



Lambeth Palace Library
Research Guide
Reginald Pole





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Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury (1500-1558)

1	Biography of Reginald Pole (1500-1558).....	2
1.1	1550-1527: Birth and Education.....	2
1.2	1527-1536: The Divorce of Henry VIII and <i>De Unitate</i>	2
1.3	1536-1546: Legate to the Council of Trent	3
1.4	1546-1553: The Conclave of Julius III	3
1.5	1555-1557: Archbishop of Canterbury.....	3
1.6	1557-1558: Final Years.....	4
2	Archives and Manuscripts.....	4
2.1	Manuscript material.....	4
2.2	Works	4
2.3	Letters.....	5
2.4	Administrative Documents	5
2.4.1	Documents Created by Pole's Archiepiscopal Administration.....	5
2.4.2	Documents Relating to Pole in his Role as Archbishop	6
2.5	Contemporary Manuscripts which Mention Pole	6
2.6	Modern Manuscripts which Mention Pole.....	7
2.6.1	Correspondence on Pole's Vestments	7
2.6.2	Documents Relating to Research Projects Involving Pole	7
2.7	Archives and Manuscripts Held by Other Repositories.....	8
3	Printed Material	8
3.1	Works by Pole.....	8
3.2	Single Editions	8
3.2.1	<i>De Unitate</i>	8
3.2.2	<i>De Concilio</i>	9
3.2.3	Exhortation to the Council of Trent. [Pole's opening sermon to the Council] 9	
3.2.4	<i>De Summo Pontifice</i>	9

3.2.5	De Sacramento	9
3.2.6	Reformatio Angliae.....	9
3.3	Letters.....	10
3.4	Works in General Collections.....	10
3.5	Doubtful Works	10
3.6	Works Authorised by Pole.....	11
3.7	Works Owned by Pole	11
3.8	Works About Pole and his Writings	11
4	Works Published before 1700.....	11
5	Works Published After 1700	12
6	General Works which Mention Pole.....	14
6.1	Sixteenth Century	14
6.2	Seventeenth Century	14
6.3	Eighteenth Century	15
6.4	Nineteenth Century.....	15
7	Images	16
7.1	Portrait Images	16
7.2	Portraits: Painted	16
7.3	Portraits: Prints and Images in Printed Books	16
7.4	Miscellaneous Images	17
7.4.1	Autograph and Seals.....	17
7.4.2	Lambeth Palace	17
7.4.3	Archiepiscopal Tomb in Canterbury Cathedral	18

1 Biography of Reginald Pole (1500-1558)

This biographical sketch aims to provide the basic contexts—historical, political and religious—for the works described in the rest of the guide. For a fuller introduction to Pole’s life and work consult the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; 60 vols), vol.44, pp.715-726 (JT773.O9 [R]).

1.1 1550-1527: Birth and Education

The son of a prominent Yorkist family and a cousin of Henry VIII, Reginald Pole was born in March 1500 near to the centre of English political power. After periods of education, partly financed by the King, at Magdalen College, Oxford (1512-1519) and the University of Padua (1521-1526) he arrived back in England in 1527 where he was expected to begin a life of public service.

1.2 1527-1536: The Divorce of Henry VIII and *De Unitate*

In 1529 Pole received his first diplomatic mission from Henry—to secure a (positive) judgement from the University of Paris on the King’s divorce. Pole succeeded; but a private disagreement with Henry, the nature of which remains obscure, caused him

to leave England for Padua in 1532 without the honours which should have crowned this achievement. It was during this second stay in Padua that Pole developed the theology which, in essentials, he would retain throughout his life—a Protestant stance emphasising scripture and justification by faith. He also began the work known as *De Unitate*. Written in response to an explicit command from Henry that Pole give his opinion on the morality of resisting the pope's instructions on the divorce, this work offers a qualified defence of papal supremacy. A version was sent to the King in 1536.

1.3 1536-1546: Legate to the Council of Trent

On 22 December 1536 Pole was made a cardinal; during the next six years, a period in which his relationship with Henry deteriorated irreparably, he was entrusted with various commissions by Pope Paul III. The next important event in his life came in 1542 when Paul appointed him legate to the Council of Trent—the doctrinal committee which would, ultimately, define orthodoxy for the Catholic Church. In the period between the suspension of the first session of the Council and its reopening in 1545 Pole wrote *De Concilio*, the work in which he reflects on the characteristics of an ideal church council. He also wrote the opening sermon to the Council which was delivered on 7 January 1546.

Beyond this, however, Pole contributed little to the Council and actually withdrew from it on 28 June 1546—before the key debate, on whether justification was effected by faith or by works, had fully begun. He gave as his reason ill health; but his retreat may also have been motivated by the consciousness that his own theology was incompatible with the statement of orthodoxy which would finally be agreed upon at Trent. When in September 1546 Paul demanded his opinion on a draft of the statement, Pole rejected its emphasis on justification by works over faith—a declaration which cast doubt on his orthodoxy later.

1.4 1546-1553: The Conclave of Julius III

Immediately however, Pole did not suffer any ill consequences. From 1546 Paul continued to use him to implement policies for ecclesiastical reform; and when the Pope died in 1549 Pole was tipped as his successor. But at the subsequent conclave, despite being a leading candidate until the final ballot, he was not elected. Above several other contributory factors—his denunciation as a heretic by fellow cardinal Gianpietro Carafa; concerted opposition to him among the French voters; his general unpopularity as a non-Italian—Pole's refusal to promote his own candidature was the fundamental cause of his failure. His attitude to these events is suggested by the work he produced during the two months of the conclave, *De Summo Pontifice*, which argues that the only satisfactory candidate for the papal office would be a man of such surpassing humility that, if offered the position, he would refuse it. Under the new pope, Julius III, Pole's standing among the cardinals remained high; and when Mary Tudor acceded to the English throne in 1553 he was appointed legate for the restoration of the Catholic Church in his native country.

1.5 1555-1557: Archbishop of Canterbury

After eighteen months of delay Pole arrived in Dover on 20 November 1555. Eight days later he delivered an address to Parliament in which he enumerated the miseries England had suffered since straying from the Catholic Church. At this time Pole also played a minor part in the trial of the reigning Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who had acquiesced in Henry's decision to sever the English church from Rome and now stood accused of heresy. Pole's most important

intervention in the affair was to write two letters to Cranmer, both on controversial points of doctrine, in an attempt to convert him. One of these was later published as *De Sacramento*.

Following an official papal condemnation of Cranmer, Pole was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury on 11 December 1555. He immediately set about reforming the English Church, aiming to disseminate his instructions via a synod which he had opened a few days before becoming primate. One of the most important decrees of the synod, which were later published as *Reformatio Angliae*, was an order that visitations be made in all dioceses. Another was a call for sermons written in English and suitable for poorly educated priests; some of the twenty or so sermons that Pole produced at this time may have been written with this aim in mind.

1.6 1557-1558: Final Years

The reigning pope in the last years of Pole's life, Paul IV, was the same Gianpietro Carafa who had accused him of heresy in the conclave of Julius III. At first relations between the two men were cordial; but on 9 April 1557, motivated partly by political considerations and partly by mounting charges of heresy against Pole, the Pope revoked the legatine powers of his English archbishop and recalled him to Rome. In the event, however, Pole contracted his final illness before he could be reclaimed by the Inquisition. He died, a few hours after Mary Tudor, on 17 November 1558.

2 Archives and Manuscripts

This section introduces archives and manuscripts relating to Pole. For the context in which these documents were created see section I above. Dates given in square brackets refer to the original text—of which the document held by the Library may be a later copy.

2.1 Manuscript material

The 3,600 folio pages of manuscript left behind by Pole—probably only a small proportion of his original output—attest to his career as a compulsive writer. Most of his personal papers are in other repositories; but the Library does hold several manuscripts of works and letters by Pole, some in his own hand, which are described in this section. For a comprehensive catalogue of all Pole's manuscripts consult:

Mayer, Thomas Frederick, *A Reluctant Author: Cardinal Pole and his Manuscripts*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (1999) 89:4 (H5198.P6M2)

2.2 Works

MS 2006, ff.32-58v [1555]
Title: "Pro instauratione reipublicae Anglorum proque reditu reverendissimi simul et nobilissimi viri Reginaldi Poli. ... Oratio ad prudentissimum senatum Anglorum. Authore Jodoco Harchio Montensi." A version of the address given by Pole to the English Parliament.

MS 2007, ff.244-258 [1555]
A Latin copy of the letter on the doctrine of the Eucharist, later named *De Sacramento*, sent by Pole to Archbishop Cranmer before his execution.

MS 4874, ff.192-263
De Concilio and *De Baptismo Constantini*

2.3 Letters

MS 4240 [1539]
Three letters in Italian from Pole to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese concerning the religious situation in England, the “tyranny” of Henry VIII and Pole’s unsuccessful attempt to persuade Charles V to raise an army to restore England to the obedience of the Church. The letters are signed by Pole with the text in the hand of his secretary Ludovico Beccadelli.

MS 1499 [1553-1554]
Title: “Negotiati delle Legationi del Cardinale Reginaldo Polo mandato da Papa Giulio III in Inghilterra per la reduttione di quel regno all’obediencia della Sede Apostolica et in Francia per trattar la pace tra’ Henrico II e Carlo V Imperatore, l’anno MDLIII.” A seventeenth century manuscript containing transcriptions of Pole’s correspondence in Italian and Latin relating to his 1553 legation to England as well as some sermons and works.

MS 3996, f.1 [1558]
Fragment of a letter from Pole to the clergy requesting that Roger Walpole be summoned before him or his Court of Audience. On vellum; re-used as a seal tag.

MS 4874 1534-1558 and nd
Letterbook, containing copies of 87 letters from Pole to popes, cardinals, heads of state and others.
With copies of two works by Pole, *De Concilio* and *De Baptismo Constantini*
Italy, 16th century

MS 5200 1539
Letter from Pole, at Carpentras, to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; written in the hand of Beccadelli. Pole expresses concern at the time it has taken for his correspondence to reach Rome.

2.4 Administrative Documents

The Library holds many of the surviving archives created by Pole’s archiepiscopal administration during the period 1555-1558—in this context, therefore, ‘Pole’ does not denote an individual but rather an organisation comprising the archbishop and his staff. Also included in this section are documents created by third parties which relate to Pole in his official capacity as Archbishop.

2.4.1 Documents Created by Pole’s Archiepiscopal Administration

The Register of Reginald Pole [1556-1558]
The Register, which constitutes the central record of administration of the province and diocese of Canterbury, is the principal source of information about the business transacted by Pole’s archiepiscopal office. The Library also holds a microfilm of the Register from which reproductions can be made (MS Film 710).

CM LII/15 [30 June 1556]
An acta; a notarial copy of a commission to Thomas Kempe LD to hear the appeal in the Court of Arches case of Edmund and Anne Bardolph v John Dartknall.

VG 4/2 [July-September 1556]
Title: “Acta habita et facta super reformacione compertorum et detectorum in visitatione ordinaria”. An Act Book from the visitations ordered by Pole; it records the

presentments made at the visitation with notes of the parties' appearance in court.

VG 4/3 [1557-1559]
Title: "Ex officio: defalcaciones". An Act Book from the visitations ordered by Pole; it records acts of court arising from Pole's visitation tried before the Commissary General Robert Collins.

CM/II/71 [1557]
A Certificate of John Gwyneth, vicar of Luton, to Pole of the performance of a mandate concerning the hearing of a testamentary case at Chalgrave, Bedfordshire.

CM V/1 [undated]
A list of entries from the Registers of Archbishops Warham, Pole, Parker and Cranmer of institutions to the church of Hayes, Croydon deanery; on the second page is a list of advowsons once belonging to the archbishop and now exchanged.

2.4.2 Documents Relating to Pole in his Role as Archbishop

CM/VI/115 [20 August 1557]
A Licence by King Philip and Queen Mary to Pole to maintain a hundred persons in addition to his usual household servants.

CM IV/1 [5 November 1558]
Letters patent of grant from King Philip and Queen Mary to Pole of advowsons, rectories and vicarages—a consideration of £1,000. The document has a decorated initial containing a portrait sketch of Philip and Mary.

MS 3534, f. 112 [1608]
An account of grants made to Pole.

CM/II/73a [undated]
A copy of a letter from Archbishop Matthew Parker to Sir Walter Mildmay concerning arrears payable by Pole.

2.5 Contemporary Manuscripts which Mention Pole

In addition to archives and manuscripts created by Pole—either privately or in his role as archbishop—the Library also holds several manuscript collections which illuminate the historical situation in which he worked. Such was Pole's importance in his own century that the amount of potentially relevant material is, to say the least, substantial. By way of an introduction this section describes two contemporary manuscripts which make specific mention of him.

MS 3194, f.203 [4 December 1555]
A letter from Sir Thomas Gargrave to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President in the North. Gargrave comments on the fact that "the Cardinal" is frequently at Court and that Philip II has yet to arrive in England.

MS 3470, f.91 [24 September 1588]
A letter from Thomas Stapleton to Cardinal William Allen. Stapleton describes letters by Pole, one of them intended for Archbishop Cranmer, which were given to him by John Harris, secretary to Thomas More.

2.6 Modern Manuscripts which Mention Pole

In these records—unlike the material described in section II.3 above—Pole features not as an active political figure but as a character from history. The items selected as examples for this section provide an interesting, and sometimes amusing, insight into the way in which his biographical image has been shaped by research projects, interest groups and chance events.

2.6.1 Correspondence on Pole's Vestments

When in 1757 a set of liturgical vestments and an ornate crucifix were discovered in Lambeth Palace Library a myth concerning Pole's ownership of the items quickly developed. It was not until the twentieth century, and the intervention of experts from the Victoria and Albert Museum, that the myth was finally exploded.

MS 2214, f.6

[30 August 1757]

A draft letter from A C Ducarel, Librarian of Lambeth Palace Library, to Archbishop Hutton reporting the discovery of the items. He writes: "As my clerk was sorting the MSS there, on removing some large books which lay under the Table, amongst a heap of old Papers, he found a small bundle tied up which he at first took to be a piece of leather, but on opening it was found to contain the following particulars [...] Possibly my Lord it may have lain there ever since Cardinal Pole's time, & might once belong either to that Prelate or some of his Chaplains."

MS 3349, ff.98-107

[August 1924]

A report by F C Eeles of the Victoria and Albert Museum on the vestments. Eeles provides a full description of each item; suggests the probable location and date of its manufacture; and, on this basis, concludes: "That none of these vestments or ornaments belonged to Cardinal Pole is abundantly clear."

Ramsey Papers 9, f.120

[14 December 1961]

A copy of a letter to Sir Mortimer Warren of the Church Commissioners requesting funding for the repair of the vestments and for improvements to the exhibition case in which they are displayed. Despite the fact that the Eeles report was commissioned 37 years previously the author of this letter still associates the vestments with Pole. Evidently the myth started by Ducarel had a stubborn afterlife.

2.6.2 Documents Relating to Research Projects Involving Pole

Even before the advent of modern biographical scholarship Pole was the quarry of researchers—his opinions being regarded as of continuing relevance to contemporary ecclesiastical issues. In later years, when biographical scholarship on Pole began in earnest, Lambeth Palace Library became an essential resource for students of the Cardinal. Below are three examples of records which illustrate the different types of research which have been undertaken here at Lambeth.

MS 1998, f.131

[12-14 August 1756]

A copy of a reply by A C Ducarel, Librarian of Lambeth Palace Library, to an enquiry made by Archbishop Secker. The subject of Secker's enquiry is the whereabouts of a papal Bull "confirming the Doings of Cardinal Poole, touching assurance of Abbey Lands". The restoration to the Church of lands seized under Henry VIII, a cause for which Pole had campaigned, continued to be a live issue into the eighteenth century.

Benson Papers 48, ff.317-320

[October-December 1887]

Copies of letters and newspaper cuttings relating to *Reginald Pole* by F G Lee. In the

first letter Lee thanks Archbishop Benson for accepting his biography. The cuttings include a review of the book in the *Westminster and Lambeth Gazette* and the periodical *John Bull*. The Library holds a copy of the biography; refer to section III.5 for further information.

Benson Papers 135, ff.184-185

[8 July 1895]

A letter from the Bishop of Stepney, Chairman of the Church Historical Society, to Archbishop Benson on Pole's records. He requests that an "exhaustive enquiry" be made into the records in order to ascertain "whether there are any indications of the acceptance of Orders conferred in accordance with the Edwardian rite". Many of the reform measures introduced in the reign of Edward VI sought to align the English Church with Protestantism.

2.7 Archives and Manuscripts Held by Other Repositories

The peripatetic nature of Pole's life had its effect on the distribution of his archive—parts of which, as Mayer writes in *A Reluctant Author*, "wound up almost literally strewn across Europe" (p. 15). In England the major collections of Pole manuscripts aside from Lambeth Palace Library are:

The British Library (papers; transcriptions of correspondence in Italian)

Cambridge University Library (correspondence)

The National Archives (correspondence with various popes and monarchs)

3 Printed Material

3.1 Works by Pole

Gentlemanly prejudice and the fear that any fixed record of his opinions would be exploited by his enemies conspired to make Pole distrustful of the press. Consequently, most of the works listed below were not published by Pole himself but appeared after his death at the instigation of those anxious to defend or defame his image. In addition, many of the works created by 'Pole' were in fact composite productions—the result of discussion between Pole and members of his immediate circle who also provided sections of the final text. It is with caution, then, that the following list should be used.

3.2 Single Editions

Individual works are listed under uniform titles; for convenience modern scholarly editions and translations are also included. The historical context in which these works were produced is described in section I above. For a comprehensive catalogue of published editions of works by Pole consult:

Mayer, Thomas Frederick, *A Reluctant Author: Cardinal Pole and his Manuscripts*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (1999) 89:4 (H5198.P6M2)

3.2.1 De Unitate.

Pole, Reginald, *Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis Britannii, ad Henricū Octavum Britanniae Regem, pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione, libri quatuor* (Rome, 1538). (H1805.(P6) [**])

_____, *Oratio ... qua Caesaris animum accendere conatur ... ut adversum eos, qui nomen Evangelio dederunt, arma sumat ...* (Venice, 1554). (H820.P6 2.02)

_____, *The seditious and blasphemous oration of Cardinal Pole both against God and his cōuntry ...; translated into Englysh by Fabuane Wythers ...* (London, 1560).
STC 20087 [An edition which seeks to portray Pole as a traitor.] (ZZ)1550.06.07

_____, *Reginaldi Poli cardinalis Britannii ad Henricum Octavum Britanniae regem, pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione libri quatuor ... quis & quantus vir his Polus fuerit, lectorem, verbis Pauli Manutii, praefatio docebit.* (Ingolstadt, 1587).
H5067.A5(P6); Sion ARC A 69.2 P 76

_____, *Pole's defense of the unity of the Church; translated with introduction, by Joseph G. Dwyer.* (Westminster, Maryland, 1965). (H9.P6; KA331.P6)

3.2.2 De Concilio

Pole, Reginald, *De Concilio liber Reginaldi Poli cardinalis. (De baptismo Constantini Magni imperatoris)* (Rome, 1562). (H820.P6 1.01; H820.P6 2.01)

_____, *Libri duo ... primus liber de Concilio agit, alter de Reformatione Angliae ... decreta describit. Interseritur ... disputatio de baptismo Constantini ...* (Dillingen, 1562). G720.(P6); Sion ARC A 40.1 P 76 [8o]

3.2.3 Exhortation to the Council of Trent. [Pole's opening sermon to the Council]

Pole, Reginald, *Causes of Christian Disunion: Cardinal Pole's legatine address at the opening of the Council of Trent, 7 January, 1546.* (London, 1936). H19.(P6); H1493 3.05

3.2.4 De Summo Pontifice

Pole, Reginald, *De Summo Pontifice Christi in terris vicario ...* (Louvain, 1569).
(H1805.P6)

3.2.5 De Sacramento

Pole, Reginald, *Epistola de sacramento Eucharistiae. Nunc primum in lucem edita, opera Deodati Quistri Cremonensis.* (Cremona, 1584) (Sion ARC A 69.11 T 45 [8o])

3.2.6 Reformatio Angliae

Pole, Reginald, *Reformatio Angliae, ex decretis Reginaldi Poli cardinalis, Sedis Apostolicae legati, anno 1556* (Rome, 1562). (H820.P6 1.02; Sion ARC A 83.2ag P 75 [4o])

_____, *Libri duo ... primus liber de Concilio agit, alter de Reformatione Angliae ... decreta describit. Interseritur ... disputatio de baptismo Constantini ...* (Dillingen, 1562). G720.(P6); Sion ARC A 40.1 P76 [8o]

_____, *The reform of England, by the decrees of Cardinal Pole, legate of the Apostolic See, promulgated in the year of grace 1556; translated from the original Aldine edition, as published at Rome in 1562, by Henry Raikes, with an introductory essay on the character and times of the author.* (Chester, 1839). (H820.P6)

3.3 Letters

The Library also holds several manuscript letters by Pole; refer to section II.1 above for further information

Pole, Reginald, *Copia delle lettere del sereniss. re d'Inghilterra & del reerendiss. Card. Polo ... sopra la riduzione di ql regno alla unione della Santa Madre Chiesa & obediencia della sede apostolica.* (Rome, 1554). H5067.(P6) [**]

_____, *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli ... et aliorum ad ipsum. Pars I - V* ed. Angelo Maria Querini (Brescia, 1744-1757). [Includes a biography of Pole by the editor.] H5198.P6P6; Sion A 88.9d P 95 [4o]

_____, *The correspondence of Reginald Pole [by] Thomas F. Mayer.* (Aldershot, 2002-, in progress). H5198.P6M2

_____, *Six documents relating to Queen Mary's restoration of the grand priories of England and Ireland; being a translation into English, together with an introduction and notes, by Colonel E.J. King.* (Bristol, 1935). [Letters by Pole on "the restoration of the Order of St John in England and Ireland during the reign of Queen Mary" (p. 3).] H5192.K5

3.4 Works in General Collections

Many of Pole's works take epistolary form; because of this the two main collections of his letters, edited by Mayer and Querini and described in section III.1.b above, are also important sources for reprintings and summaries of several of the uniform titles listed in II.1.a above. The Library also holds some general document collections which contain works by Pole including:

Bibliotheca maxima pontificia in qua authores meliores notae qui hactenus pro Sancta Romana Sede, tum theologice tum canonice scripserunt, fere omnes continentur, promovente aequae suppeditante illustriss. et excellentiss. D.D. Fr. Ioanne Thoma de Rocaberti ... ed. Juan Tomas de Rocaberti (Rome, 1698-1699; 21 vols). H1805.R6

Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio ... ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, (Florence, 1759-). H825.M2

3.5 Doubtful Works

Tractatus de justificatione. [Possibly written by Pole in the period 1542-1546 in response to the debate on justification then taking place at the Council of Trent.]

Pole, Reginald, *A treatie of iustification founde emong the writinges of Cardinal Pole ... Item, certaine translations touching the said matter of iustification ...* (Louvain, 1569). (ZZ)1569.5

_____, *A treatise of justification. Founde emong the writinges of Cardinal Pole of blessed memorie, remaining in the custodie of M. Henrie Pynning chamberlaine and general revceiver to the said Cardinal, late deceased in Lovaine. Item, certaine translations touching the said matter of justification, the titles whereof, see in the page folowing ...* trans. Copley, Sir Thomas (Ilkley, 1976). H1492.E6

3.6 Works Authorised by Pole

An uniforme and catholyke prymer in Latin and Englishe ... newly set forth by certayne of the cleargye with the assente of ... the Lorde Cardinall Pole ... (London, 1555). STC 16060 [An edition of the Use of Sarum authorised by Pole in 1555.] (ZZ)1555.06

3.7 Works Owned by Pole

Valeriano Bolzani, Giovanni Pierio, *Hieroglyphica, sive de Sacris Aegyptiorum literis comentarii* (Basel, 1556). [Acquired by the Library in 2003, the attribution of provenance rests on the Cardinal's hat and cross and initials "R C P" painted onto the title page.] SJ1131.V2

3.8 Works About Pole and his Writings

The following list describes the major secondary works relating to Pole held by the Library. Different editions of the same work are listed under a uniform title. For a useful survey of secondary material on Pole, including analyses of individual works, consult:

Mayer, Thomas Frederick, *Reginald Pole: prince and prophet*, [by] Thomas F. Mayer. (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 356-386 H5198.P6M2

4 Works Published before 1700

Starkey, Thomas, *A dialogue between Pole and Lupset*. [Starkey was one of Pole's clients; and in this work he praises his patron as an expert on European politics.]

_____, *A dialogue between Reginald Pole & Thomas Lupset, by Thomas Starkey; edited by Kathleen M. Burton ...* (London, 1948). H5130.(B8)

_____, *A dialogue between Pole and Lupset, [by] Thomas Starkey; edited by T.F. Mayer.* (London, 1989). KA20.C2 [R]

Tunstall, Cuthbert, *A letter written by Cuthbert Tunstall, late bishop of Duresme, and John Stokesley, sometime byshop of London, sente unto Reginalde Pole ...* (London, 1560). STC 24321 [A polemical letter against Pole by two of Henry VIII's advisers.] (ZZ)1553.02.03

Beccadelli, Lodovico, *Vita del cardinale Reginaldo Polo*. [An important early biography of Pole—unfortunately not held by the Library—which emphasises his constancy and depicts him as a "Christian gentleman".]

_____, *Vita Reginaldi Poli, Britanni ... cardinalis, et Cantuariensis archiepiscopi* (Venice, 1563). [A Latin translation of Beccadelli, published before the original, by Andras Dudith in collaboration with Gianbattista Binardi. It differs sufficiently from its source to be called an original biography.] H820.P6 1.03; H5198.P6B3

_____, *Vita Reginaldi Poli cardinalis ac Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et Acta disceptationis inter legatos Angliae & Galliae in Concilio Constantiensi ... Libri rarissimi ...; editi ... per Henricum Wharton.* (London, 1696). Wing B1641A H5198.P6B3

_____, *The life of cardinal Reginald Pole, written originally in Italian, by Lodovico*

Beccatelli, archbishop of Ragusa; and now first translated into English ... To which is added, an appendix, setting forth the plagiarisms, false translations, and false grammar in Thomas Phillips's History of the life of Reginald Pole, by the reverend Benjamin Pye ... (London, 1766). [Includes biographical notes by Pye.] H5198.P6B3

Coventry, Sir William [Gilbert Burnet], *A letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving an account of Cardinal Pool's secret powers: from which it appears that it was never intended to confirm the alienation of the abbey-lands. To which are added, two breves that Card. Pool brought over, and some other of his letters, that were never before printed.* (London, 1685). Wing C6631 [This pamphlet concerns Pole's opinion on the ownership of lands and property confiscated from the church in the reign of Henry VIII.] H5133 25.06; H5133 262.04

Joyner, William, *Some observations upon the life of Reginaldus Polus, cardinal, of the royal blood of England; sent in a paquet out of Wales by G.L., gentleman, and servant to the late Majesty of Henrietta Maria of Bourbon, mother to the present King.* (London, 1686). Wing J1160 [A positive account designed to restore Pole to favour in England.] H5198.P6B3; Sion ARC A 88.2a P 75

5 Works Published After 1700

Phillips, Thomas, *The history of the life of Reginald Pole. ... By Thomas Phillips.* (Oxford, 1764). ESTC t087585 [A hagiographical biography by a Jesuit author. It is mainly plagiarised from Querini's edition of Pole's letters.] H5198.P6P4

Neve, Timothy, *Animadversions upon Mr. Phillips's History of the life of Cardinal Pole. By Timothy Neve, ...* (Oxford, 1766). ESTC t071415 H5198.P6N3

Stone, Edward, *Remarks upon the history of the life of Reginald Pole. By Edward Stone, clerk, A.M. and late fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.* (Oxford, 1766). ESTC t169040 H5198.P6S8

Ridley, Gloucester, *A review of Mr. Phillips's History of the life of Reginald Pole. By Gloucester Ridley, LL.B.* (London, 1766). ESTC t144386 H5198.P6R5

Phillips, Thomas, *An appendix to the History of the life of Cardinal Pole. With some remarks on the chief objections which have been made to it.* (Dublin, 1773). ESTC t189916 [A reply to attacks on his 1764 biography by Neve, Ridley and others.] D55 44.01

Hook, Walter Farquhar, *Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury ...* (London, 1860-1884; 12 vols), 8 [new series, 3]. [Possibly the most negative account of Pole ever written.] H5198.A1H6

Stewart, Agnes M, *The life of Cardinal Pole, by Agnes M. Stewart.* (London, 1882). H5198.P6S8

Lee, Frederick George, *Reginald Pole, a cardinal archbishop of Canterbury: an historical sketch, with an introductory prologue and practical epilogue ...* (London, 1888). [See section II.4 above for related archival material.] H5198.P6L3

Baxter, Dudley, *Cardinal Pole: a memoir ...* (London, 1901). H5198.P6B2; KA670.K3 11.02

- Woodcock, Catherine Mary Antony, *The angelical cardinal, Reginald Pole ... by C.M.Antony; with a preface by Father Robert Hugh Benson*. (London, 1909). H5198.P6A6
- Hallé, Marie, *Life of Reginald Pole, by Martin Haile*. (London, 1910). H5198.P6H2
- Gasquet, Francis Aidan, *Cardinal Pole and his early friends, by Cardinal Gasquet*. (London, 1927). H5198.P6G2
- Schenk, Wilhelm, *Reginald Pole, cardinal of England ...* (London, 1950). H5198.P6S2
- Williamson, Hugh Ross, *The cardinal in exile, [by] Hugh Ross Williamson*. (London, 1967). [Prose fiction based on Pole's life.] H5198.P6W5
- Fenlon, Dermot, *Heresy and obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter-Reformation*. (London, 1972). H5198.P6F3
- Tellechea Idigoras, José Ignacio, *Fray Bartolome Carranza y el Cardenal Pole: un navarro en la restauración católica de Inglaterra, 1554-1558, [by] J. Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras*. (Pamplona, 1977). H5067.T3; H4705.C2(T3)
- Friedenslegation des Reginald Pole zu Kaiser Karl V und König Heinrich II, 1553-1556; im Auftrag des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom...* ed. Heinrich Lutz (Tübingen, 1981). KD178.P6
- Dainotti Cerutti, Maria Teresa, *La via media: Reginald Pole, 1500-1558, [by] Maria Teresa Dainotti*. (Bologna, 1987). H5198.P6D2
- Richardson, A J, 'Cardinal Pole's visitation in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, 1556', *Records of Huntingdonshire: the journal of the Huntingdonshire Local History Society* (1997-1998) 3:6. KA670.H8
- Mayer, Thomas Frederick, *A reluctant author: Cardinal Pole and his manuscripts*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (1999) 89:4. [A catalogue of Pole's manuscripts; printed editions of the manuscripts are also listed.] H5198.P6M2
- _____, *Cardinal Pole in European context: a via media in the Reformation, [by] Thomas F. Mayer*. (Aldershot, 2000). H5198.P6M2
- Woolfson, Jonathan, *Reginald Pole and his Greek manuscripts in Oxford: a reconsideration*. (Oxford, 2000). H5198.P6W6
- Mayer, Thomas Frederick, *Reginald Pole: prince and prophet, [by] Thomas F. Mayer*. (Cambridge, 2000). [The latest full length biography of Pole.] H5198.P6M2
- Tellechea Idigoras, José Ignacio, *La legación del Cardenal R. Pole (1553-54): cuando Inglaterra volvió a ser católica; [introducción y notas de] J. Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras*, *Bibliotheca Oecumenica Salmanticensis* (2002). H5198.P6I3
- Pierce, Hazel Morgan, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, 1473-1541, : loyalty, lineage and leadership, [by] Hazel Pierce*. (Cardiff, 2003). [A biography of Pole's mother.] H5198.P6P5

6 General Works which Mention Pole

A leading political and religious figure of the sixteenth century, Pole is discussed frequently in standard histories and reference works from his own time onwards. Taken together these works represent an important facet of his historiography; and the following list offers a selection of the most influential published up to 1900.

Only the earliest editions held by the Library are listed. Page references are given for works in more than two volumes.

6.1 Sixteenth Century

Giovio, Paulo, *Descriptio Britanniae, Scotiae, Hyberniae, et Orchadum, ex libro Pauli Iovii ...* (Venice, 1548). [This work contains one of the few biographical accounts of Pole to appear in his lifetime; it focuses on his relationship with Henry VIII.] KA610.G5; Sion B 42.0 J 82 [4o]

Foxe, John, *Actes and Monuments* (1563). [The first edition delivers an unequivocal condemnation of Pole; but in the 1570 edition, following the discovery of evidence relating to his subject's lenient treatment of heretics, Foxe felt compelled to give a more balanced judgement.]

_____, *Actes and monuments ...* (London, 1563). STC 11222 H5067.A5(F6) [**]; Sion ARC A 82.7 F 83 (1563)

_____, *The first (-second) volume of the ecclesiastical history contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of thynges passed ... especially in the Church of England ... newly recognised and enlarged by the author ...* (London, 1570; 2 vols). Sion ARC A 82.7 F 83 (1570)

Parker, Matthew, *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae & privilegiis ecclīa Cantuariensis cū eiusdem archiep̄is 70*. (London, 1572-1574). STC 19292 [A negative account which brands Pole as the archetypal *inglese italianato, diavolo incarnato*—an Englishman seduced, corrupted and effeminised by Italian Catholicism.] MS 959

Thevet, André, *Pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens ...* (Paris, 1584). [Thevet defends Pole against the charge of Lutheranism.] JT142.(T4) [*]

Sanders, Nicholas, *Doctissimi viri Nicolai Sanderi, de origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani ...; editus & auctus per Edovardum Rishtonum ...* (Cologne, 1585). [An influential text for later writers on Pole partly based on Dudith's 1563 biography. In later editions of this work Pole becomes its central figure.] H5067.(S2)

6.2 Seventeenth Century

Paolo, Servita [Pietro Sarpi], *Historiae concilii Tridentini libri octo, ex Italicis summa fide et accuratone Latini facti ...* (London, 1620). [Sarpi provides an account of Pole's actions at the Council of Trent.] Sion A40.3 T72 SL [Fo]

Imperialis, Joannis, *Museum historicum, virorum litteris illustrium elogia vitas eorundem et mores potantis complexum, praemissa praefatione J.A. Fabricii* (Hamburg, 1711). [First published in 1640. The biography of Pole examines his relationship with Gianpietro Carafa—later Pope Paul IV.] Sion L 22.1a Al 5

Fuller, Thomas, *The history of the worthies of England, endeavoured by Thomas Fuller*. (London, 1662). Wing F2440 [This contains a short biography which collates various satirical attacks on Pole.] KA90.(F8)

Chacón, Alfonso, *Vitae et res gestae pontificum romanorum et S.R.E. cardinalium ab initio nascentis ecclesiae usque ad Clementem IX Alphonsi Ciaconii ... & aliorum opera descriptae ... ab Augustino Oldoino Societatis Iesu recognitae ...* (Rome, 1677; 3rd edition). [The biography of Pole—a synthesis of more than 40 sources—is one of the most thoroughly researched in this century.] H953.(C4) [*]

Burnet, Gilbert, *The history of the Reformation of the Church of England. The first part, of the progress made in it during the reign of K. Henry the VIII ...* (London, 1679). Wing B5797 [Burnet offers a balanced assessment of Pole's character; unusually, he also praises the reform measures Pole attempted to introduce while archbishop of Canterbury.] H5067.(B8)

6.3 Eighteenth Century

Collier, Jeremy, *An ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, chiefly of England: ... to the end of the reign of King Charles the Second. With a brief account of the affairs of religion in Ireland. ...* By Jeremy Collier, ... (London, 1708-1714). ESTC t145339 [The Catholic Collier offers a positive biography of Pole.] H5033.(C6) [*]

Schellhorn, Johann Georg, *Jo. Georgii Schelhornii amoenitates historiae ecclesiasticae et literariae ...* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1737-1738; 2 vols). [Schellhorn implies in this work that Pole is best regarded as a Protestant—a suggestion which drew replies from several Catholic writers.] D143.S2

Tanner, Thomas, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica: sive, de scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia ad saeculi XVII initium floruerunt ...* (London, 1748). ESTC t097217 [The short biography includes a list of sources and bibliography of Pole's works.] Z2002.(T2) [*]; Sion L 22.2 T 15 [Fol]

Hume, David, *The history of England from the invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution of 1688 ... New edition ... to which is prefixed a short account of his life, written by himself*. (London, 1864; 5 vols), 3, pp. 359-366. [First published in 1759. Against earlier writers who had attacked Pole for his part in the burning of Cranmer, Hume portrays him as a model of toleration.] KA30.(H8)

6.4 Nineteenth Century

Lodge, Edmund, *Portraits of illustrious personages of Great Britain. Engraved from authentic pictures ... with biographical and historical memoirs*. (London, 1835; 12 vols), 1, pp. 252-263. [Lodge suggests that Pole is admirable for his good character rather than for his (limited) achievements—a view which has proved persistent.] KA28.(L6) [*]; Sion B 44.2 L82 [8o]

Moroni, Gaetano, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica ...* (Venice, 1840-1861; 103 vols), 53, pp. 40-42. [An account which, unusually, praises Pole's political skills.] H841.(M6)

7 Images

This section introduces portrait images of Pole—and other images which relate to him.

7.1 Portrait Images

A typical Renaissance portrait does not merely provide an accurate physical depiction of its subject; it also gives a distilled—and often idealised—account of his personality and virtues. For this reason the graphic representations of Pole held by Lambeth Palace and Lambeth Palace Library are an important aspect of his biography. For further information about the portraits discussed in this section, and about images of Pole generally, consult:

Mayer, Thomas Frederick, *Reginald Pole: prince and prophet, [by] Thomas F. Mayer*. (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 386-438 H5198.P6M2

7.2 Portraits: Painted

Two of the extant painted portraits of Pole are held at Lambeth Palace:

[*Unknown artist*], Painting of Reginald Pole.

The painting depicts the subject seated and holding a letter in his right hand. The provenance is uncertain. The painting probably dates from approximately 1550 and may have been brought back from Italy by Pole when he returned to England in 1555. The Library can supply digital reproductions of this image on request.

[*Unknown artist*], Panel painting of Reginald Pole.

The painting depicts the head and upper torso of the subject; his coat of arms and two illegible inscriptions also feature. The provenance is uncertain. On the matter of date Mayer suggests: “after March 1556 because Pole’s arms are quartered with those of the archbishop of Canterbury” (p. 424). For the inscriptions see section III.1.k below.

7.3 Portraits: Prints and Images in Printed Books

It is difficult to categorise effectively the portraits of Pole found in the collections of prints and printed books at the Library. The engravings of Pole which appear in the earliest printed books were based on his painted portraits; later engravings tended to copy earlier ones; and minor changes were made at every stage. The result is a set of images many of which are very similar—these differing from each other only in small details. What follows, therefore, is a tentative list of the major image groups.

The images are listed by the name of their engraver; speculative attributions, indicated by square brackets, are taken from the image catalogue in Mayer (pp.400-438). As it is impossible to date the images the order of the list also follows the Mayer catalogue.

[*Unknown artist*], Copper-plate engraving of Reginald Pole.

Holdings: Thevet, André, *Pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens ...* (Paris, 1584), Livre VI, chapitre 117 (JT142.(T4) [*])

Théodore de Galle, Engraving of Reginald Pole.

Holdings: Prints XV/151a; Holland, Henry, *Herwologia anglica...* (Arnhem, 1620) ((ZZ)1620.48); Freherus, Paulus, *D. Pauli Freheri theatrum virorum eruditione*

clarorum... (Nuremburg, 1688; 2 vols), 1, pl. 3 facing p. 30 [reversed image] (Sion ARC B 30.3 F88)

R White, Engraving of Reginald Pole.

Holdings: Prints XV/150; Burnet, Gilbert, *The history of the Reformation...* (London, 1681-1683; 2 vols), 2, facing p. 292 (H5067.(B8) [*])

[Nicholas de Larmessin], Engraving of Reginald Pole.

Holdings: Prints XI/246; Bullart, Isaac, *Academie des sciences et des arts...* (Paris, 1682; 2 vols), 1, pp. 55-60, plate 9 (JT142.(B8) [*])

P à [van] Gunst, Engraving of Reginald Pole.

Holdings: Prints XV/151b

Major, Engraving of Reginald Pole.

Holdings: Phillips, Thomas, *The history of the life of Reginald Pole* (Oxford, 1764), frontispiece (H5198.P6P4)

C[harles] Picart, Engraving of Reginald Pole.

Holdings: Prints XV/149b; Lodge, Edmund, *Portraits of illustrious personages of Great Britain...* (London, 1835; 12 vols), 1 (KA28.(L6) [*])

H T Ryall, Engraving of Reginald Pole.

Holdings: Prints XV/149c; Burnet, Gilbert, *The history of the reformation...* (London, 1730-1733; 3 vols), 1, facing p. 164 (H5067.(B8) [*])

W Maddocks, Coloured engraving of Reginald Pole [based on the Lambeth panel painting; see section III.1.b above].

Holdings: Prints XXIII/137; Cave Brown, John, *Lambeth Palace and its associations...* (Edinburgh, 1882; 3 vols), 2, p. 103 (H5195.S9L2 [**])

[*Unknown artist*], Engraving of Reginald Pole.

Holdings: Prints XV/149a

7.4 Miscellaneous Images

In addition to portrait images the Library also holds many other images relevant for the study of Pole and his work. This section offers a small selection.

7.5 Autograph and Seals

Reproductions of the legatine and archiepiscopal seals used by Pole after his return to England; according to the source both date from 1557. A transcription of the legend on each seal is given. Also a reproduction of Pole's autograph from this period.

Holdings: *Archæologia Cantiana*, 3 (1860), pl. 1 facing p. 141 (KA670.K2 [R])

7.6 Lambeth Palace

Watercolour of the north front by Edward Blore. After becoming archbishop Pole financed extensive building work at Lambeth Palace. The Italianate loggia which formed part of the new north front, and which is depicted in Blore's painting, was then a rarity in England.

Holdings: MS 2949/2

7.7 Archiepiscopal Tomb in Canterbury Cathedral

An engraving of Pole's tomb by J Cole. Following his funeral on 15 December 1558 Pole was buried—in accordance with his own wishes—within Becket's Corona. His monument by the Flemish artist Dominic Lampson, visible in Cole's engraving, today survives only partially.

Holdings: Dart, John, *The history and antiquities of the cathedral church of Canterbury*, (London, 1726), p. 170 (H5195.C2A1 [*])