 vols (London: HMSO, 1936–39)
- CSPDom Robert Lemon, ed., *Calendar of state papers, domestic series, 1547–1580* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1856)
- CSPDom rev. C. S. Knighton, ed., *Calendar of state papers domestic series of the reign of Mary I, 1553–1558, revised* (London: PRO, 1998)
- CSPFor W. H. Turnbull, ed., *Calendar of state papers foreign series of the reign of Mary, 1553–1558* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861)

- CSP, Ireland* Hans C. Hamilton and Robert P. Mahaffy, eds, *Calendar of state papers relating to Ireland*, 11 vols (London: Longman & Co., et al., 1860–1912)
- CSPR* J. M. Rigg, ed., *Calendar of state papers . . . Rome*, 1, 1558–1571 and 2, 1572–1578 (London: HMSO, 1916 and 1926)
- CSPSp* Gustav A. Bergenroth, et al., eds, *Calendar of letters, despatches and state papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain*, 20 vols (London: Longman & Co., et al., 1862–1954)
- CSPV* Rawdon Brown, ed., *Calendar of state papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs in the archives and collections of Venice*, 9 vols (London: Longman, et al., 1864–98)
- CT* Stephan Ehses, et al., eds, *Concilium tridentinum*, 13 vols (Freiburg: Herder, 1901–67)
- CUL* Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
- D&C* Dean and chapter
- DBI* A. M. Ghisalberty, ed., *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'enciclopedia italiana, 1960–)
- DCL* Doctor of civil law (from any university, ignoring, e.g., LLD from Cambridge)
- DHGE* Alfred Baudrillart, et al., eds, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912–)
- DNB* Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds, *Dictionary of national biography*, 22 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917)
- Dodd–Tierney* Mark Tierney, ed., Charles Dodd [pseud. of Hugh Tootell], *Church history of England*, 6 vols (London: Charles Dolman, 1839)
- DRO* Devon Record Office, Exeter
- DSL* Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek: F82, Lettere italiano (Grosstentheils aus London) 1553–1559, 'Epistolae Cardinali Poli. Exempla Cardinali Poli'
- DTC* Alfred Vacant, et al., eds, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, contenant des doctrines de la théologie catholique, leur preuves et leur histoire*, 29 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1905–72)
- DTh* Doctor of theology
- ECA* Exeter Cathedral Archives
- EHR* *English historical review*
- Emden to 1540*  
A. B. Emden, *A biographical register of the university of Oxford A. D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974)

- ERP** Angelo Maria Querini, ed., *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli . . . [Libri]*, 5 vols (Brescia: Rizzardi, 1744–57). Citations are to volume and no. of letter
- ERP 4:CC** Carte Cerviniane in *ERP*, vol. 4
- Eubel** Conrad Eubel and J. Van Gulik, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevii*, 3 (Münster: Bibliothek Regensberger, 1913)
- Fielding, Rochester**  
C. H. Fielding, *The records of Rochester* (Dartford: Snowden Brothers, 1910)
- FOR** D. S. Chambers, *Faculty office registers 1534–1549* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966)
- Foster, ‘Calendar 1’**  
C. W. Foster, ‘Institutions to benefices in the diocese of Lincoln, 1540–1570, Calendar 1’, *Associated architectural societies reports and papers [Reports and papers of the architectural and archaeological societies of Lincoln and Northampton]*, 24 (1897–98), pp. 1–32 and 467–525
- Foster, ‘Calendar 2’**  
C. W. Foster, ‘Institutions to benefices in the diocese of Lincoln, 1540–1570, Calendar 2’, *Lincolnshire notes and queries*, 5 (1898), pp. 129–44, 164–81, 194–209, 227–43, and 6 (1901), 3–19, 45–53, 78–85, 102–11, 142–7 and *Associated architectural societies reports and papers [Reports and papers of the architectural and archaeological societies of Lincoln and Northampton]*, 25 (1899–1900), pp. 459–544
- FSL** Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC
- Gasquet, Friends**  
Adrian Gasquet, *Cardinal Pole and his early friends* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1927)
- GPJG** The Library, The Grand Priory St John’s Gate, Clerkenwell, London
- GRO** Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucester
- Guildhall** Guildhall Library, London
- HBC** E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, eds, *Handbook of British chronology* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986)
- HL** Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
- HMC** Historical Manuscripts Commission
- HRO** Herefordshire Record Office, Hereford
- IUD** Doctor of both laws (civil and canon)
- JPML** J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
- Knighton, et al., Legation**

- C. S. Knighton, T. F. Mayer and V. M. Murphy, eds, *The legation of Cardinal Pole: The restoration of England to papal obedience, 1553–57* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, forthcoming)
- Knowles and Hadcock  
David Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971; 2nd ed.)
- L&P  
J. S. Brewer, James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, eds, *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII*, 21 vols (London: HMSO, 1862–1932)
- Le Neve to 1541*  
John Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae (to 1541)*, ed. H. P. F. King, et al., 12 vols (London: Institute of Historical Research and Athlone Press, 1962–67)
- Le Neve post 1541*  
John Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae (post 1541)*, ed. J. M. Horn, et al. (London: Institute of Historical Research and Athlone Press and others, 1963–)
- Old Le Neve*  
Thomas Duffus Hardy, ed., *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, or a calendar of the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries in England and Wales . . . compiled by John Le Neve* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1854)
- Lewis  
Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols (London: Samuel Lewis, 1840)
- LincRO  
Lincolnshire Record Office, Lincoln
- LMA  
London Metropolitan Archives
- LPL  
Lambeth Palace Library, London
- LPLPR  
Lambeth Palace Library, London, Pole's register
- LThK*<sup>2</sup> and *LThK*<sup>3</sup>  
*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*  
2nd edn, ed. Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner (Freiburg/Breisgau: Herder, 1957–68)  
3rd edn, ed. Walter Kasper, et al. (Freiburg/Breisgau: Herder, 1993–)
- Lutz  
Heinrich Lutz, ed., *Friedenslegation des Reginald Pole zu Kaiser Karl V. und König Heinrich II. (1553–1556), Nuntiaturreportage aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücke. Erste Abteilung 1533–1559* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1981)
- Mayer, P&p  
Thomas F. Mayer, *Reginald Pole, prince and prophet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- McCoog, *Monumenta*  
Thomas M. McCoog and László Lukács, eds, *Monumenta Angliae*, 3, *England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales: Documents*

- (1541–1562) (*MHSI*, 151) (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2000)
- MHSI* *Monumenta historica societatis Iesu*
- NB* *Nuntiatgeberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücke. Erste Abteilung 1533–1559*
- NE* Frederic A. Youngs, ed., *Guides to the local administrative units of England, 2, Northern England* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1979; Royal Historical Society, *Guides and Handbooks*, 11)
- New DNB* H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds, *New dictionary of national biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming)
- NLM* National Library of Malta, La Valletta
- NRO* Norfolk Record Office, Norwich
- OA, ODP* Oxfordshire Archives, Oxford diocese papers
- OEE* P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen and H. W. Garrod, eds, *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi roterodami*, 9 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905–58)
- Parks, 'Parma letters'*  
George B. Parks, 'The Parma letters and the dangers to cardinal Pole', *Catholic historical review*, 46 (1960), pp. 299–317
- PC* Giacomo Manzoni, ed., 'Il processo Carnesecchi', *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, 10 (1870), pp. 189–573
- PL* J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia cursus completus, series latina*, 221 vols (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1844–64)
- PM* Massimo Firpo e Dario Marcato, eds, *Il processo inquisitoriale del Cardinal Giovanni Morone*, 6 vols (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 1981–95)
- Pogson* Rex H. Pogson, 'Cardinal Pole – papal legate to England in Mary Tudor's reign' (PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1972)
- PRO* Public Record Office, London
- QFIAB* *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
- Ramacci* Eletto Ramacci, untitled typescript history of the cardinals governor of Bagnoregio
- RO* Record Office
- RSLR* *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*
- RSTC* A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, eds, rev. W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson and completed by K. F. Pantzer, *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English books printed abroad before the year 1640*, 3 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976–91)
- SCJ* *Sixteenth century journal*

- SE Frederic A. Youngs, ed., *Guides to the local administrative units of England*, 1, *Southern England* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1979; Royal Historical Society, *Guides and Handbooks*, 10)
- SVI C. E. Woodruff, ed., *Calendar of institutions by the chapter of Canterbury sede vacante* (Kent archaeological society, records branch, 8 [1923])
- Tellechea J. Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *La Legación del Cardenal R. Pole (1553–4) cuando Inglaterra volvió a ser católica* (Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Orientales y Ecuménicos, 2002)
- VCH *Victoria county history*
- VE [Great Britain. Record Commission], *Valor ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII. auctoritate regia institutus*, 6 vols (London: No Publisher, 1810–34)
- vg vicar general
- WCA D&C Archives, Worcester Cathedral
- Weiss Charles Weiss, *Papiers d'état du cardinal de Granvelle*, 4 (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1843)
- WoRO Worcestershire Record Office, Worcester
- W&SRO Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office, Trowbridge
- WSRO West Sussex Record Office, Chichester
- Zammit Gabarretta  
*Catalogue of the records of the order of St John of Jerusalem in the Royal Malta Library*, compiled by Antonio Zammit Gabarretta, et al., 9 vols (Malta: Malta University Press, 1964–65)



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# Introduction

## Coverage and rationale

This volume extends over the bulk of Pole's final legation for the reconciliation of England to Rome. It thus includes a much larger number of official documents than the previous volumes. As a result some compression has been necessary. Subject matter not directly relevant to Pole is usually lightly touched on, for example reports of Wyatt's rebellion, especially when the full texts are readily available in collections such as Heinrich Lutz's. At the same time, an effort has been made to include every act naming English clergymen and any foreigners with whom Pole had dealings. As the introduction to volume 4 will demonstrate, the vast majority of the first group turn out to be reasonably high-profile men to whose careers further information can be added from the sources used in this collection. More important, this roster provides one of the best ways to get at how Pole tried to reconstruct the Church in England. Most of this information is largely new when used for this purpose. As for the foreigners, many remain unidentified, but the range of their likely places of origin suggests a very intriguing new light on both Pole's legation and on the draw that England exercised on Habsburg Europe during King Philip's temporary ascendancy.

A few notes about these official acts will help readers. I have tried to the maximum degree to reconstruct Pole's administration of the whole Church, especially during vacancies in bishoprics. With fair success, I have identified the keepers of spiritualities whom Pole chose to represent him. Similarly, I have managed to name many (but not all) of the vicars-general or chancellors who ordinarily administered the legal side of a diocese next under the bishop. Keepers and chancellors were not infrequently the same men. Given the rather bewildering terminology for their office, especially since in most places the chancellor, vicar-general, and official principal's powers had become concentrated in the hands of a single man or men with joint commission, I have chosen to call them vicars-general as indicating most clearly their status as chief representatives for either the bishop or Pole. Pole's secretariats, both legatine and metropolitanical, usually called them officials. Evidence for their

identities will appear in volume 4. Many of the foreigners included appear in dispensations to eat milk and meat, usually in Lent. These acts do not normally name the petitioner's diocese, but do ordinarily demand the testimony of two physicians when reasons of health are alleged. It was a mark of special favor when a dispensation was granted on the strength of a single medical doctor's advice.

I have also included all dispensations for orders granted to English and Irish clergy, even though it is probably impossible to pursue the second any further. A goodly number of those in England turn out once again to be reasonably well known or at least it has proved possible to document their careers. Dispensations for orders almost always allowed the petitioner to proceed *extra tempora*, that is, at times other than the four canonical periods (*quattuor tempora*) when ordination was allowed, and to take orders from any bishop with the ordinary's consent.<sup>1</sup> Variations include dispensation to take orders more quickly than the usual one grade per period, including occasionally all on the same day.

In the case of the large group of dispensations for pluralism and institutions and collations to benefices made by Pole as archbishop, I have usually deferred discussion of the significance of such acts to volume 4 in order to save space. (Suspected cases of simony are the single most consistent exception.) In these acts as well the precise status of the benefice, whether rectory or vicarage, is not always recorded unless necessary to distinguish incumbents in cases where a single place had both statuses. Two kinds of presentations to a benefice need brief explanation, those *pro hac vice* ['for this turn'] and those by lapse. The first turned on a limited grant of the advowson sometimes governed by quite complicated agreements, and in the second the patron had six months from the death of the incumbent or the bishop's notification of the vacancy in which to use his advowson; the interval could be counted in at least two ways.<sup>2</sup> If he failed to present within that time, the bishop could step in.

### Technical problems

There is some inconsistency in the calendaring of crown presentations to benefices directed to Pole arising from inconsistency in *CPRPM*. Some presentations have their own entries, while some appear under Pole's institution of a candidate. I partially checked one patent roll (C 66/910) in order to establish the accuracy of *CPRPM*; all entries were directed to Pole, although not all were so entered in *CPRPM*, and one entry turned up not in *CPRPM*, meaning that more could have been missed. Given the consistency of

<sup>1</sup> The 'four times' are the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday following the first Sunday in Lent, Pentecost, 14 September and 13 December (or third Sunday of Advent).

<sup>2</sup> Ex. inform. Richard Helmholz.

C 66/910, I have assumed that all other crown presentations listed in the calendar, unless explicitly directed to another bishop, went to Pole.

As earlier, dating problems continue to bedevil this volume, especially in the case of Pole's archiepiscopal register (LPLPR) in which documents appear dated according to both Roman and English calendars, usually jumbled together without sequence. With luck, the entries dated 'according to the usage of the English church', that is, with the year beginning on 25 March, indicate this fact, but many do not. One good illustration appears on fo. 59r: an act of May 1558 followed by one of January 1557, which I have assumed should be according to English reckoning as well, that is, 1558. There may be other errors in the dating of some of the archiepiscopal records from Canterbury in the registers presently numbered DCc, U3 and U4 (composed of the earlier V1 and V2) because of a distressing number of errors in the MS concordance not discovered until after changes had been made to my files. I am thus extraordinarily grateful to Cressida Annesley for trying to fix the worst problems and I was able to go over most of them myself to triple check.

### **Names, place and personal**

Place-names, whether English, Irish or Welsh, have presented the usual difficulties familiar to historians of sixteenth-century Britain, compounded by the fact that many of the secretaries dealing with them were foreigners, in some cases doubly or trebly so. What an Italian might have made of an Irish name relayed through English hands sometimes beggars the imagination. Fortunately in the case of Ireland, I have had a great deal of help from Gearóid MacNiocaill, and I am very grateful to him and to Steven Ellis for putting me in touch with him; in the case of Wales, David Loades made useful suggestions. Here, if anything, the scribes made a worse muddle than they did in Ireland. I take some pride in saying that I have reduced the number of completely unidentified places to a small handful and the doubtful ones to an only slightly larger number. Unless the place is unusually difficult to identify or spelled radically differently than at present, I have used a modern form (as is well known, many places retain at present more than one spelling or even completely different names). I have silently supplied the county, but have not always worried about trying to determine the post-1974 county, especially in Wales. When the county of a benefice is obvious from its archdeaconry, the second has not been given, but in cases of doubtful identification or when the archdeaconry (sometimes the deanery as well) is necessary to establish a place, this information has also been given. If a diocese is not given in clerical acts, it is assumed to be Canterbury. For names of dioceses, I have usually followed *Handbook of British chronology (HBC)*.

A pair of dioceses, Lincoln and Winchester, present a specially intricate problem when identifying their bishops in the protracted period in 1556–1557 during which John White was translated from the first to the second. To start with what should be the most authoritative source, *HBC* baldly gives White's nomination to Winchester as 16 May 1556 and his provision as 6 July.<sup>3</sup> The first must be too late, since that is the date on which he received custody as bishop-elect of the temporalities of the see.<sup>4</sup> The diarist Henry Machyn gives 15 April for his election, but the *congé d'elire* was not issued until 16 July.<sup>5</sup> Curiously, the first date is also that of Pole's appointment of a keeper for Winchester.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the second date given in *HBC*, while accurate, gives a misleading impression of the moment at which White might actually have acted legally as bishop of Winchester. He was indeed provided in consistory on 6 July 1556, with reservation of a £1000 pension to Pole, not to exceed one-third of the see's revenues.<sup>7</sup> The English were in a very great hurry to complete the transaction. According to the Venetian ambassador, White, nominated to Winchester, had sent a courier in post before 12 May and Cardinal Morone received letters from England of 22 May with money for that see and others before 6 June.<sup>8</sup> These letters probably also included the dossier compiled in the suitability hearing held by Pole's datary Niccolò Ormanetto on 12 May.<sup>9</sup> Once provided, White made little further progress, a victim of the worsening relations between Paul IV and Philip. Ambassador Carne was still trying for White's bulls on 19 August and plenary restitution of the temporalities had to wait until 19 May 1557.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, White was at least twice treated as bishop, once in a letter of 11 October 1556 and once by Pole in a document

<sup>3</sup> *HBC*, p. 277; no source given and nothing in one of their principal sources, William Stubbs, *Registrum sacrum Anglicanum: an attempt to exhibit the course of episcopal succession in England from the records and chronicles of the church*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1897), unsurprising since this is principally based on the vacancy registers at Canterbury.

<sup>4</sup> *CPRPM*, 3, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> John Gough Nichols, ed., *The diary of Henry Machyn* (London: Camden Society, 1848, o.s. 42), p. 103; *Le Neve post 1541*, 3, p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> No. 1540 bel. And equally curiously, the keeper was given an assistant.

<sup>7</sup> ASV, Archivio concistoriale, Acta vicecancellarii, 8, fo. 49r–v; cf. Acta miscellanea 33, fo. 235r; prob. Eubel, p. 335; William Maziere Brady, *The episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland A. D. 1400 to 1875*, ed. with a new introduction by A. F. Allison, 3 vols ([Farnborough]: Gregg Press, 1971), 1, p. 14; and no. 1540a bel. This pension gave rise to the story that White was guilty of—and Pole party to—simony. *CPEC*, no. XV, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 508.

<sup>9</sup> ASV, Arm. 64:28, fos 319r–323v.

<sup>10</sup> *CSPFor*, no. 1658; *CPRPM*, 3, p. 379, and *Le Neve post 1541*, 3, p. 80. Part of the problem may also have been that Carne was trying to get the provision through on the cheap. See no. 1658 bel.

dated before 12 March 1557.<sup>11</sup> As far as Pole was concerned, the *sede vacante* stretched at least through 3 September 1556.<sup>12</sup> Pole could, of course, have handled the case himself and greatly speeded things along, but his provision would still have been subject to papal ratification as in the large number of bishops provided by him in 1554.<sup>13</sup> White's successor in Lincoln, Thomas Watson, was not provided in Rome until 24 March 1557.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, there is just as much confusion about the *sede vacante* vicar general in Lincoln; the D&C acted with extraordinary lassitude in nominating him only on 18 September 1556.<sup>15</sup> Pole made his choice, John Pope, just five days later.<sup>16</sup>

## Aspects of Pole's final legation

### *Pluralism*

Almost 250 of the acts in this volume relating to the clergy concerned absolution and dispensation for pluralism.<sup>17</sup> While a great deal more remains to be done on this head,<sup>18</sup> the strict law of Pole's treatment of pluralist clergy can be sketched here in order to aid in the interpretation of the individual acts. The standard formula varied, especially the clause dictating how both benefices were to be served. Pole usually stipulated that the incumbent had to reside in rotation or hire a worthy substitute. Those acts that do not provide for hiring a substitute include the stipulation that the incumbent must take an oath to reside in alternation as his bishop saw fit on pain of deprivation of both benefices, for example, 'prout vobis [the bishop] magis expedire videbitur continue residebit eis que [the benefices] personaliter deserviet sub pena amissionis utriusque in eventum contrarii se vobis etiam medio iuramento obstringerit sibi de novo alias canonice conferen. absque alicuius preiudicio recipere et quoad vixerit insimul retinere et utriusque fructus percipere libere et licite possit' (for instance, BMD, 922, 5, fos 6r, 7r).<sup>19</sup> This clause first appeared in no. 1322 (1

<sup>11</sup> *CSPFor*, no. 1723 and no. 1901 bel.

<sup>12</sup> No. 1672 bel.

<sup>13</sup> No. 836 ab.

<sup>14</sup> ASV, Arch. concist., Acta vicecancellarii, 8, fo. 78v, incl. grace for quarter of expectatives (cf. Acta misc., 33, fo. 252r-v).

<sup>15</sup> No. 1689 bel.

<sup>16</sup> No. 1694 bel.

<sup>17</sup> The total has been revised upwards somewhat from the table in Mayer, *P&p*, p. 260, making these acts account for closer to a quarter of all those in Pole's legatine register.

<sup>18</sup> For a preliminary study of Pole's approach to this problem, see Thomas F. Mayer, 'The success of Cardinal Pole's final legation', in Eamon Duffy and David Loades, eds, *Marian Catholicism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, forthcoming) and the introduction to vol. 4, forthcoming.

<sup>19</sup> 'In so far as it will seem most expedient to you [the bishop] he will continually reside on them [and] serve them personally on pain of removal from both in the event of the contrary; and let him bind himself to you—even in mid-oath [of obedience to the bishop]—[provided that]

August 1555), but was not invariable thereafter (for instance, no. 1350 of 21 August lacks it), nor is there an obvious temporal or geographical pattern to its usage, for instance, a dispensation of 27 January 1557 does not include it (no. 1820), but no. 1824 of 29 January does and it is inserted in the margin of no. 1847 of 12 February. Similarly there is no obvious pattern to the demand for a substitute; it was still appearing in July 1556 (for instance, no. 1594) while on the same day an oath to reside in rotation was exacted from another petitioner (no. 1595). Throughout the excuse for the dispensations remained shortage of clergy, usually with 'suitable' added. Further, the formulae almost always observed that the dispensation was to hold, the thirteenth-century canons of the papal legates Otto and Ottobono and various synodical constitutions notwithstanding.<sup>20</sup> And although it is still unclear by what authority, Pole almost always demanded to know both the value of and the distance between the livings. Although the data are not complete, it at first might appear that Pole implicitly observed the standard of £8 for the value of the first living as laid down in the statute of 1529, and he certainly accepted Thomas Cranmer's dispensations issued by the Faculty Office without demur even when the benefices were on opposite sides of the country.<sup>21</sup> One dispensation (no. 1830) both confirms the general £8 principle as it tantalizingly suggests the existence of a standard of twelve miles for distance. Ultimately, however, both value and distance probably derive from regulations of the papal chancery.<sup>22</sup>

The standard formula runs thus: 'Nos igitur<sup>23</sup> attendentes presentem maxime idoneorum hoc in Regno ministrorum [*sometimes* "ecclesiasticorum" *add.*] defectum, quodque idem N., de cuius vite et morum honestate et

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otherwise canonically conferring [this benefice] upon him *de novo*, and on the preliminary judgment of N. [*alicui*] while he shall live he can freely and licitly retain and collect the revenues of both.' For an example of such a bargain, see no. 1337a *bel*.

<sup>20</sup> For Ottobono Fieschi, legate 1265–68, see F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, eds, *Councils & synods with other documents relating to the English church*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 2:1, pp. 725–92, esp. 747–92, the canons of the council of London (1268); Otto Tulliano's legislation (1237–41) is in 2:1, pp. 237–59. See also Jane E. Sayers, *Papal judges delegate in the province of Canterbury 1198–1254*, Oxford historical monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), *passim*, esp. pp. 32–4. For discussion see A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Pluralism in the medieval church; with notes on pluralists in the diocese of Lincoln, 1366', *Reports and papers of the associated architectural societies*, 33 (1915), pp. 35–73, pp. 43–5. They figured importantly in the Westminster synod of 1555 and the *Reformatio Angliae*. Mayer, *P&p*, pp. 240–1.

<sup>21</sup> 21 Henry VIII, c. 13, ¶ ix–xii; *Statutes of the Realm*, 12 vols (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1810–22), 3, pp. 292–6 (pp. 293–4).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Mayer, 'Success'.

<sup>23</sup> In the case of a previous dispensation from Wolsey the testimonial clause reads 'ex fidedignorum personarum testimonio sufficienter informati' (BMD, 922, 3, fo. 113r); other variations: 'Nos igitur considerantes presentem hoc in Regno presertim idoneorum ministrorum ecclesiasticorum defectum' (5, fo. 5r).

literarum scientia, ac alias ad dictas parochiales ecclesias regendi idoneitate fuimus informati, in<sup>24</sup> unam earum residens [*sic*] poterit etiam alteri superintendere . . . quatenus<sup>25</sup> iis que tam circa situationem ac valorem beneficiorum quam persone sufficientiam ac eorundem ministrorum in vestra diocesi defectum fuerunt premissa veris existentibus, cum N. ut simul cum dicta rectoria X quam obtinet rectoriam X sibi alias canonicè conferendam recipere, quodque in una earum residens etiam alterius fructus pro victu et suis necessitatibus percipere libere et licite possit . . . Proviso quod ecclesie huiusmodi debitis propterea non fraudentur obsequiis, et animarum cura in altera ecclesia, cui ipse personaliter non inserviet, per magis idoneum quem poterit habere substitutum laudabiliter exerceatur' (3, fo. 38r-v).<sup>26</sup>

There was a slightly different formula for absolution and dispensation to continue to hold both benefices, at least some of which do not include allegations about distance and value: 'Nos igitur considerantes autem quod ad penitentiam credentibus sedis apostolice clementia veniam negare non solet ac attendentes'<sup>27</sup> [rest of this clause as above]; these later include a clause dispensing the incumbent to keep his previous profits.<sup>28</sup>

### *Visitations*

Another of the vital methods through which Pole exercised his legation was visitation. I have already discussed this point in *P&p*, pp. 289–90, but a few corrections and additions are needed. The most important correction concerns

<sup>24</sup> Variation: 'utriusque cure commode poterit intendere' (4, fo. 30v).

<sup>25</sup> Variations: 'quatenus veris existentibus premissis' (3, fo. 110v); 'quatenus eundem N. cognita in eo vera et non ficta aut simulata penitentia', but nothing said about facts alleged (4, fo. 17v).

<sup>26</sup> Variation: 'animarum cura in eis nullatenus negligatur, et onera earum congrue supportentur consueta' (4, fo. 22r). Translation: 'We therefore attending to the especially acute shortage of fitting ministers [sometimes: ecclesiastical], and because N., about whose honesty of life and behavior and knowledge of letters, and in addition his suitability for governing the said parishes we have been informed, will be able to reside in one of these and supervise the other . . . in so far as these things which were mentioned previously both about the location and the value of the benefices and also the sufficiency of the person and the lack of the same ministers in your diocese really exist [i.e., in so far as his allegations prove true], since N. simultaneously with the said rectory of X which he obtained could receive the rectory of X canonically, and because he may, residing in one, freely and licitly take the profits of the other for his sustenance and necessities . . . Provided that they [the parishioners] are not defrauded of their due services and the cure of souls in the other parish, which he does not personally serve be laudably exercised through the most worthy substitute he can have.'

<sup>27</sup> Variation (in hand of one of Pole's principal secretaries, Marcantonio Faïta): 'Nos igitur considerantes quod ad penitentiam redeuntibus gremium non claudit ecclesia ac attendentes' . . . (6, fo. 2v). 'We therefore considering that the apostolic see is not used in its clemency to deny grace to believers coming to penance [or repentance] and attending. . . .'

<sup>28</sup> BMD, 922, 5, fo. 6r-v.

the authority by which Pole visited. Earlier I treated all visitations as legatine, but this is a mistake. (In self-defense I can plead that John Strype called Lincoln metropolitan and Frere and Kennedy made the same mistake in the case of Gloucester, both of which were almost certainly legatine.)<sup>29</sup> Those visitations certainly legatine include Exeter (no. 1541), Chichester (no. 2190), Gloucester (*P&p*, p. 289), Ely (no. 1655), York (no. 1875), and three more dioceses can be added to the original list: Worcester (diocese [no. 1494] and cathedral), Norwich (no. 1494a), and Coventry and Lichfield (no. 1834). Salisbury, Hereford, Lincoln, and St Asaph (*P&p*, p. 289) were probably but not certainly legatine visitations. Durham by contrast had nothing to do with Pole as legate, and visitations of Winchester (no. 1540) and Peterborough (no. 1546) were conducted by metropolitan authority in vacancies of the see.<sup>30</sup> Finally, Pole visited Canterbury at least twice as its ordinary (no. 1542, etc).

### *Revocation*

The revocation by Paul IV of Pole's legation together with accusations of heresy against him and many of his associates provide one of the greatest dramas in the last year and a half of Pole's life.<sup>31</sup> Pole's legation was specifically included in the general revocation of all legates in Philip's territories promulgated in a consistory of 9 April.<sup>32</sup> In mid-May came the first sign of the power struggle between the congregation of the Inquisition and the college of cardinals in which the revocation was caught up, at least if we can trust the Venetian ambassador's reports.<sup>33</sup> The pope ordered the Inquisition, not consistory, to clarify that Pole's status as *legatus natus*, traditionally attached to the archbishopric of Canterbury, was not included in the revocation. The pope then decreed that only Cardinals de' Medici and Puteo, in charge of writing the Inquisition's decrees, were to know.<sup>34</sup> But at roughly

<sup>29</sup> John Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials relating chiefly to religion, and its reformation, under the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1816), 3:2, p. 389 and W. H. Frere and W. M. Kennedy, eds, *Visitation articles & injunctions of the period of the reformation*, 3 vols (London: Alcuin Club, 1910), 3, p. 401.

<sup>30</sup> For Durham see Durham University Library, D&C registers, B/BA/2, fos 4v-5r, 22 March 1556, Bishop Tunstall's citation to his visitation of the cathedral on 13 April 1556.

<sup>31</sup> Mayer, *P&p*, pp. 330-43.

<sup>32</sup> ASV, Arch. concist., Acta vicecancellarii, 8, fo. 81r; cf. Bernardo Navagero - Doge and Senate. ASVe:APR, 9; CSPV, 6:2, no. 855.

<sup>33</sup> Navagero admitted to having trouble penetrating the unusual secrecy surrounding the Inquisition's proceedings.

<sup>34</sup> Navagero - Doge and Senate. ASVe:APR, 10, fo. 11r; CSPV, 6:2, no. 889. I have not found this clarification in the consistorial acts, which seems to support Navagero's claim about secrecy. This must also mean that de' Medici was his source since he, and not Puteo, wrote the decree of revocation.

the same time, Cardinal Farnese wrote his agent in Brussels that Pole would be restored in the next consistory.<sup>35</sup>

The Inquisition, certainly then proceeding against Pole, continued to take the leading role in the revocation.<sup>36</sup> This is most obvious from the handling of the reaction to the protest by the crown and bishops, first in the Inquisition on 12 June and then in consistory only two days later on 14 June. Then again, Paul emphasized to the English ambassador on the first occasion that the Inquisition could not take a decision because this was up to consistory.<sup>37</sup> It also very much looks as if Paul really could not make up his mind what to do, despite his various fulminations against heretics in the college of cardinals (an especially choice one on 2 June), while the cardinal nephew, Carlo Carafa, on whom the pope leaned absolutely, tried to mediate.<sup>38</sup> The day before the Inquisition met, the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, in fact reported that Paul could not decide whether to restore Pole or send a new legate.<sup>39</sup>

Although perhaps not 'insane', Paul behaved in highly volatile fashion, and no one was safe from accusations of heresy, reducing the force of those against Pole and to a degree the just-arrested Cardinal Morone. Even Cardinal Carpi, another imperialist but also a leading inquisitor, found his vicar at Loreto under suspicion perhaps because of a row with the pope in consistory over a new tax.<sup>40</sup> When William Peto was appointed to replace Pole on 14 June, Navagero reported that the whole college was surprised and Cardinal Carafa swore that he had no idea this was to happen.<sup>41</sup> From now on, Paul consistently took the line he had already sketched in May, that it would be improper to restore a legate who had just been revoked, adding that this would be not just against the pope's honor, but that of the whole college of

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<sup>35</sup> Farnese – Ardinghelli, 20 May 1557 (Annibale Caro, *Delle lettere del commendatore Annibal Caro scritte a nome del cardinale Alessandro Farnese*, 4 vols [Milan: Società tipografica de' classici italiani, 1807], 3, p. 167). Ordinarily as vice-chancellor, Farnese should have been among the first to know of any important papal actions and his registers of consistorial acts are the most authoritative of the several alternative records extant. But at this moment he had fled Rome and the register becomes much less complete.

<sup>36</sup> ASVe:APR, 11, fo. 123v; CSPV, 6:2, no. 933; original not in ASV, Capi dei Dieci, Dispacci degli ambasciatori, 24. Partially printed in *PM*, 5, p. 261; ?cf. ASVe:APR, 14:2, fo. 7r.

<sup>37</sup> Navagero – Doge and Senate. ASVe:APR, 10, fo. 50r; CSPV, 6:2, no. 932; ASV, Arch. concist., Acta vicecancellarii, 8, fo. 81r.

<sup>38</sup> ASVe:APR, 10, fo. 36r-v; CSPV, 6:2, no. 915. Partially printed in *PM*, 5, Documenti, no. 8; for Carlo Carafa, for instance, ASVe:APR, 10, fo. 45r-v; CSPV, 6:2, no. 930.

<sup>39</sup> ASVe:APR, 10, fo. 45r; CSPV, 6:2, no. 930.

<sup>40</sup> ASVe:APR, 10, fo. 15r-v; CSPV, 6:2, no. 893 and ASVe:APR, 11, fo. 123v; CSPV, 6:2, no. 933 (as if from same source as last two); original not in ASV, Capi dei Dieci, Dispacci degli ambasciatori, 24. Partially printed in *PM*, 5, p. 261; ?cf. ASVe:APR, 14:2, fo. 7r.

<sup>41</sup> ASVe:APR, 10, fo. 52r (CSPV, 6:2, no. 937).

cardinals.<sup>42</sup> This was scarcely the end of a complicated story, in which the international situation played a major role, and there is a great deal of evidence of more or less official resistance continuing in England right through to the end of the reign.<sup>43</sup> In sum, it is possible that although Paul never withdrew the revocation, he was prepared to act as if it had not been promulgated.

### Another missing manuscript

As suggested in no. 1946a bel., a possibly key document in the history of Pole's legation has been missing since the eighteenth century, although at least some of its content can be reconstructed from this item and a few notes taken from it by Edward Yardley. It corroborates other evidence that Pole meant to re-survey the economic status of the entire English Church. The document is described identically by both Yardley and Thomas Phillips as 'General notes that were written unto all bishops, and from them to be certified to my Lord Cardinal Pole's Grace', but Yardley apparently continued to quote from or perhaps paraphrase the text: 'Imprimis to certify all pensions & portions & values of the several benefices out of the which they be paid, & who is patron of those benefices. Item, to certify whereas there is no vicar endowed, but a curate, what the stipends be of the curate, & of whose hands he receiveth the same, etc. Item, to certify the value of every parsonage endowed, & number of the parishioners, etc'. He also printed the return for St David's. Yardley worked from a document in the hands of Sir William Glynn of Ambrosden, Oxon and Phillips consulted one 'now in the possession of Mr Joseph Sandford [*sic; recte* Sanford], of Baliol [*sic*] College' to which he referred in the context of a discussion of the legatine synod's decrees 'and such like regulations'.<sup>44</sup> The noted antiquarian White Kennett, once Glynn's client for whom he composed *Parochial antiquities attempted in history of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent parts in the counties of Oxford and Bucks*. (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, 1695) drawing heavily on Glynn's library, inventoried it in *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti, cum indice alphabetico*, 2 vols (Oxford: E theatro Sheldoniano, 1697), 2, pp. 49–54. His description of the first item in the list comes very close to Yardley's: '1. Certificates made upon the orders of Cardinal Pole . . . A.D. 1557 returning a particular account through every diocese in England and Wales of

<sup>42</sup> ASV, Arch. concist., Acta vicecancellarii, 8, fo. 87r and ASVe:APR, 10, fo. 54v; CSPV, 6:2, no. 938.

<sup>43</sup> For evidence that Pole and many lawyers in England on his staff and elsewhere resisted the revocation, see, e.g., no. 2131 bel. and my 'Success'.

<sup>44</sup> Edward Yardley, *Menevia sacra*, ed. Francis Green (London: Bedford Press, 1927), pp. 394–7 and Thomas Phillips, *The history of the life of Reginald Pole*, 2 vols, 2nd edn (London: Thomas Payne, et al., 1767), 2, p. 197n.

the value of parsonages, endowment of vicarages, number of parishioners, names of pastors; with a letter or supplication sent from both the universities . . . unto Cardinal Pole his grace 1556. Fol.' It appears that Kennett did not make any notes from nor a transcript of it or, if he did, it did not make it into the BL among the large number of volumes from him in the Lansdowne collection.<sup>45</sup> One volume of the Lansdownes certainly came from Glynn, and Thomas Hearne accused Kennett of having pilfered at least one especially valuable codex.<sup>46</sup> Glynn's library was last known to have been for sale by the Oxford bookseller Wilmot (probably Samuel) in 1729 eight years after Glynn's death, although the large collection had apparently not sold at a fifty-percent reduction by the end of the year.<sup>47</sup> It is therefore possible, perhaps even likely, that Yardley and Phillips used the same MS. How either came to know of it is obscure, especially in Yardley's case, since he was a Cambridge man who spent most of his career in London except for a brief period in residence as archdeacon of Cardigan. He cited it in his three-volume 'Menevia sacra', a history of the diocese of St David's, begun in 1739 and probably completed in 1761.<sup>48</sup> The conduit could have been Browne Willis who knew of the sale of Glynn's books and much later praised Yardley's work in a letter asking to be remembered to Yardley's wife, suggesting some degree of familiarity between them.<sup>49</sup> Yardley had other connections as an amateur historian which might

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<sup>45</sup> These include at least MSS 935-1041, but the run prob. extends at least a little ways further.

<sup>46</sup> Lansdowne 1143, 'Entries, Pleadings, Declarations, Writs, &c. with alphabetical tables; being part of the Collection of Sir William Glyne of Ambrosden in the county of Oxford, of which a description was given by Dr. White Kennett in the Catal. MSS. Angliæ. The present volume was most probably compiled by Serjeant Glyne', acc. the Lansdowne catalogue. Who this common lawyer may have been is unknown; William, like all the other Glyns known to have had legal credentials, was a DCL. See the entry on the family in *The dictionary of Welsh biography down to 1940* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), p. 282. Nonetheless, since this MS is part of a long run of mostly legal MSS stretching most of the way back to the putative end of the Kennett corpus, one suspects that some number of the rest of these MSS also came from Glynn. No matter for our purposes, since Pole's document seems not to be among them. For Hearne's accusation that Kennett had 'borrowed' Glynn's autograph copy of John Bale's *Scriptores Angliæ*, see *Remarks and collections of Thomas Hearne*, 10, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1915), p. 163.

<sup>47</sup> *Hearne collections*, 10, pp. 147 and 216-17. Samuel was very busy as a publisher in the 1720s and 1730s producing works of theology, sermons and school texts, e.g. William Stephens, *The Catholick doctrine concerning the union of the two Natures in the one Person of Christ stated and vindicated* (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre for Sam [sic] Wilmot, 1719), the second edition of which in 1737 describes Wilmot as a bookseller in Oxford.

<sup>48</sup> Yardley, *Menevia sacra*, p. iv.

<sup>49</sup> *Hearne collections*, 10, p. 163 and Yardley, *Menevia sacra*, pp. iv-v. I have found no evidence that Willis knew of the document in particular, nor did he enumerate which private libraries he used in compiling *A survey of the cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Litchfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester* [sic], *Bristol, Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, Peter-*

have led him to such an important text; he had been ordained by the leading antiquary Edmund Gibson.<sup>50</sup> All efforts by the editor of *Le Neve to 1541, Welsh dioceses* to track Yardley's MSS, sold at auction at Sotheby's in 1800, failed.<sup>51</sup> Phillips was a sometime Jesuit trained on the continent, and nothing is yet known of his ties to Oxford beyond the fact that his book was published there and his apparent friendship with Sanford. Sanford, fellow of Balliol for sixty years, left his library to Exeter College, but it is no longer to be found in either place.<sup>52</sup> In the unlikely event that Phillips owned the manuscript, that trail, too, is now cold.<sup>53</sup>

### A note on the numbering scheme

Unfortunately, the publication schedules of this edition and *Reginald Pole, prince and prophet* did not coincide perfectly and it was therefore necessary to lock down the numbering scheme of the correspondence before work on it was entirely finished. Therefore some items have had to be moved from their original locations, quite a few have been added (hence numbers with 'a', etc. added to them) and a few deleted without substitution of a new item in order to preserve as much of the original scheme as possible. Cross-references within the edition should all be correct, in part thanks to the heroic efforts of my superlative copy-editor Andrew Stephenson, but it is possible that some references in other of my publications may now be incorrect. I apologize for any inconvenience.

A note on the transcriptions and translations, some of which in the first volume have already been severely criticized.<sup>54</sup> Pole was a wretched penman and a less than immaculate Latinist. In fact, Ludovico Castelvetro asserted that some of his Latin works had to be translated from English for him by Gianbattista

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*borough, Canterbury, Rochester, London, Winchester, Chichester, Norwich, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, St Davids, Landaff [sic], Bangor and St Asaph* (London: Printed for T. Osborne in Gray's-Inn and T. Bacon in Dublin, 1742), 1, pp. ii–iii.

<sup>50</sup> Yardley, *Menevia sacra*, p. 231.

<sup>51</sup> B. Jones, ed., John le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, 1300–1541. The Welsh dioceses* (London: IHR and Athlone Press, 1965), foreword. The MS of 'Menevia sacra' is now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. I have not yet been able to consult it.

<sup>52</sup> In 1774. C. W. Boase, ed., *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis (Register of the rectors, fellows and other members on the foundation of Exeter College, Oxford)* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1894), p. 270, citing the Benefactor's book; I am grateful to John Jones, vice-master and archivist of Balliol, and to John Maddicott, archivist of Exeter, for help on this point.

<sup>53</sup> I am very grateful to Maurice Whitehead for much help on this point.

<sup>54</sup> Irena Backus in *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 65 (2003), pp. 479–82 and see the Errata/Corrige at the end of this volume for a more detailed response to her attacks.

Binardi.<sup>55</sup> However this may be, it has been a challenge working through perhaps 10,000 pages of Pole's MSS and it would appear that even twenty-five years' familiarity with them has not been sufficient to protect me from human fallibility. Readers are invited to send corrections to the publishers.

### Acknowledgments

Finally, the already lengthy list begun in volumes 1 and 2 of those owed thanks for their help must be extended again to include Andrew Hegarty who generously shared his knowledge of the University of Oxford and several times saved me public embarrassment; Cressida Annesley at Canterbury Cathedral Archives; Joan Williams, librarian of Hereford Cathedral Library; Susan Mosher Stuard for advice about Dubrovnik; P-J Lamblin, librarian of the Bibliothèque municipale de Douai who provided with impressive celerity a scan of a particularly intractable specimen of John Clerk's wretched scrawl in Pole's legatine register; my colleagues at Augustana Mary Doonan, Ellen Hay, Peter Kivisto, Emil Kramer and Wendy Ramsdale who in one way or another maximized the time I could devote to research within a heavy teaching schedule as well again as the Augustana Faculty Research Committee; and, as always, Thomas Freeman and Jonathan Woolfson. These volumes could not have been produced without their assistance.

Having thanked all these, I feel compelled to renew the dedication of the complete *Correspondence* to my daughter Molly. Although it looks unlikely that she will maintain the family's four-generation tradition and enter academe (thereby proving that genetic decay is reversible), she is at least already a much more accomplished pianist than her father as well as a valuable assistant in some of the research behind this edition. Once again, these volumes are hers.

Thomas F. Mayer  
Moline, Illinois  
1 June 2004

**NB** Information about persons not identified in the text will be found in volumes 4 and 5. MS is understood in all citations (e.g., BL, Add. 25425, instead of Add. MS 25425) unless otherwise indicated.

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<sup>55</sup> Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Alpha H. 1. 11, no. 16, fo. 445r-v and see Binardi's entry in vol. 5.

## A note on the text

All quotations in English and Latin have been modernized and standardized, but those in other languages, esp. Italian, have not. Italian names have sometimes been left in local dialectic rather than standardized Italian, especially in the case of Venice (for example, Marin Sanudo, not Marino Sanuto). The summaries are sometimes rather telegraphic in order to save space. The subject pronoun 'I' is frequently omitted, except when confusion would result, as are forms of the verb 'to be'. The following abbreviations, based on the system of textual editing adopted in my edition of Starkey's *Dialogue*, appear in headnotes and footnotes, for the same reason:

ab.	above
acc.	according to
aft.	after
alt.	altered from
auto.	autograph
bef.	before
bel.	below
corr./s	correction/s
del.	deleted
dif.	different
esp.	especially
mar.	margin
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no place
orig.	original
prob.	probably
s.a.	<i>sine anno</i> (without year date)
s.n.	<i>sub nomine</i> (under the name)

## January–June 1555

**1021**

**4 January 1555**

**Pole – nuncio in France [Sebastiano Gualteri], n.p.**

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fos 150v–151r; BL, Add. 41577, fos 168v–169r; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fo. 120r; ASV, Fondo Borgh. IV 93, fos 79v–80r, with some minor variations; ASV, Misc. Arm. II 6, fo. 235r–v; BAV, Ottob. lat. 2432, fos 145v–146r.

Printed: Lutz, no. 82.

Calendar: *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 3.

Received yours of 22 December<sup>1</sup> along with cardinal of Lorraine's<sup>2</sup> about his and king's joy at reconciliation. Replied as by enclosed copy<sup>3</sup> and communicated Lorraine's letter to their majesties. Lorraine could be big help to peace.

**1022**

**4 January 1555**

**Pole – [Charles de Guise] cardinal of Lorraine, London**

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fos 151r–152r; BL, Add. 41577, fos 169r–170r; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fos 120r–121r; ASV, Fondo Borgh. IV 93, fos 80v–82v; ASV, Misc. Arm. II 6, fos 236r–237v; BAV, Ottob. lat. 2432, fos 146r–147v.

Calendar: *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 4.

Knowing Henry's attitude to religion in England from talk with him,<sup>4</sup> thought it appropriate to congratulate you as I did king<sup>5</sup> and take opportunity to remind you about peace. Have yours of 22 December written before you got mine<sup>6</sup> in which you express joy about reconciliation. Now concluded with parliament's abrogation of Henry VIII's laws and restoration of jurisdiction to clergy.<sup>7</sup> Condescension to weakness about ecclesiastical property. Help with peace.

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<sup>1</sup> ?*Recte* 23 December, no. 1012 ab.

<sup>2</sup> Missing; Charles de Guise.

<sup>3</sup> Next no.

<sup>4</sup> During Pole's visit in April 1554. Nos 844–5 ab.

<sup>5</sup> On 13 December (no. 1003 ab.) or missing?

<sup>6</sup> Both missing.

<sup>7</sup> By 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8. Jennifer Loach, *Parliament and the crown in the reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 111n28 lists the acts repealed.

**1023****4 January 1555****Pole – duchess of Mantua [Margherita Paleologo], London**

MS: ASM:AG, b.578, fo. 157r–v, orig. in Marcantonio Faita's hand.

Have yours of 12 October congratulating Mary on pregnancy.<sup>8</sup> Told her about you and your great *stato*. Glad to hear of daughter's [Isabella] marriage to Pescara,<sup>9</sup> as wrote from Brussels.<sup>10</sup> Glad for him as well, especially because of aunt [Vittoria Colonna]. PS Have also told Philip how much you like him.

**1024****6 January 1555****Cornelio Musso – Pole, Bitonto**

MS: BAV, Borgiani lat. 300 (register of Musso's letters), fos 9r–12v, date and place from typescript catalogue in BAV. Imperfect, prob. cancelled.

This letter was probably inspired by a proposed mission to Philip II in England for Musso on behalf of his new bishopric of Bitonto.<sup>11</sup> Acc. Musso's biographer, he had preached before Pole and others in the 1540s.<sup>12</sup>

Much rejoicing at news from England. From time you left Garda have imagined miracle that has occurred. Encomium of Philip and Mary. Hope to see all of Germany converted by you. Your praises carved in all stones, but you are *historia viva* ['living history {or story}'].

**1025****9 January 1555****Innocenzo Del Monte – Pole, Rome**

MS: ASV, Misc. Arm. II 79, fo. 61r; PRO, PRO 31/9/67, p. 71; certified copy from ASV, Lettere di segreteria di stato di Giulio III . . . , vol. 393, pp. 129 and 136 in Archives of the British Province, Society of Jesus, Farm Street, London on loan to the editor.

At instance of Cardinal Alvarez, Julius wants list of all Carthusian martyrs in London at beginning of schism. Try hard. Make *processo autentico*.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Missing?

<sup>9</sup> Fernando Francesco d'Avalos e Aquino.

<sup>10</sup> Missing.

<sup>11</sup> Vincenzo Robles, 'Cornelio Musso e Geronimo Seripando: due diverse esperienze di riforma nel vicereame di Napoli', in Antonio Cestaro, ed., *Geronimo Seripando e la chiesa del suo tempo nel V centenario della nascita* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1997), pp. 401–19, pp. 407–8. Cf. Musso's letter to the pope of 5 January 1555. BAV, Urb. lat. 879, fos 252r–254v.

<sup>12</sup> Corrie E. Norman, *Humanist taste and Franciscan values: Cornelio Musso and Catholic preaching in sixteenth-century Italy* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Maurice Chauncy had begun constructing a martyrology of his order before 1550 when a first version was published. Alvarez's request came as protector of the order, a position he

**1026****11 January 1555****Pole – Gualteri, London**

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fo. 157r–v; BL, Add. 41577, fo. 175r–v; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fo. 124r; ASV, Fondo Borgh. IV 93, fos 94r–95r and BAV, Ottob. lat. 2432, fos 155v–156r dated 12 January 1555; ASV, Misc. Arm. II 6, fos 249r–250r.

Printed: partially in Lutz, p. 237n3.

Calendar: CSPV, 6:1, no. 1, from BNM, dated 2 January 1555.

The missing letter of 26 December referred to here is apparently the one in which Gualteri proposed a peace conference, although that had been Pole's idea already in 1552 (no. 596 ab.). At the end of January 1555 the Venetian ambassador to France reported that Gualteri had 'some days ago' suggested a meeting and that Pole had replied that he was too busy with the reconciliation.<sup>14</sup> This is contradicted not only by Pole's letter of 13 December 1554 to Henry II and the king's reply of 28 December (nos 1003 and 1015 ab.) thanking Pole for his concern for peace and declaring himself ready to negotiate, but also by Gualteri's reports to Rome of 23 and 27 December, in the second of which he claimed to have proposed a conference.<sup>15</sup> The ambassador also said Pole had replied to Gualteri on 13 January, which must be a mistake for this letter.

Have yours of 26 December carried by French ambassador's brother.<sup>16</sup> Both came yesterday evening to give me Henry II's, Lorraine's,<sup>17</sup> and Montmorency's.<sup>18</sup> Confirm French goodwill. Today discussed it with their majesties, including your proposal for deputations. King said would write emperor. Have written this to Girolamo Muzzarelli<sup>19</sup> and know he will do his duty. Will reply to others on suitable occasion.

**1027****11 January 1555****Pole – Girolamo Muzzarelli, London**

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fos 157v–157ar; BL, Add. 41577, fos 175v–176r; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fo. 124r–v; ASV, Fondo Borgh. IV 93, fos 95r–96v, dated 2 January 1555; BAV, Ottob. lat. 2432, fos 156r–157r, dated 19 January 1555.

Printed: Lutz, no. 83.

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relinquished in May 1555, and probably had to do with the broadsheet of the martyrdoms published in Rome sometime in 1555 and dedicated to him. Anne Dillon, *The construction of martyrdom in the English Catholic community, 1535–1603*, St Andrews studies in Reformation history (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), pp. 53–62.

<sup>14</sup> CSPV, 6:1, no. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Ancel, 2, pp. 181–4.

<sup>16</sup> François de Noailles. The ambassador was Antoine.

<sup>17</sup> Missing.

<sup>18</sup> No. 1016 ab.

<sup>19</sup> Next no.

Calendar: *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 2, dated 2 January 1555.

You already know about *Di pace* from letter I wrote about rejoicing with Henry II about developments in religion.<sup>20</sup> Did same with Montmorency and Lorraine. Have Henry's reply about peace<sup>21</sup> and send copy. French ambassador and Gualteri proposed a conference in neutral place between two representatives of each side. He suggested somewhere near Calais. French ambassador's brother has come and says nothing more can be done by letter and messengers. Philip says he will write emperor.

**1028**

**13 January 1555**

**Gualteri – Pole, Poissy**

MSS: ASV, Misc. Arm. II 125, fos 85v–86r, copy; PRO, PRO 31/9/67, pp. 78–9.

Printed: *Ancel*, 2, no. 80.

Have yours of 4 January<sup>22</sup> with renewed willingness to make peace and your hopes of these two kings. Working on it here. If this sounds general, am sure these people really want peace. Good idea (I repeat, referring to other letters) to arrange conference between French and imperialists.

**1029**

**14 January 1555**

**Pole – Ruard Tapper, n.p.**

MSS: BCQ, F III 7, m. 2, fo. 39r, C18 copy, prob. sent from Flanders. Not mentioned in Thomas Philippe Cardinal d'Alsace-Boussu – prob. Angelo Maria Querini, Malines, 7 March 1748.<sup>23</sup>

Printed: *ERP*, 5:63, perhaps from *Epistolarum ab illustribus et claris viris scriptarum centuriae tres. Quas passim ex autographis colligit ac edidit Simon Abbes Gabenna* (Harlingae Frisiorum: ex officina Heronis, 1565), noted in Paolo Simoncelli, *Il caso Reginald Pole: eresia e santità nelle polemiche religiose del Cinquecento* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1977), p. 108. I am very grateful to Dominic Baker-Smith for collating the text in the 1664 edition against *ERP* and finding it identical.

Have yours<sup>24</sup> about *De summo pontifice*, which I gave you and Iodochus Diletanus<sup>25</sup> to read and let me know what needs correction. Thank you. Wanted criticism before allowed it into print, and as soon as it is gone over again [*quaedam ejus loco relegere*] shall return it in order to have printed. Would send other writings to same printer through your help had I not

<sup>20</sup> No. 1003 ab.

<sup>21</sup> No. 1015 ab.

<sup>22</sup> No. 1021 ab.

<sup>23</sup> BCQ, F III 7, m. 1, fo. 49r.

<sup>24</sup> Missing.

<sup>25</sup> Josse Ravesteyn; see his entry in vol. 5 bel.

promised Cardinal Truchsess, who urged me at Dillingen and afterwards by letter,<sup>26</sup> to publish there.<sup>27</sup> Sure you happy about England. After petition from parliament for absolution, now working on abolishing laws against pope's authority.

**1030**

**14 January 1555**

**Pole – Giovanni Morone, London**

MSS: JPML, MA 841 (Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada* [New York: H. W. Wilson, 1935–40; three vols], pp. 1511–13), auto. orig. with English translation, brief biographies of Pole and Morone and engraved portrait by Nicholas de Larmessin (of type in Mayer, *P&p*, pl. 40, p. 418), bought from Pearson & Co., prob. between 1898 and 1913; BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fos 158r–158av; BL, Add. 41577, fos 177r–178v; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fos 124v–126r; BUP, 327, fos 7r–8r. The collation of the Morgan original to the register copy in BAV, Vat. lat. 6754 is very close.

Calendar: *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 8.

Have three<sup>28</sup> of yours. Shall reply *manu propria* to your last entirely autograph letter, but others will answer rest. Congratulations give great consolation. God's mercy and providence responsible for speeding up restoration of obedience. This like departure of Israelites from Egypt, when Pharaoh changed his mind and tried to stop them when there was an effort to prevent abrogation of contrary laws.<sup>29</sup> Overcome by God's power and piety of these princes. Very happy to hear how pope received news. When I began to tell king about this, he took me to queen so she could hear everything and she wanted me to tell it over again in English. She raised question of embassy to Rome. Much discussion of the proper persons, but nothing decided until after end of parliament, within two days. Then attention will also go to remedying abuses in religion which will be done along with bishops. They show great desire to do their duty and have me with them. This will take more than one meeting. Now that bishops' jurisdiction restored and legate can freely exercise his powers, things will improve with time. As for private matters about which you write, shall be glad to help. Resolved not to deal with private matters, not even pressing ones of me or household, until public ones had been settled. But shall break my resolution for you. Spoke to king last evening recommending you

<sup>26</sup> Missing.

<sup>27</sup> It seems likely that Tapper intended to use his printer Martin or Merten Verhasselt. Henri de Vocht, 'Ruard Tapper', *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, 27 vols (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe, et al., 1866–1938), 24, cols 555–77, col. 565. For him see Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, librairies et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1975), p. 234.

<sup>28</sup> Of 8, 15 and 30 December 1554, nos 1001, 1006 and 1018 ab.

<sup>29</sup> Genesis 14.5.

and your church of Novara.<sup>30</sup> Listened willingly. Other letters will cover beginning of peace negotiations. Pray God for success. Pray for me as I do for you.

### 1031

18 January 1555

**Pole – Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, London**

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fos 157av–158r; BL, Add. 41577, fos 176v–177r; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fos 126r–127r; ASV, Fondo Borgh. IV 93, fos 97r–98v; BAV, Ottob. lat. 2432, fos 157v–158v.

Printed: partially in Lutz, p. 239n3.

Calendar: *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 10.

Have yours of 10 January in reply to mine<sup>31</sup> sent by my gentlemen to Rome.<sup>32</sup> You join me in hating ceremony. You know what I have written to France about peace. Act fast so as not to miss occasion. (158r) Have never wanted more than to serve Charles V, but also *ben publico* ['public good'].

### 1032

19 January 1555

**Pole – Julius III, London**

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fos 155v–156v; BL, Add. 41577, fos 173v–174v; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fo. 127v; ASV, Fondo Borgh. IV 93, fos 90v–92r; BUP, 327, fo. 6r–v; ASV, Misc. Arm. II 6, fos 246r–247v; BAV, Ottob. lat. 2432, fos 153v–154r.

Printed: Lutz, no. 84.

Calendar: *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 11.

My agent<sup>33</sup> will have given full report on England, and has also told you about peace and my letter of congratulations to Henry II. Parpaglia will go to emperor. Get rest from agent.

### 1033

19 January 1555

**Pole – Charles V, London**

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fo. 156v; BL, Add. 41577, fo. 174v; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fo. 127v; ASV, Fondo Borgh. IV 93, fos 92r–93r; BAV, Ottob. lat. 2432, fo. 154r–v.

Calendar: *CSPSp*, 13, no. 143, from orig. in Simancas; *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 12.

Cf. *CSPSp*, 13, no. 141, Simon Renard's report of Parpaglia's mission.

<sup>30</sup> As Morone requested in no. 1001 ab. For some of the issues he wished covered, see no. 1204 bel.

<sup>31</sup> Both missing.

<sup>32</sup> Antonio Giberti, to judge from the timing; cf. no. 993 ab., the date of which coincides with his departure for Rome.

<sup>33</sup> Gianfrancesco Stella.

Successful reconciliation gives greater hope for peace as have written king, from whom and from his ambassador here have had reply which you will learn from Parpaglia.<sup>34</sup>

## 1034

19 January 1555<sup>35</sup>

### Pole – Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, London

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 5967, fos 400r–401r, minute in unknown hand with corrections in Gianbattista Binardi's hand, headed in his hand 'to card. of Augsburg, London, 19 January 1555', dated 3 January 1555 in Schanat's hand; BAV, Vat. lat. 5827, fos 119v–122v; BNM, Lat. XI 60 (6527), fos 273v–274v.

Printed: *ERP*, 5:27.

Calendar: *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 13.

Text missing in *ERP*, especially lesson in how to conduct controversy, and the conclusion.

From the conclusion, Truchsess must then have been in Dillingen, where de Soto was still teaching; he was certainly in his diocese of Augsburg for the Reichstag a little later.<sup>36</sup> This was not Pole's last run-in with an attack from Germany. Later in 1555 Vergerio fired off another blast in his *Epistolae duae, duorum amicorum* with charges updated to cover Pole's behavior in England, especially the persecution of Thomas Cranmer, John Hooper and John Rogers.<sup>37</sup> Probably in 1556 Pole was singled out in the fictional *Ein new iar, so Bapst Paulus der vierde . . . den Lutherischen gedenckt mit zu Teilen*, allegedly compiled by two notary-priests, neither of whom has been identified, and published in Rome, although perhaps really in Magdeburg. It printed a spurious letter from Pole reporting a post-prandial discussion with Pope Paul IV about indulgences, and may therefore be a recycled form of one of Luther's pamphlets. Pole seems not to have known of the work.

Have nasty book about me that you sent.<sup>38</sup> Author must have been drunk (at length). If did not like *De unitate*, why not refute it?<sup>39</sup> This creature picks out

<sup>34</sup> Nos 1003 and 1015 ab.

<sup>35</sup> Year must be correct; cf. no. 885 ab.

<sup>36</sup> Bernard Dühr, 'Die Quellen zu einer Biographie des Kardinals Otto Truchsess von Waldburg. Zugleich ein Beitrag zu seiner Charakteristik', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 7 (1886), pp. 177–209, pp. 194–5.

<sup>37</sup> Partially printed in Ecclesiastical History Society, *Strype's memorials of archbishop Cranmer*, 3 vols (Oxford: James Wright, 1854), 2, pp. 953–7 (from Bale) and *in toto* in Paolo Simoncelli, *Il caso Reginald Pole: eresia e santità nelle polemiche religiose del Cinquecento* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1977), pp. 243–52. Cf. Andrew Petegree, *Marian protestantism. Six studies* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 186.

<sup>38</sup> From the references later in the letter, Pole was referring to Vergerio's *Oratio . . . qua Caesaris . . . conatur . . . inflammare, ut adversum eos, qui nomen Evangelio dederunt, arma suma . . . cum Scholiis Athanasii* [i.e. Pierpaolo Vergerio] (Venice, 1554). Cf. no. 885 ab.

<sup>39</sup> p. 61.6 text here: 61.6 (fo. 400r) libidinem, qua impulsus expectare non potuit, dum magis opportuno loco idem faceret: ita vero certamen mecum instituit, sibique contra me id facit, quod si aequum sit in alienis scriptis oppugnandis, ne evangeliorum quidem libri, quo

part of book (address to emperor) and turns its meaning completely around. Just tried to show Henry how badly he had behaved; no vituperation. Never intended Charles to read oration: just one of two fears I showed Henry. Explained it all in preface, which I send, and you may publish if wish.<sup>40</sup> Wrote this last summer when first learned of edition, but having heard nothing more, sent neither it nor letter. Do it more willingly now, hoping to avoid necessity of another reply. Greetings to de Soto, whom I would much like to have as helper in England.

**1035**

**21 January 1555<sup>41</sup>**

**Alvise Priuli – Gianfrancesco Stella, London**

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fos 148r–149v; BL, Add. 41577, fos 166r–167v, undated.  
Cf. no. 1008 ab.

Wrote in my last of 30th<sup>42</sup> about extraordinary opposition in lower house and how division necessary. Some argued that Pole's confirmations for hospitals, etc. derogated from royal authority. Finally agreed to everything decided in upper house. (148v) About pope's authority. More from Ormanetto.<sup>43</sup> Wanted law about property with many provisions prejudicial to ecclesiastical liberty. Pole opposed *gagliardissimamente*, but could not fix everything. Expected that crown will approve. Proposal that Philip be made protector of royal children after Mary's death. Nothing else decided, and parliament expected to rise within six or eight days. Philip will go to Windsor in order to induct duke of Savoy<sup>44</sup> into Garter and Mary will go to Greenwich. (149r) Discussion between their majesties and Pole about legation to Rome. Pick whomever you

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minus pugnancia inter se, atque contraria narrare videantur, defendi possint. Nam cum Xtus dicat, se non venisse ut legem solveret, sed ut adimpleret, ea autem parentes post ipsum Deum (400v) honorari iubeat, quid huic magis contrarium dici posset, quam quod ipsum Xum idem evangelistae alio loco dixisse narrant? Nisi quis odio habuerit patrem et matrem, non est me dignus? Nunquid honor, et odium inter se congruere possunt? Qui ergo sibi licere vult, dum in alium scribit, verba quaedam, nulla habita ratione consilii, aut sententiae scriptoris, in eum sensum detorquere, quum ila primo aspectu praeseferunt, quam inique is agat, hoc exemplo facile ostenditur, sic vero facit iste qui contra me nunc scribit.

<sup>40</sup> There is no sign of such an edition of any of the prefaces to *De unitate*. For this episode, cf. Dermot Fenlon, *Heresy and obedience in Tridentine Italy: cardinal Pole and the counter reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 262, which may imply a little too strongly that Truchsess rejected Pole's suggestion. This seems unlikely in light of the heavy pressure he had been applying to Pole to allow him to publish some of his writing. Cf. *CPM*, pp. 28 and 47–8.

<sup>41</sup> Lutz, p. LXIII n, dates this letter 24/6 January 1555.

<sup>42</sup> Missing.

<sup>43</sup> Missing.

<sup>44</sup> Emanuele Filiberto.

like, said Pole, one from each order.<sup>45</sup> With last I sent copy of Lorraine's letter to Pole and now enclose his reply,<sup>46</sup> along with Gualteri's letter from France and Pole's reply.<sup>47</sup> To your last of 2 December<sup>48</sup> with verses of M. Lazzaro<sup>49</sup> nothing to reply except that we are expecting news of [Antonio] Giberti's arrival. In order not to lose Antonio Fiordibello's *lucuratione* [*sic*; ?*lucubratione*],<sup>50</sup> he sends enclosed copy of letter from Pole to *Mons. Rev. di Parigi*,<sup>51</sup> so can truly say you did not have it before. *Io serei stato di opinione che'l Sig' Fior di bello differisse a mandar la sua oratione per il primo che mandera Mons. Reverendissimo il quale ha animo difare per tal mezzo quel caldo officio per lui, che miritano il valor, et molte fatiche sua fatte in questa legatione, et anche in altre, accio che l'officio amorevole, che egli si promette, et io son certissimo che fara volentieri Mons. Rev. Morone fosse in un medesimo tempo accompagnato da quel di Mons. Rev. et dalla prima visita di questa sua bella (149v) et elegante oratione la quale egli fece inanci che arrivassono qui pensando di haver occasione di recitarla in qualche solennita, ma hora non e piu da pensare acio.*<sup>52</sup> Our Parisian scholars<sup>53</sup> will shortly go back to their studies. Ode enclosed is from young man of twenty from Bruges, who has been here for two months with Pole. Am sure Fr Basilio<sup>54</sup> will judge it worthy of *mature et bel ingegno italiano, ha bone lettere Greche, e bon principio di scrivere in prosa latina, e pittore, Musico, et ha mille altre bone parti: la ode e diman sua, et ha scritto anche l'oratione di Fiordibello* ['mature

<sup>45</sup> I.e., commons, lords, and clergy.

<sup>46</sup> No. 1022 ab.

<sup>47</sup> Perhaps Gualteri's missing letter of 26 December and Pole's reply of 11 January 1555 or the exchange of 13 (no. 1028 ab.) and 17 January (no. 1044 bel.).

<sup>48</sup> Missing.

<sup>49</sup> Bonamico? If so, not among his published carmina.

<sup>50</sup> On 13 January Fiordibello dedicated to Morone his oration to Philip and Mary. BAV, Barb. Lat. 5266, pp. 404-9, printed in *ERP*, 5, pp. 324-5, dated 7 January, with oration on 325-38 from Blado's edition of 1555 and in Jacopo Sadoletto, *Opera quae exstant omnia*, 4 vols (Englewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1964; reprint of Verona, 1738 edition), 2, pp. 426-37.

<sup>51</sup> ?Bishop of Paris or Cardinal du Bellay; missing.

<sup>52</sup> 'I would think that Sig. Fiordibello should put off sending his oration until Pole shall have sent his [perhaps meaning Pole's] speech to parliament at the reconciliation, which he intends to do [and] through such means to recommend him heartily as he deserves, both for the great efforts he has put forth in this legation as for others that he has promised, and I am certain that Cardinal Morone would like to see at the same time both a recommendation from Pole and this his beautiful and elegant oration which he wrote before they arrived here thinking to have occasion to recite it at some solemnity, but this is no longer to be thought of.'

<sup>53</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>54</sup> ?Zanchi. Cf. *PM*, 6, pp. 277-78. A Lateran canon, he was probably then in Rome and has the proper credentials as poet and philologist and connections, including to Flaminio (cf. Marcantonio Flaminio, *Lettere*, ed. Alessandro Pastore, Università degli studi di Trieste, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Istituto di storia medievale e moderna, n.s. 1 [Rome: Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1978], no. 70) and perhaps Appolonio Merenda (*PM*, 6, p. 277), and would be imprisoned by Paul IV in 1558.

and beautiful skill in Italian, he has good Greek {or more prob. can write Greek characters well}, and good beginning in writing Latin, is a painter, musician and has a thousand other good parts; ode is in his hand and has also written Fiordibello's oration']; you can expect more from him.<sup>55</sup>

### 1036

24 January 1555

Ignatius Loyola – Pole, Rome

Printed: *ERP*, 5:59; *Monumenta Ignatiana (MHSI)*, 12 vols (Madrid: Lopez del Horno, 1903–25), 8, pp. 308–11, no. 5120; *Letters of St Ignatius of Loyola*, ed. and trans. William J. Young (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), pp. 361–2; McCoog, *Monumenta*, no. 73.

From yours of 11 November<sup>56</sup> from Brussels know your good hope for reduction of England. Must be God's work, happened so fast. We are all very happy, especially *nostra minima compagna* ['our very small company']. (309) Christ's providence. *Singular' beneficio*. Divine wisdom gives us special consolation by using you, and preserving Mary and Philip inside kingdom and you outside. Have expanded our efforts and have big numbers in colleges. German college doing especially well, including one talented English student and one Irish.<sup>57</sup> If think good to send a few students, they would quickly profit. News of mission to Prester John.<sup>58</sup> Two of ours<sup>59</sup> to accompany Morone to Reichstag.<sup>60</sup> Thought it useful to remind you of use pope makes of us. Philip has written to recommend our college here to pope.

### 1037

25 January 1555

Morone – Pole, Rome

MS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6404, fo. 137r–v, orig.  
Printed: *ERP*, 5:45.

No in- or out-letters for some days. Stella has kept me informed. He will report and also talk with pope concerning money about which Parpaglia wrote. Have helped. Am legate for Augsburg, but shall go only if it appears that can accomplish something.

<sup>55</sup> Dominic Lampson. Cf. Lutz, p. LXIII n. His poem is not found in ASAS nor his MS of Fiordibello's work identified.

<sup>56</sup> Apparently lost; cf. Juan de Polanco, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et Rerum Societatis Jesu Historia*, 4 (Madrid: Agostino Avrial, 1896), p. 296.

<sup>57</sup> The first was Thomas Natale and the second David Wolfe.

<sup>58</sup> The legendary Christian king of Ethiopia.

<sup>59</sup> Diego Laínez and Jerónimo Nadal.

<sup>60</sup> In Augsburg; cf. next no.

1038

25 January 1555

Julius III – Pole, Rome

MSS: ASV, Arm. 44:6, fo. 70r, minute; ASV, Arm. 44:4, fo. 33r–v, breve register.

Cf. no. 1046 bel. In another of the dizzyingly complex crossings of paths and wires, shortly after the obedience mission headed south,<sup>61</sup> Julius's nuncio Antonio Agustín arrived in England bearing the golden rose for Mary and sword and cap of maintenance for Philip.<sup>62</sup> Pole had the major role to play in their presentation, standing in for the pope.<sup>63</sup> Agustín also had another important item of business to transact about the visitation of the Spanish Church and complaints thence.<sup>64</sup> He was prevented by Julius's death from taking care of these difficulties, but it looks as if Pole may have tried to defuse the situation by attempting to abort the visitation and getting the visitors to come to England instead (see below).

Sending Antonio Agustín with golden rose. Dispense you for occasion from limitations of deacon's dress. Solemn benediction to all present.

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<sup>61</sup> See no. 1108 bel.

<sup>62</sup> The credentials for his nunciature are in ASV, Arm. 44:4, fos 26r–35v and his recall is on fos 150v–151r. He arrived on 23 March. *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 37. For the significance of the rose, an elaborate jewel, and its value to papal diplomacy see Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 50.

<sup>63</sup> For his remarks see *CPM*, pp. 80–1 and no. 1197 bel. The occasion is recorded in Giovanni Amalteo's diary, BAV, Ottob. lat. 2418.2, fos 216r–286v, fo. 260r.

<sup>64</sup> Antonio Agustín, *Opera omnia*, ed. Giuseppe Rocci, 8 vols (Lucca: Giuseppe Rocci, 1765–74), 8, p. 411, 'Ragguaglio de i Negoti commessi a Monsignore A. A.', 29 April 1555. His third assignment was to *accomodar le cose successe circa la visitazione di' capitoli, e generalmente d'altri gravamini di Spagna*. Cf. *Opera Omnia*, 2, p. xxiv and the copy of his instructions in ASV, Segr. Stato, Ingh. 32, fos 33r–36r, dated 31 January 1555. Ron Truman quotes the second as saying that Agustín came to deal with legal matters about the English Church. He also assigns it to Latino Latini, although it comes from Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar's life of Agustín. 'Jean Matal and his relations with Antonio Agustín, Jerónimo Osório da Fonseca and Pedro Ximenes', in M. H. Crawford, ed., *Antonio Agustín between renaissance and counter-reform* (London: Warburg Institute, 1993; Warburg Institute surveys and texts, ed. Jill Kraye, no. 24), pp. 247–63, p. 252. The text reads 'Ut autem Antonius Agustinus mitteretur, illud in causa fuit, quod R.do Polo opem ferre deberet in componendis iis, quae ad sacerdotes, sacrorumque Ministros pertinerent', without specifying which priests were concerned. Agustín's mission is treated in *NB*, 14, pp. 210ff. and 15, p. 243n. There is a biography of him in *NB*, 17.

**1039****26 January 1555<sup>65</sup>****Pole – Pietro Contarini, London**

MSS: BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fos 149v–150r; BL, Add. 41577, fos 167v–168r, to bishop of Baffo; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fos 127v–128r; ASV, Fondo Borgh. IV 93, fos 77r–78r; ASV, Misc. Arm. II 6, fos 232v–233v, to bishop of Baphi; BAV, Ottob. lat. 2432, fos 143v–144v.

Calendar: *CSPV*, 6:1, no. 17.

Thanks for congratulations<sup>66</sup> on English events. Can hope it will set example to 'other provinces'. News of Venetian rejoicing also welcome.

**1040****26 January 1555****Pole – Bishop John Chambers of Peterborough, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 65v–67v; CUL, Add. 4841, fos 55r–56v, extract.

Cf. Pogson, p. 192; dated 25 January 1555 on p. 216.

Absolution for schism and heresy. License to exercise orders, to hold bishopric, and to retain profits from irregularly obtained benefices.<sup>67</sup>

**1041****26 January 1555****Pole – John [Salcot or Capon], bishop of Salisbury, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 67v–70r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 57r, note.

Absolution for schism and heresy. You enclose your signed and sealed oath to pope.<sup>68</sup> Very close to last no.

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<sup>65</sup> Date may be wrong, because addressed to bishop of Paphos, of which Contarini was bishop only from 9 August 1557 acc. Eubel, p. 269, or perhaps this is an anachronism committed by the copyist. The date almost has to be correct on the strength of content. If so, the copyist may have modified other addresses.

<sup>66</sup> Missing.

<sup>67</sup> The more or less standard form of absolution to a priest.

<sup>68</sup> Text given; cf. next no. There is no obvious consistency in Pole's treatment of oaths demanded from bishops. Both Salcot and Heath (no. 1069 bel.), for example, took episcopal office post-schism and thus neither would have already sworn an oath to the pope, but no such was required from Heath in contrast to Salcot. A number of bishops appointed earlier had to send an oath by proctor. No. 836 ab. The form given here resembles that from the apostolic chancellery in Michael Tangl, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiordnungen von 1200–1500* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1894), pp. 51–2.

1042

26 January 1555

**Pole – Antony [Kitchin], bishop of Llandaff, Lambeth**<sup>69</sup>

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 71v–74r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 59r, note.

The oath as given here is similar to the form printed in Michael Tangl, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiordnungen von 1200–1500* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1894), pp. 51–2.

Absolution for schism and heresy. Includes standard form of oath (73r–74r): Ego, Antonius Landaven. Episcopus ab hac hora inantea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro apostolo, sancteque apostolice Romane ecclesie, ac domino nostro domino Julio pape tertio, suisque successoribus canonice inrantibus, non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum seu capiantur aut in eos maius violente quomodolibet ingerantur vel iniurie alique inferantur quovis quesito colore: Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncium seu literas, ad eorum damnum me sciente nemini pendam. Papatum Romanum ac regalia S. Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem, Legatum apostolice sedis ineundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo et in suis necessitatibus adiuvabo. Iura, honores, et privilegia ac auctoritatem Romane ecclesie ac dominum nostrum papam et successorum predictorum conservare defendere augere et promovere curabo. Non ero in consilio facto seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel preiudicialia personarum iuris, honoris status et potestatis eorum machinentur, et si talia a quibuscumque procurari moneri vel tractari intelligam, hoc proponere et quanto citius commode potero, significabo eidem domino nostro vel altera per quem ad ipsius notitiam pervenire possit. Regulas Sanctorum patrum decreta ordinationes, sententias, dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones, et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hereticos schismaticos et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus predictis proponere persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad Synodum perveniam, nisi prepeditus fuero canonica prepeditione. Apostolorum limina Romana Curia existente citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes, singulis trienniis visitabo aut per me aut per nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia. Possessionis vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam neque donabo, aut impignerabo neque de novo infeudabo vel alio modo alienabo etiam cum consensu capituli ecclesie mee inconsultu Romano Pontifici. Sic me Deus adiuvet et hec sancta dei Evangelia.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> William Maziere Brady, *The episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland A. D. 1400 to 1875*, with a new intro. by A. F. Allison, 3 vols ([No Place]: Gregg Press, 1971), 1, pp. 79–80.

<sup>70</sup> 'I, Anthony, bishop of Llandaff, from this moment forward shall be faithful and obedient to blessed Peter, the apostle, and to the holy Roman Church, and our lord Lord Pope Julius

**1043****26 January 1555****Pole – Robert [King], bishop of Oxford, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 74v–78r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 59r, note.

Absolution for schism and heresy.

**1044****26 January 1555****Gualteri – Pole, Poissy**

MSS: ASV, Misc. Arm. II 125, fo. 89r.

Printed: Ancel, 2, no. 84; Lutz, no. 85.

Have your orders of 17th<sup>71</sup> and immediately saw cardinal of Lorraine, king, and Montmorency. Hope emperor agrees to meeting and God will order all well.

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III, and his successors canonically entering [office], nor will I be of counsel or consent or by act such that they lose their lives or members or are captured nor be forced more violently upon them in any way whatsoever, or that some be attacked injuriously under any pretext sought: The plan that they will entrust to me, either personally or through a messenger or through a letter, I shall, to their injury, with my knowledge, render to no one. I shall aid the Roman papacy and the regalie [for the word see T. F. Mayer, 'Tournai and tyranny: imperial kingship and critical humanism', in *Cardinal Pole in European context: a via media in the reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), pp. 257–77, p. 263] of St Peter to retain and defend itself against any man, I shall help a papal legate both coming and going and treat him honorably and help him in his necessities. I shall be careful to conserve, defend, augment and promote the rights, privileges and authority of the Roman Church and our lord the pope and his aforementioned successors. I will not take counsel nor action with anyone who intrigues against our same lord or the same Roman Church in anything wrong or prejudicial to any rights, honors, status and powers, and if I learn of any such procured, threatened or done by, I shall expose it and as soon as I conveniently can, I shall let our lord or someone else who can tell him know. I shall observe with all my powers the rules of the holy fathers, decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and apostolic orders and make others observe them. I shall expose, persecute and fight against heretics, schismatics and rebels to our lord and his aftermentioned successors. Called to a synod I shall come, unless I am hindered by a canonical impediment. I shall make an *ad limina* visit [i.e., a visit to Rome] within one year, and thereafter every three years either in person or by agent, unless I shall have received apostolic license. I shall not sell nor give away possessions belonging to my [episcopal] table [i.e., the see's property], or grant away or infeudate anew, or in any other way alienate [them] even with the consent of the chapter of my church unless I have consulted the Roman pontiff. So help me God and this God's holy gospel.'

<sup>71</sup> Missing; Lutz says this was a mistake for the 11th, but that letter (no. 1026 ab.) contains no orders to Gualteri.

**1045****27 January 1555****Pole – Cuthbert Tunstall, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 43r-44r, another copy on 45v-46v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 39r-v, extract, with note of second copy.

Printed: E. E. Estcourt, *The question of Anglican ordinations discussed* (London: Burns & Oates, 1873), app. no. 15.

Absolution for schism and heresy under Henry VIII perhaps more because of *animi infirmitate* than of other causes. Substance like other letters of absolution to bishops. We restore you to *pristinum*. . . *statum*. No oath of obedience to pope.

**1046****27 January 1555****Julius III – Pole, Rome**

MSS: ASV, Arm. 44:4, fos 32v-33r, brief register; ASV, Arm. 44:6, fo. 110r-v, minute; certified copy from ASV, 'Epistolae ad principes . . . Julii papae III', 4, no folio, in Archives of the British Province, Society of Jesus, Farm Street, London on loan to the editor.

Cf. no. 1038 ab. and Arm. 44:4, fos 30r-32v, three breves to Philip and Mary of 27 January, plus those to Philip of the same date and the emperor of 31 January (*CSPSp*, 13, nos 145 and 146).

Sending Antonio Agustín, auditor of Rota and our chaplain, with sword and cap [of maintenance] for Philip. Congratulations. Divine providence.

**1047****27 January 1555****Niccolò Ormanetto – Gianfrancesco Stella, London**

MS: ASV, Arm. 64:28, fos 154r-163v.

Giberti will have filled you in, and also wrote before he left. Have sent parliament's supplication with copy of bull of absolution. Priuli has kept you posted *alla giornata* ['daily'] on events after Giberti left, but he turns over to me now that parliament risen. All decrees approved by majesties, so kingdom back to unity. [Bishop of] Ely, from privy council, told Pole (and left copy) what their majesties want. Copy (marked no. 3) enclosed of Pole's reply demanding return of everything. Since impossible stipulated these conditions: must be recognized by Church and pay at least two tenths p.a. and lands not willed or of those without legitimate heirs or those of intestates revert to Church. Next, monastic property which if kept would 'put all in confusion and great danger'. Meantime, clergy of Canterbury province supplicated crown as parliament had (see copy no. 4) and forwarded to Pole. Crown sees no way to satisfy possessioners without leaving the property to them. After Pole spoke to

bishops and many clergy separately, decided that because matter so dangerous, number of possessioners so large (perhaps 30,000), and the tenures so diverse, to endorse crown's position (see no. 5).

Those who want to undo effects of schism have caused much confusion, especially over marriages within prohibited degrees contracted in large numbers. Crown asked again that Pole not impose conditions but only exhort to compliance. Demanding full enforcement would upset many families (see no. 6). Pole therefore changed original position paper (see no. 7). Pole tried to dissuade parliament from acting to abrogate laws against papal authority, as did Stephen Gardiner, wishing it to apply to Rome instead and not to interfere with property which did not pertain to it, finally agreed it could be done without prejudicing pope's rights and got promise of secular assistance against rebels. Sent another writing (no. 8). Crown sent decree of revocation for his opinion and replied to his objections as in no. 9. Read in council<sup>72</sup> and had some effect. Preface added division into chapters so unlike matters would not be confused. Still not fully satisfied (no. 10). Also spoke to their majesties at every chance. Preface said all property in England depended on parliament, with no exception for ecclesiastical. 'These doctors' made things worse by refusing even to mention, much less include, papal dispensation since not usual to include decrees of foreign powers.

Crown demanded consultation with Pole, including with lawyers defending its rights. Pole replied well, ably assisted by Gardiner. Led to another large meeting with crown for two days here. Judges finally persuaded that had to include supplication and absolution. Stated that papal authority restored just as was before schism, but could not be budged from insisting on abrogation [by parliament of schismatic legislation]. Gardiner told Pole did not like procedure. Opposition did not stem from lack of approval of reunion, increasing every day, as evident in provisions against heresy with universal consent, especially of these lawyers. Unsurprising that have such high opinion of parliament and their laws since have had no others for so many years and property in possession so long. After passed Lords some opposition in Commons. Special discussion of two words in Pole's bull: schools and hospitals since thought crown could found both by self and those in existence did not need confirmation. Two chapters added: anyone restoring property could add stipulation about masses for soul; any disputes over property to secular courts. Pole had language of second moderated. Emphasized grace that allowed reign to return unconditionally both to papal and episcopal authority. Granted two concessions: that minor matters be heard in England and that dispensations be given for pluralism, both with eye to crown. Still hoped God would act on possessioners.

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<sup>72</sup> ?Parliament.

Send Pole's brief discourse<sup>73</sup> on how property should be kept and judges' opinion in favor of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over it with copy of abrogation. Will send rest by ambassadors who will leave shortly. Recently Gardiner emphasized God's grace in speech to parliament that only two persons against 460 opposed reconciliation. Pole will not waver on score of letting possessioners keep property in good conscience without proper dispensation. Requires *penitentia*<sup>74</sup> which cannot be investigated individually in so many cases, but will grant absolution to any who approach him.

**1048**

**28 January 1555**

**Priuli – ?, London**

MS: ASV, Arm. 64:28, fo. 135r–v, apparently enclosed in Gianfrancesco Stella – ? of 9 March 1555, acc. docket.

Might be surprised that have written nothing about ecclesiastical property held by crown. Pole hammering away from beginning. Their majesties have always shown good intention, but said had to wait for end of parliament. Now Pole back on attack. Mary said would order chancellor [Gardiner] to draw up complete list. Hope for good example.

**1049**

**28 January 1555**

**Pole – Cristoforo Madruzzo, London**

MSS: AST, Corrispondenza Madruzziana, busta 5, fasc. 13, fo. 250r, orig.; cf. BAV, Vat. lat. 6754, fo. 150r–v and BL, Add. 41577, fo. 168r–v, dated 16 January 1555; BNM, Ital. X 24 (6527), fo. 126r; ASV, Fondo Borgh. IV 93, fos 78r–79r; ASV, Misc. Arm. II 6, fos 233v–234v, dated 16 January 1555; BAV, Ottob. lat. 2432, fos 144v–145r, dated 16 January 1555.

Calendar: CSPV, 6:1, no. 9, 16 January.

Have your reply to mine<sup>75</sup> brought by my gentleman<sup>76</sup> about reconciliation. See your *gran cortesia* ['great courtesy'] as always *et hora con un largo fiume di eloquentia* ['and now with a great stream of eloquence']. Gave me chance to talk to Philip about you. Get rest from Ercole Pagnano, who often gives me your news. He also very eloquent.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Perhaps related to nos 1008–10 ab., but the copy Ormanetto sent together with the judges' opinion are both missing.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. no. 1008 ab.

<sup>75</sup> Missing.

<sup>76</sup> Antonio Giberti.

<sup>77</sup> Pagnano was also an accomplished gamer. Back in London by 12 June, he then won more than 1000 *scudi*. BAV, Ottob. lat. 2418, fo. 282v.

1050

28 January 1555

Pole – Ludovico Beccadelli, London

Printed: in Italian in G. B. Morandi, ed., *Monumenti di varia letteratura*, 2 vols (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze, 1797–1804), 1:2, pp. 346–7.

Have yours<sup>78</sup> about English events, and hope *afflitta Christianità* ['afflicted Christendom'] will be consoled by peace between princes, once again being discussed, and for which have sent Parpaglia to emperor. Gianfrancesco [Stella] will give you more. PS Got bull of jubilee from him and yesterday gave it to queen, with two prayers you wrote, for which she was very grateful.<sup>79</sup> Continue to thank God for us.

1051

28 January 1555

Avviso da Londra [News from London]

MSS: ASV, Segr. Stato, Ingh. 3, fos 172r–173r; FSL, Strozzi manuscripts, W. b. 132/78, fos 159r–161r; ASV, Fondo Carpegna 202, fos 147r–149r; BL, Add. 15388, pp. 393–97; LPL, 1499, fos 175r–177v; BNF, Ital. 1281, fos 181v–184v; BAV, Barb. lat. 5266, pp. 458–64; Aug., fos 160v–162v; ASV, Fondo Borgh. II, 483 B, fos 182v–185r, all but first and last dated 30 January.

Printed: Tellechea, no. 54.

Like other such *avvisi*, this was probably a letter from someone in Pole's household, perhaps Ormanetto or Priuli, perhaps directed to Stella, although it may also have gone to Flanders, if 'our abbot' means Parpaglia (see no. 1032 ab.).

Parliament having ended, time for public celebration on Conversion of Paul in procession of all bishops, clergy, magistrates and guilds [*arti*].<sup>80</sup> Philip to Paul's with Pole. Bonner sang mass and our Mariano [Vittori] with his 'high and sonorous voice' read bull of plenary indulgence. Jubilee also declared by bull<sup>81</sup> which arrived yesterday. Many prisoners freed, including many adherents of Northumberland and Wyatt. *Congregatione* being held here *in casa*, urging bishops to get proper papal provision and all did so quickly. They eager to take up residence. Have faculties to absolve clergy and laity. As for heretics, those showing signs of repentance have had canonical pains remitted. Those who preached publicly must make public abjuration. Some still obstinate about sacrament, biggest error here. Efforts have been made to restore twelve

<sup>78</sup> No. 1011 ab.

<sup>79</sup> For the jubilee and the bull see ab. nos 1019 (perhaps including the prayers mentioned) and 1014. Although Beccadelli was still nuncio to Venice, it seems that he must have been back in Rome.

<sup>80</sup> For the procession on 25 January, see John Foxe, *The first (second-) volume of the Ecclesiastical History* (London: John Day, 1570; RSTC, no. 11223), p. 1655.

<sup>81</sup> ?No. 1014 ab.

convents, including three Franciscan and Dominican. Trouble lies in finding good subjects, although *molti di questi sfratati* ['many of these apostates'] have an inclination to return. Those now in Brabant<sup>82</sup> may serve as seeds for rest. 'Our abbot' [Parpaglia?] will be with you by now. Gualteri has written again confirming French goodwill. PS of 30 January: You already know about ambassadors, Thomas Thirlby, Anthony Browne, Lord Montagu and now Sir Edward Carne. They intend to leave in mid-February.

## 1052

**Bef. 28 January 1555**

**Muzzarelli – Pole, Brussels**

Missing; known from ASM:AG, b. 569 (Fiandra), unfoliated, Guglielmo Cavagliate – duke of Mantua, Brussels, 28 January 1555. A copy was supposed to have been enclosed in this dispatch.

## 1053

**28 January 1555**

**Commission from Pole to bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner] et al.**

Missing; known from John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable* (London: John Day, 1583; RSTC no. 11225), p. 1483. Foxe may have confused this with the next number; also cited in John Strype, *Memorials of the most reverend father in God Thomas Cranmer*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1812, new edn.), 1, p. 495.

'Sit upon, and order . . . all such preachers and heretics . . . as were in prison'. Began with John Hooper, John Rogers and John Cardmaker, then 30 January Rowland Taylor, Edward Crome, John Bradford, Laurence Saunders and Robert Ferrar. Crome 'desired two months' respite', which was granted.<sup>83</sup>

## 1054

**29 January 1555**

**Pole – Gardiner, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 32r–35r, headed *Facultas singulis episcopis concedendis*; CUL, Add. 4841, fos 26r–31v.

Printed: Estcourt, *Anglican ordinations*, app. no. 18, said to be collated against Burnet/Pocock, 6, pp. 361–5, generic form addressed to bishops, taken from a Norwich register no longer extant or perhaps from NRO, DN/SUN/3, a collection assembled by William Mortimer<sup>84</sup> and by Pocock from Strype, *Cranmer*, 2, pp. 946–50, to D&C of Canterbury, 13 February 1555; pp. 950–2 instructions about how to administer from Canterbury records (see bel.); Burnet's version printed in 'Instrumenta ad legationem Poli pertinentia', *Revue Anglo-romaine*, 1 (1895), pp. 285–7 and in J. Moyes, F. A. Gasquet and D. Fleming, *Documenta ad Legationem Cardinalis Poli spectantia* (Rome: Privately

<sup>82</sup> This must mean the community of Syon.

<sup>83</sup> Strype says one month.

<sup>84</sup> Ronald A. Marchant, *The church under the law: justice, administration and discipline in the diocese of York 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 35 and see note 85.

Published, 1896), pp. 9–12;<sup>85</sup> cited in *Apostolicae curae* (1896), art. 10 from this collection; in English in Arthur Lowndes, *Vindication of Anglican orders*, 2 vols (New York: James Pott and London: Rivingtons, 1897–1900), 2, pp. lxxxii–lxxxvi, from an unknown source but prob. Bonner's register; supposed to be in Latin in a treatise on the bull *Apostolicae curae* (London: S.P.C.K., 1896) that I have not seen; Arthur Stapylton Barnes, *The popes and the ordinal: a collection of documents bearing on the question of Anglican orders* (London: Browning, 1898), pp. 121–5; Knighton, *Legation*, no. 18.

Cf. fo. 35v, a list of others to whom same letter to be sent (looks as if space may originally have been left blank and names added as letters needed): London (?),<sup>86</sup> Bristol, Gloucester, Durham, Bath and Wells, Lincoln, Chester, Rochester,<sup>87</sup> Norwich,<sup>88</sup> St David's, Chichester (9 February 1555), Carlisle (12 February 1555), Coventry and Lichfield (12 February 1555); 13 February 1555: Hereford, Peterborough, Oxford, Salisbury, Llandaff, Worcester; Henry Harvey, official of D&C<sup>89</sup> of Canterbury, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury (29 January);<sup>90</sup> Gardiner, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, 22 February 1555;<sup>91</sup> Thomas Stanley, bishop of Sodor, 24 February 1555;<sup>92</sup> 25 February 1555: D&C of Exeter, D&Cs or official of St Asaph, Bangor, and York; 7 March 1555, Maurice Griffith, bishop of Rochester, chancellor or

<sup>85</sup> Why cited from Burnet since the compilers used BMD 922? See vol. 1, p. 22 ab.

<sup>86</sup> Bonner transmitted the faculties to the archdeacons of London, Middlesex, Essex, St Albans, and Colchester on 19 February. Pogson, p. 187, citing Guildhall 9531/12, fos 359 and 366.

<sup>87</sup> Dated 26 February 1555. Centre for Kentish Studies, DRb/Ar 1/15, fos 83v–84v; cited in Pogson, p. 188 with an old foliation.

<sup>88</sup> NRO, DN/SUN/3, fos 58v–61r with note at foot *primo folio 32*, i.e., its location in BMD, signed by Faight.

<sup>89</sup> Harvey was at this time keeper and had earlier been and perhaps still was also official of the court of Arches (CCA, DCc, reg. N, fo. 4r; cf. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer. A life* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996], p. 558 for his appointment as auditor, commissary general, official principal and keeper of the spiritualities in Canterbury) and Nicholas Wotton was dean; cf. CCA, DCc, reg. N, fo. 92r–v for Harvey and fo. 29v and *passim* for Wotton, who had also earlier been keeper (e.g., fo. 139v).

<sup>90</sup> But cf. no. 1072 bel.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. the copy by William Cole in BL, Add. 5843, from the Black Paper Book of Cambridge University. Cole said the letter was among the hardest he had to copy, and he had collated it against that to the D&C of Canterbury printed in Anthony Harmer [pseud. of Henry Wharton], *Specimen of some errors and defects in the history of the reformation . . . by Gilbert Burnet* (London: Randall Taylor, 1693) [p. 187]; fo. 212r–v is a copy of Julius's bull and 212v–213v of Pole's instructions for reconciling. Cole's original is CUL, Cambridge University Archives, Collect. Admin. 5, fos 131v–33v, incorrectly dated 1555/6 in D. M. Owen, *Cambridge university archives. A classified list* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 186.

<sup>92</sup> Dated the day of his provision (no. 1080 bel.).

vice-chancellor of Oxford, copy from University archives, Wpß/M/22, in Bodl. Twyne 7, fo. 147v, dated St James, 6.<sup>93</sup>

Canterbury province represents almost all persons in kingdom which makes it impossible for me to reconcile all. Delegate part of task to you. Reconcile anyone of whatever status, no matter what heresy, if sorry, humbly accept 'orthodox faith' and do penance. Offences enumerated include improper divine services, ordination by heretical or schismatic bishops, irregular oaths, improper presentations to benefices, including by laymen. All can be restored *in pristinum . . . statum* if heartfelt contrition displayed and confession and penance done. Includes religious who left houses without papal dispensation, took on habit of secular clergy and held benefices. Absolve for marriage if have left wives, dispense to exercise orders, if live outside diocese where married. May further depute these powers to worthy parish clergy.

Instructions based on orders from Rome appended to some copies:<sup>94</sup> Announce parliament's action, restoration of episcopal authority, especially against heresy. Recite faculties from Pole, especially for orders and benefices. Announce date for clergy to appear to ask absolution and dispensation. Celebration to be held before octave of Easter.<sup>95</sup> Depute those to receive laity. Keep book of names of all those reconciled. Visitation thereafter. Special attention to be given to orders and claims to benefices, education, preaching and confession. Restore Thomas Becket's and pope's names [in service books]. When announcing, stress misery of schism. Prayers for happy state of realm. Includes *formula absolutionis*.

## 1055

### 31 January 1555

#### **Pole – William Vathson [or Wathson], Cistercian, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 36r–37v; Guildhall, 9535/1, fos 41v–42v.

For the house of St Mary and St Lawrence, Revesby, see Knowles and Hadcock, p. 124; the brother was probably the William Watson dispensed on 31 March 1538 to hold a benefice with change of habit. *FOR*, p. 128.

Using this dispensation, on 2 and 3 February Vathson took deacon's and priest's orders to the title of a pension of four marks from the late duke of Suffolk (Guildhall, 9535/1, fo. 42v).

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Elizabeth Russell, 'Marian Oxford and the counter reformation', in Caroline M. Barron, et al., eds, *The church in pre-reformation society: essays in honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1985), pp. 212–27, p. 216.

<sup>94</sup> ASAS 40/117 (Bonelli, no. 135).

<sup>95</sup> 21 April.

Absolution for schism, including leaving house of Revesbyr [*sic*] without permission, taking orders and marriage. Dispensation to take and exercise orders and hold benefice. No stipulation about its distance from ex-wife.

### 1056

31 January 1555

**Pole – George [Day], bishop of Chichester, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 47r–48r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 42r–v, extract, with note that rest as on fo. 1[r–3r], i.e., no. 834 ab. which is more or less accurate.

Printed: Estcourt, *Anglican ordinations*, app. no. 15.

Absolution for schism and heresy.

### 1057

31 January 1555

**Pole – Henry [Radcliffe], earl of Sussex, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 37v–38r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 33r. George Lord Cobham and Sir Thomas Nevill received similar dispensations on the same day (*ibid.*, fos 38r–v and 39r–v, both noted in 4841, fo. 33v).<sup>96</sup>

Dispensation to eat milk and meat. Be careful not to give offense.

### 1058

1 February 1555

**Pole – Tommaso Campeggi, London**

MSS: ASBol, Fondo Campeggi-Malvezzi, ser. 3, 11/535, 1555, signed orig.; BCQ, F III 7, m. 2, fo. 76r, copy, headed *ex autographis* in Querini's hand.

Printed: *ERP*, 5:pp. 147–8, apparently from Campeggi-Malvezzi.

Have yours of 9 November<sup>97</sup> which arrived very late, together with your *De auctoritate Romani pontificis*.<sup>98</sup> It reveals your *pio animo* ['pious spirit'] and learning. Thanks for thinking of me.

### 1059

2 February 1555

**Pole – bishop of Coventry and Lichfield [Ralph Baynes] or vg, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 41r–42v; CUL, Add. 4841, fos 36r–38v, nearly complete extract.

Creation of James Weston, *clericus sive scholarus* ['cleric or scholar'] of Coventry and Lichfield as registrar, notary and judge in ordinary in any place

<sup>96</sup> Cobham's interest in a dispensation casts a little doubt on the strength of his evangelical convictions. MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 367.

<sup>97</sup> December *ERP*; ?no. 983a ab.

<sup>98</sup> Published in Venice by Manuzio in 1555 acc. Hubert Jedin's article on Campeggi in *DBI*, but on the strength of this letter it must have been earlier.

either directly or indirectly under Roman Church.<sup>99</sup> Includes form of oath: obedience to Peter, Church, pope, and his defense, including disclosure of any threats to him that come to Weston's notice. If cannot deal with them, alert pope. Will defend *regalia sancti petri* and rights of Church. Will discharge office of registrar faithfully, adding or subtracting nothing from documents he prepares.<sup>100</sup>

## 1060

### 5 February 1555

**Pole – John Clerk, notary of our auditor of causes,<sup>101</sup> Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 59v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 51r–v, extract.

This act probably does not mean that Clerk had been a member of Pole's household, but rather refers to his likely service in the court of Arches. Cf. no. 972 ab., his absolution.

We know your loyalty to apostolic see from trustworthy testimony 'and also familiar experience' [*et familiari etiam experientia*]. Appointment.

## 1061

### 5 February 1555

**Pole – Harpsfield and Thomas Stymp [Stemp], DCLs, curie nostrae causarum auditoribus generalibus ['general auditors of causes of our court'], Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 60r–61v; CUL, Add. 4841, fos 52r–53v.

Appointments as Pole's deputies especially to hear appeals from judges in ordinary according to Julius's bull of 5 August 1553,<sup>102</sup> including power over marriages and benefices.

## 1062

### 6 February 1555

**Pole – William Cooke, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 44v–45v; PRO, PROB 11/38 (Cooke's register for PCC), fo. 3r–v, countersigned by Thomas de Witte; it is preceded by Cranmer's appointment of Cooke, dated 13 January 1547; CUL, Add. 4841, fos 40r–41r, extract.

<sup>99</sup> NB: all appointments as notary below include registrar and judge in ordinary.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. the oaths given in Laerzio Cherubini and Angelo Maria Cherubini, eds, *Magnum bullarium romanum, a beato Leone magno usque ad S. D. N. Benedictum XIII*, 15 vols in 10 (Luxembourg: André Chevalier, 1727–58), 1, p. 742 for Paul III and Charles Cocquelines, ed., *Bullarum privilegiorum ac diplomatum romanorum pontificorum amplissima collectio*, 18 vols (Graz: Akademischen Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1964–65), 4, p. 284 for Julius III.

<sup>101</sup> Ormanetto.

<sup>102</sup> No. 621 ab.

Printed: in English summary in J. Challenor C. Smith, ed., *Index of wills proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury 1383-1558*, 1 (London: The British Record Society, 1893), p. xxv.

You tried hard as commissary of prerogative court of Canterbury, despite difficulties caused by heretics.<sup>103</sup> Improperly exercised spiritual jurisdiction, but humbly ask us to remedy this defect. Because of your 'probity, knowledge of letters, and worthiness for exercise of this office' and your loyalty to apostolic see, we reappoint you, and require you to appoint one or more qualified priest-assistants.

### 1062a

6 February 1555

**Pole – Edward Thayte [Thawyte (*sic*), Thwate] , deacon, Norwich diocese, n.p.**

MS: Guildhall, 9535/1, fo. 43r-v.

Orders taken 10 February.

BTh, dispensation to take priest's orders *extra tempora*.

### 1063

7 February 1555

**Pole – bishop of Bath and Wells [Gilbert Bourne] or vg [John Cottrell], Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 48v-50r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 43r, extract.

Creation of William Lancaster as notary.<sup>104</sup>

### 1064

8 February 1555

**Pole – Elizabeth Clinton, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 51v.

Perhaps Elizabeth was Lord Clinton's daughter, later married to the earl of Kildare, although this becomes less likely if she was really born in 1552.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Christopher Kitching, 'The prerogative court of Canterbury from Warham to Whitgift', in *Continuity and change: personnel and administration of the Church of England, 1500-1642*, ed. Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), pp. 191-213, pp. 198-200. Cooke († 25 August 1558), a layman, held office 1547-58. Kitching says he was also dean of Arches, and apparently continued to hold that post, but this is not quite correct since Pole appointed David Pole dean on 27 March 1556 (no. 1528 bel.).

<sup>104</sup> For full formula, see no. 1059 ab.

<sup>105</sup> C. H. Cooper and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae cantabrigienses*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Deighton and Bell, 1858-61), 1, p. 500.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat because of illness on advice of Dr Venden,<sup>106</sup> Mary's physician.

### 1065

9 February 1555

**Pole – bishop of Salisbury [Salcot or Capon], Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 51v–53v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 45r, note.

Creation of John Powell as notary.<sup>107</sup>

### 1066

9 February 1555

**Pole – Petro a Lancastro,<sup>108</sup> Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 53v–54r; CUL, Add. 4841, fos 46r–47v, two nearly complete extracts.

This document tempts me to think that Pole may have shared Bartolomé Carranza's defense of indigene rights in the New World which he vociferously put forward against Philip's chaplain (and later one of Pole's chief antagonists) Bernardo Fresneda on a commission chaired by Alfonso de Castro and to which de Motiloa also belonged.<sup>109</sup> It concluded its discussions at just about this date.

License for Carlos de Motiloa,<sup>110</sup> DTh, your domestic familiar, and combatter of heretical books, to read same.

### 1067

9 February 1555

**Pole – Carlo Rinucini, Florentine layman, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 54r–v.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat in Lent.

<sup>106</sup> *Sic*; ?Thomas Wendy.

<sup>107</sup> For full formula, see no. 1059 ab.

<sup>108</sup> Pedro de Castro, bishop of Cuenca (Eubel, p. 174) and Salamanca (p. 289); cf. no. 1090 bel.

<sup>109</sup> Bartolomé de las Casas, *De regia potestate o derecho de autodeterminacion*, ed. Luciano Pereña, et al., vol. 8, *Corpus hispanorum de pace* (Madrid: CSIC, 1969), pp. xlvi–xlix and cf. Manuel Giménez Fernández, 'Fray Bartolomé de las Casas: a biographical sketch', in *Bartolomé de las Casas in history: toward an understanding of the man and his work*, ed. Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), pp. 67–125, pp. 113–14.

<sup>110</sup> Carolo a Mutilea; cf. Tellechea, *Carranza*, pp. 40–1, who identifies him as *maestro*; pp. 97–9 for his testimony, reprinted from J. I. Tellechea Idigoras, ed., *Fray Bartolomé Carranza. Documentos historicos*, 6 vols (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1962–81), 3, pp. 109–14, pp. 110–12.

**1068****10 February 1555****Pole – Mark Dingley, London diocese, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 55r-v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 48r, note; London Metropolitan Archives, DL/C/331, vicar-general's book of the consistory court of London, 1546-60, fo. 209r-v, signed by Faita.

The dispensation conforms unusually closely to the terms of Pole's faculties of 5 August 1553 which demanded testimony from one or better two physicians, and Dingley could hardly have found a more authoritative medical man than Wotton, who was also close to Pole. Pogson, pp. 218n and 221 calls the petitioner Dyngler (his name is first spelled Dinglei in DL/C/331, but later appears several times with a terminal 'y') and uses this case to demonstrate slippage between the legatine record and the petition as granted; he also claims that BMD 922 and DL/C/331 were dated on successive days.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat because of bloody flux and other complaints (detailed description). You have advice of Alban Hill and Edward Wotton. Note in DL/C/331 that petitioner presented the original dispensation by John Glyn, vicar of Lewisham, Rochester diocese, and Richard Dingley, petitioner's son, and affirmed that he lived in Northumberland Place.

**1069****10 February 1555****Pole – Nicholas [Heath], bishop of Worcester, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 70r-71v.

Absolution for schism and heresy. Standard absolution for clerk. No oath of obedience to pope.

**1070****10 February 1555****Pole – Edmund Bonner, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 113v-115r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 79r-v, extract.

Absolution for schism and heresy. Standard absolution for clerk. No oath of obedience to pope.

**1071****11 February 1555****Pole – Robert [Aldrich], bishop of Carlisle, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 56v-58v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 49r, extract.

Absolution for schism and heresy. Standard absolution for clerk. No oath of obedience to pope.

**1071a****Bef. 12 February 1555****Pole – John Kenall, n.p.**

Missing; known from PRO, PROB 29/9, fo. 13r.

Appointed Kenall, DCL, who held an unknown office in the PCC, perhaps as one of the priests who had to second Cooke acc. no. 1062 ab.,<sup>111</sup> *ad effectum excommunicandi omnes et singulas personas contumacios* [‘to the effect of excommunicating all and singular contumacious persons’].<sup>112</sup>

**1072****13 February 1555****Pole – D&C of Canterbury, Lambeth**<sup>113</sup>

MS: CCA, DCc, reg. N, fos 8v–11r; instructions for absolution fos 11r–13r. There is supposed to be another copy on fos 111r–115r of a C14 act book of the consistory court of Canterbury.<sup>114</sup>

Printed: Strype, *Cranmer*, app. no. 187 [pp. 946–50], from ‘Registr. Eccles. Cant.’; [Wharton], *Specimen*, pp. 182–7 and 187–91, no source given, but the Canterbury register referred to on p. 128, ‘Vacatio sedis metropolitanae Christi Cantuar. post depositionem Thomae Cranmer nuper archiepiscopi Cantuarensis . . . 1553, 1554 & 1555 regnorum vero Philippi & Mariae Regum, etc.’, is CCA, DCc, reg. N; reprinted from both in David Wilkins, ed., *Concilia magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols (London: Gosling, et al., 1737), 4, pp. 136–8, with instructions annexed on pp. 138–40.<sup>115</sup>

Cf. entry no. 1054 ab. which dates this 29 January 1555.

License to absolve and dispense clergy of Canterbury of schism and reconcile to Church. Same absolution for laity as for ecclesiastical persons, including regulars, clergy in whatever orders, chapters, colleges, communities, etc. and for whatever irregularities, including celebrating mass and having married, once have performed proper penance. Instructions as in no. 1054 ab.

**1073****14 February 1555****Pole – bishop of Gloucester [James Brooke] or vg [John Williams], Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 63v–65v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 54r, note, calling him Lawrence.

<sup>111</sup> If Kenall was the man ordained such in Exeter 22 May 1535 (DRO, Chanter 14, unfoliated list of ordinations at end vol.). *Emden to 1540*, p. 328 gives him no orders.

<sup>112</sup> None of the numerous declarations of contumacy explicitly refer to these powers.

<sup>113</sup> Nicholas Wotton, acc. CCA, DCc, Reg N, fo. 29v and [Wharton], *Specimen*, p. 128.

<sup>114</sup> E. Eveleigh Woodruff, ‘Notes from a fourteenth century act-book of the consistory court of Canterbury’, *Archaeologia cantiana*, 40 (1928), p. 53.

<sup>115</sup> Bonner’s version of this absolution and instructions is in John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perillous days* (London: John Day, 1563; *RSTC*, no. 11222), p. 1083, reduced in the 1570 edn, p. 1707 to the brief absolution itself.

Creation of John Lanvence, layman of Ilminster [Soms], as notary.

**1074**

**16 February 1555**

**Ercole Gonzaga – Pole, Mantua**

MS: ASM:CEG, 6507, no. 112, fo. 42v.

On long list of credentials letters for [Giulio] Cavriano,<sup>116</sup> sent to Charles V.

**1075**

**16 February 1555**

**Pole – Sir William Cecil, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 78r-v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 60r, note.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat.

**1076**

**17 February 1555**

**Pole – John Percyvall, clerk, Lincoln diocese, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 78v-79r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 61r, extract.

Since you have letters dimissory, dispensation to take orders *extra tempora*.

**1077**

**17 February 1555**

**Pole – John Cawood and Margaret Fisher, widow, married, London diocese, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 79v-80r.

Dispensation for marriage at prohibited time.<sup>117</sup>

**1078**

**17 February 1555**

**Pole – Christopher Smith, layman, notary, Lincoln diocese, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 2, fos 126r-127r.

Smith was one of the notaries at Cranmer's trial. Cf. no. 1384 bel. and 'Processus contra Thomam Cranmer' in John Strype, *Memorials of the most reverend father in God Thomas Cranmer*, ed. Philip Edward Barnes, 2 vols (London: George Routledge, 1853), 2, p. 518. He may perhaps have been the

<sup>116</sup> He was sent about the Gonzaga claims on Monferrato which they hoped to see recognized at the upcoming peace conference. ASM:AG, b. 569 (Fiandra), unfoliated, three letters of 6 and 8 March 1555. His credentials in ASM:CEG, 6507, no. 111 do not explain his mission.

<sup>117</sup> Cawood may have been the royal printer and Fisher one of his two otherwise unknown wives. *DNB*, 3, p. 1289.

Christopher Smith who was taught by Thomas Lupset, and was almost certainly the same man as the clerk of the Exchequer in 1545 and the proctor of the Arches who died in 1591.<sup>118</sup>

Creation as notary.

### 1078a

**18 February 1555**

**Pole – Sir William Woodhouse,<sup>119</sup> Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 92r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 69r, note.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat.

### 1078b

**18 February 1555**

**Pole – Edward and Elizabeth Warner, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 91v–92r; CUL, Add. 4841 fo. 69r, note.

First petitioner was prob. Sir Edward, whose wife was called Elizabeth.<sup>120</sup> Cf. no. 1878 bel.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat.

### 1079

**21 February 1555**

**Pole – Julius III, Lambeth**

MS: ASV, A. A. I–XVIII, 5358, orig. in Faita's hand and copy prob. in Fiordibello's hand.

Fiordibello also carried a letter of the next day from Secretary Petre to Sir John Mason.<sup>121</sup>

Sending *voce viva* [Fiordibello] to fill you in about English ambassadors,<sup>122</sup> public and private matters here. Fiordibello has had good success on legation and wants to return to Italy, so I send him for this as in many other things *con mia gran satisfatione, trovando sempre in lui molta fede, sufficientia, et diligentia*, ['with my great satisfaction, always finding in him much faith-fulness}, adequacy and diligence'] so reward him, not only for me, but for

<sup>118</sup> John Archer Gee, *The life and works of Thomas Lupset with a critical text of the original treatises and the letters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), pp. 124–6, citing PCC Sainberbe for Smith's will. Lupset's pupil's father was probably Andrew Smith, a Londoner, so this Christopher and Lupset's boy may not be identical.

<sup>119</sup> Norwich or London; see his entry in vol. 4.

<sup>120</sup> *DNB*, 20, pp. 849–50, p. 849.

<sup>121</sup> *CSPFor*, no. 333, p. 156.

<sup>122</sup> See no. 1108 bel.

work at Trent for [Marcello] Crescenzi earlier. Give him *piena fede* ['full faith'] in my name.

**1079a**

**21 February 1555**

**Pole – Sir Urian [*sic*; Uria] Briereton and Jane [*sic*] Bray his wife, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 95r.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat.

**1079b**

**22 February 1555**

**Pole – Mary [fitz Alan], countess of Arundel, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 96r-v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 71r, note.

Cf. no. 1125 bel. for the earl's dispensation.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat because of your nobility and devotion to papacy.

**1079c**

**23 February 1555**

**Pole – Henry and Margaret, earl and countess of Rutland, married, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 98v-99r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 72r, note.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat because of your nobility and devotion to papacy.

**1080**

**24 February 1555**

**Pole – Thomas Stanley, visitor of Sodor and Man, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 100v-101v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 73r-v, extract.

Pogson, p. 301 says Stanley was also granted benefices in commendam, but not by this document. He got powers to reconcile on the same day as his provision (no. 1054 ab.) and was confirmed by Paul IV on 21 June 1555 (ASV, Reg. vat. 1850, fos 17r-20v; ASV, Archivio concistoriale, Acta vicecancellarii, 7, fo. 265v).

Provision during sede vacante [of York] on presentation of earl of Derby.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Bishop at Derby's instance from 21 June 1555 acc. Eubel, p. 302, giving the date of his papal confirmation; provided 1510, ejected 1545; † 1576 (no source). He may have been Derby's son. See his entry in vol. 4 bel.

**1081****25 February 1555****Pole – all Christian faithful in England, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 102v–103v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 75r–v, extract; Guildhall, 9531/12, fos 402v–403r.

This dispensation was necessitated by the second bad harvest of three in a row, and the effects seem to have spilled over into 1557 as well.<sup>124</sup> Cf. no. 1872 bel.

Out of concern for poor, universal dispensation to eat prohibited foods in Lent because of dearth.

**1082****25 February 1555****Pole – bishop of Lincoln [White] or vg, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 62r–63v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 54r, note.

Creation of Thomas Pachet [or Packet] of Leicester as notary.

**1083****27 February 1555****Pole – Simon Renard, imperial ambassador, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 104v.

Calendar: cf. *CSPSp*, 13, no. 154, from Besançon.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat.

**1084****27 February 1555****Pole – Bernard, count of Ortenborg, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 104v–105r.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat.

**1085****27 February 1555****Pole – Sir John Gage, knight of Garter, Lambeth**

MS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 105r–v.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat.

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<sup>124</sup> David Loades, *The reign of Mary Tudor: politics, government and religion in England 1553–1558*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Longman, 1991), p. 267.

**1086****27 February 1555****Pole – Bonner or vg [prob. Nicholas Harpsfield], Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 107r-108v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 77r, note.

Creation of Robert Comawnder ['w' *corr. from* 'rd'?], Llandaff diocese, as notary.

**1087****27 February 1555****Pole – Gardiner or vg [Edmund Stuard], Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 108v-110r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 77r, note.

Creation of William [blank left for surname] of Winchester diocese as notary.

**1088****28 February 1555****Pole – bishop of Oxford [King] or vg [?Walter Wright], Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 110v-111v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 77r, note.

Creation of Griffin Williams, BCL, as notary.

**1089****28 February 1555****Pole – Gianpietro Carafa, London**

MS: ASV, A. A. 1-XVIII, 5412, orig.

Gardiner proposed a bishopric for Goldwell<sup>125</sup> and I will not impede. But he does not wish to offend brothers, so asks both your permission and help persuading congregation to accept his loss.<sup>126</sup>

**1089a****28 February 1555****Pole – Sir Edward and Lady Isabelle Littleton, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 112v-113r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 78r, note.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat.

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<sup>125</sup> St Asaph, in which Goldwell was consecrated in August or September (*HBC*, p. 296). He was provided by Paul IV on 1 July. ASV, Reg. vat. 1850, fos 43r-44v.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. no. 948 ab.?

**1089b****28 February 1555****Pole – John Russell, earl of Bedford, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 112r; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 78r, note.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat (very abbreviated form).

**1089c****28 February 1555****Pole – Sebastiano de Francis, Lugo diocese, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fo. 113r-v; CUL, Add. 4841, fo. 78r, note.

Dispensation to eat milk and meat.

**1090****Aft. 5 February 1555****Marcello Cervini – Pole**Missing, if written. On 5 February Pedro de Castro, bishop of Salamanca (cf. no. 1066 ab.), about to leave Naples for Trent, asked Cervini for credentials to Pole.<sup>127</sup>**1091****1 March 1555****Francisco de Navarre – Pole, Badajoz**

MS: BAV, Vat. lat. 5967, fo. 431r, orig., wrapper on 434r-v.

Printed: *ERP*, 5:33.

Pole replied in no. 1280 bel.

Encomium of Pole. Wish could help out, but since cannot, recommend Dr [Pedro del] Frago, dear friend, fellow student and traveller (especially since cannot pay him). Ask place for him in your household.

**1092****2 March 1555****Pole – Richard Pate, bishop of Worcester, Lambeth**

MSS: BMD, 922, 1, fos 121r–122r; CUL, Add. 4841, fos 83r–84r.

He was provided by Paul IV on 26 June (ASV, Reg. vat. 1850, fos 21r–23r; cf. fos 103r–104r, probably his absolution, but very difficult to read on film). Nominated bef. 5 March 1555, deprived 26 June 1559 (*HBC*, p. 280). Cf. ASM:AG, b. 569 (Fiandra), unfoliated, Guglielmo Cavagliate – duke of Mantua, Brussels, 12 February 1555, reporting that Worcester had gone to an old Franciscan, apparently a confusion of Pate and William Peto, but the date for the news of Pate's nomination is probably still correct.

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<sup>127</sup> ASF:CC, 47, fo. 69r.