

1 Introduction and historiography

The Catholic restoration in England between 1553 and 1558, with its reunion of the English Church and Rome, is mainly the work of Queen Mary Tudor and Cardinal Reginald Pole and has long been considered violent and reactionary in historiography. As more current studies show, however, the reforms cannot be interpreted merely as an attempt to turn the clock back. The educational policy in particular reveals instead constructive elements which aimed to improve the level of clerical education and fight heresy by preaching instead of the sole threat of being burned at the stake. Here, Pole especially is considered as the ›architect‹ of the reform programme, which was also due to his ecclesiastical position. From his arrival in England in 1554, the Cardinal had far-reaching powers: in addition to his office as papal legate, he was appointed chancellor of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and archbishop of Canterbury. From the very beginning, Pole was able to draw on a widely ramified social network that he had built up during his years in continental Europe. On his arrival in England, he therefore became the central hub of a multi-layered network of relationships that included rulers as well as popes, churchmen, friends, companions and relatives. The primary aim of his and the Queen's reform policy, as the resolutions of the London Synod of 1556 show, was to supply the local parishes with well-trained and faithful clergy. This could only be achieved by reforming the priestly education and recatholicising the universities. Especially on this matter, Pole's connections had a severe impact: like-minded people and friends of the Cardinal – such as the Spanish Dominicans Bartolomé Carranza and Pedro de Soto – were appointed as lecturers or fellows of the university colleges to stabilise the Catholic faith and reliably support the reform plans. Graduates of these universities were appointed bishops and to other positions of power in the kingdom as protégés of the Cardinal.

This is the starting point of the doctoral thesis. For the first time, it explores the social network of actors relevant in academic and clerical education policy, with a special focus on Reginald Pole, Lord Chancellor Stephan Gardiner and Mary Tudor. It investigates the ways in which the involved actors exerted influence and how new spaces of action, primarily based on mutual relations, opened up and were used. This allows a closer examination of the patronage and loyalty relationships. In this way, social mechanisms within the educational policy of Pole and Mary can be traced and understood despite their complexity. A mixed method approach proved to be most suitable: The relationship structures, clique affiliations and their development over time will be quantitatively ascertained in the form of a historical network analysis. For this purpose, a network graph consisting of all persons in-

involved in education policy is reconstructed. The data set is based on the relevant university files, correspondence and diplomatic papers. It is followed by a qualitative interpretation of this data, the characterisation of the content of the relationships and the analysis of theological and political influences. This study of Pole's and Gardiner's social environment and its impact on educational reform seeks to provide new insights and perspectives on the implementation and success or failure of church reform in England under Mary Tudor.

Therefore, the study aims at reconstructing the network of actors involved in the educational policy in Mary Tudor's reign. The following chapter two outlines the chosen methodology and the interplay of qualitative reading of the sources and the quantitative approach of the network analysis. It presents the sources, the recording criteria, the statistical analysis and discusses its challenges. Chapter three firstly locates the educational policy within the overall Catholic reform in England. This includes an account of the reform plans of the London Synod, the developments in the country's two major universities and a contextualisation of the educational goals in the contemporary currents of humanism. Secondly, the educational goals of the central actors Mary Tudor, Reginald Pole and Stephen Gardiner are identified and analysed. Chapter four provides an overview of the network structure and aims at identifying the key actors and strategically important positions in the network. The overall network of those involved in educational policy is examined with regard to formative events such as the London Synod (1555/56), the university visitations (1556/57) and the college foundations. The crucial role of certain personalities, such as selected bishops and vice-chancellors at the universities, is elaborated which serves as a basis for the qualitative evaluation of the relationships. In chapter five, the patronage relations of the identified actors in the previous chapter four are drawn from the network structure and examined regarding their content of the religious and education policy. First, the monastic influences from continental Europe, more specifically the rivalling Jesuits and Dominicans, are explored. The influence of the Spanish Dominicans due to their patronage relations in Oxford is examined, including their influence on heresy trials against Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer. The second section, which is central to the chapter, discusses to what extent the patronage relationships and thus also the cliques identified in the network had an impact on educational policy and developments at the universities. For this purpose, it must be analysed how the Queen and King, as well as Stephen Gardiner and Reginald Pole possessed opportunities for influence due to their positions in the field of education policy and how they actually made use of them. Afterwards, the role of selected university members in Oxford and Cambridge as well as of members of the episcopate is discussed. There is also consideration of whether a thematic correlation exists, i. e. whether people with similar attitudes have also joined forces to achieve their goals. The relationship of the Crown to the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge as well as their relationship to each other is also taken into account. Hereby, the traditional attribution of historical research of Oxford having been Catholic and Cambridge as a haven of Protestantism has to be critically discussed. The final section of this chapter focuses on the impact of conflict between Pole's

loyalties to the English Crown and to the Pope. It examines how the political decisions of the Queen or the Crown affected their educational policy and also considers why the change of power in Rome in 1555 with the pontificate of Paul IV affected Pole but not his educational policy.

The methodological value of the studies is twofold: On one hand, it allows a verification of the results gained through the reading of the sources through a quantitative analysis. On the other hand, it verifies the historical network analysis as a method by comparing its results with the sources in a qualitative way. Such a combination of both approaches not only generates further insights into the education policy under Mary Tudor and the role of social relations, it also critically examines the applicability of the network analysis in historical research and identifies possibilities for development.

1.1 Context of the reformation historiography

The period of the English Reformations is already a well investigated research area but for the longest time, Mary's reign was neglected by historians. This is reflected not only in the sparse coverage of her reign in continental European scholarship, but also in English-speaking research. Due to the historiography, which continued to be dominated by Protestant scholarship until the middle of the 20th century, she is mainly known as »Bloody Mary« and the recatholicisation of her reign was perceived as a failure. It was not until the 1980s when the school of revisionism around the Oxford scholar Christopher Haigh emerged, which examined the processes during the »English Reformation(s)« in a more nuanced way as a rapid and necessary development:¹ A particularly influential work on the topic connecting the events of the Reformation movements in England to their context of medieval piety and lay religiosity was published by Eamon Duffy, entitled *The Stripping of the Altars*.² Both Duffy and Haigh challenge and revise the more traditional view of the Reformation as a unidirectional, »bottom-up« movement, which has been claimed for example by Arthur Dickens during the 1960s.³ Haigh's further work explores the implementation of the different reform movements initiated by Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I and claims a contingency of the developments: In contrast to Dickens' perception, he argued that the spreading of Protestantism was a slow and complex process that also varied between rural and urban areas in its prevalence. According to him, the final failure of Mary's Reform-Catholicism was not inevitable, especially since Catholic allegiance remained at a popular level even until the 1570s.⁴ Duffy also agrees on Haigh's positive and reform-oriented evalua-

1 HAIGH, *The English Reformation Revised*.

2 DUFFY, *The Stripping of the Altars*.

3 DICKENS, *The English Reformation*.

4 HAIGH, *English Reformations*.

tion of Marian Catholicism.⁵ More recently, Peter Marshall published *Heretics and Believers*, a narrative of the Reformations from the reign of Henry VIII until Elizabeth I focusing on the religious practise and convictions of the common people. He explicitly tries to avoid a particular traditional or revisionist view and aims to re-examine the complex relationship between religion and state as well as coercion and conversion in Reformation England.⁶

Two works are especially relevant for the present study due to their focus on the reign of Mary Tudor: In 1979, David Loades – a revisionist scholar – aimed at relativising the previously one-sided and partially biased, mainly Protestant historiography of Mary Tudor as particularly ›bloody‹ due to the persecutions of Protestants and being primarily judged by her ›failure‹ to re-establish Catholicism in England.⁷ By compiling the extensive research in Spanish and English archives, Loades outlines Mary's attempts to restore her government budget, giving allegiance to Philip's undertakings and re-establishing the Catholic Church in England. Hereby, he puts special emphasis on her governance and finances. In 2011, John Edwards wrote a biography on Mary with regard to her Spanish relations via her mother Catharine of Aragon and her husband Philip II.⁸ He particularly reviews José Tellechea Idígoras' work on the relationship between Pole and Carranza,⁹ who had also been one of Mary's confessors, in addition to the *Correspondence of Reginald Pole* as well as Venetian and Spanish State Papers. In the section on Mary's (Church) politics Edwards focuses primarily on the intentions and actions of Pole, Carranza and Philip II.

Lucy Wooding and William Wizeman have published important dissertations assessing the theological characteristics and its influences of the Church of Mary Tudor in the early 2000s. Hereby, Wooding aimed at pointing out the unique characteristics of English Catholicism within the spectrum between Protestantism and Papal Catholicism.¹⁰ However, Wizeman tried to relativise that by outlining the theology and spirituality of Mary's Church in its continental European context based on the published works of the Marian theologians.¹¹ Wizeman's work especially provides important insights into continental influences on the Marian theologians, although he focused primarily on their biblical, spiritual and doctrinal works. Moreover, a collection of articles based on a symposium on the Church of Mary Tudor has been published containing several studies, for example, on Pole, Mary's episcopate, the developments of Oxford and Cambridge as well as the influence of the Spanish Dominicans.¹² The book serves as a very valuable starting point for further explorations on the Marian episcopate and their academic theology. The

5 DUFFY, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 531, 537.

6 MARSHALL, *Heretics and Believers*, xi–xix.

7 LOADES, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*.

8 EDWARDS, *Mary I*.

9 TELLECHEA IDÍGORAS, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y El Cardenal Pole. Un Navarro En La Restauración Católica de Inglaterra (1554–58)*.

10 WOODING, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England*.

11 WIZEMAN, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church*.

12 DUFFY/LOADES, *The Church of Mary Tudor*.

persecutions of Protestants under the reign of Mary Tudor were covered by Duffy who assessed these developments as a ›counter-reformation‹.¹³ In the last years, he also published two further collections covering specific topics of the Henrician and Marian (Counter)Reformations and on mid-16th to 18th century Catholicism in England.¹⁴ The most recent publications and symposia which also covered Mary's reign focused on remembrance culture and the reception of Marian Catholicism in Protestant research.¹⁵

In addition to Mary Tudor, Reginald Pole is the second leading figure in the process of recatholicising England. He had long been neglected within research but has aroused the interest of historians again more recently. The first works examining Pole's role in re-establishing Catholicism under Mary Tudor were published in the 1970s: Rex Pogson worked on Pole's role as papal legate in England in his unpublished PhD-thesis.¹⁶ In the course of his PhD research, he also published an article on Pole's priorities of government in Mary's Church.¹⁷ Dermot Fenlon illustrated Pole's activities in northern Italy by illustrating his relations to the *spirituali* and reform-minded theologians, such as Juan de Valdés, Bernardo Ochino and Marcantonio Flaminio, as well as Church dignitaries like Gasparo Contarini, Pietro Bembo and Giovanni Morone.¹⁸ Based on Fenlon's work, in 2000 Thomas Mayer reassessed Pole's activities on the continent as well as in England.¹⁹ His study is based on the sources from his extensive edition project of the *Correspondence of Reginald Pole*,²⁰ published between 2002 and 2008, with special regard to Pole's personal network and relationships in Italy and England. Hereby, he aimed at relativising the previous interpretation of Pole as a Nicodemite in Italy and scrupulous persecutor of Cranmer in England in mainly Protestant historiography. He analysed Pole's aims of reconstruction of the English Church focusing on law and obedience by reviewing his enactments and letters to the English episcopate and clergy. Additionally, he studied Pole's struggle with Pope Paul IV and the intended heresy trial especially considering the correspondences with Philip II, Cardinal Morone and Paul IV as well as material of the Vatican and several Italian archives. Hence, Mayer's *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet* serves as an essential basis for analysing Pole's social embedding. Moreover, several articles covering different topics of Pole's understanding of reform,²¹ a positive assessment of his legation in England²² and his cooperation

13 DUFFY, *Fires of Faith*.

14 DUFFY, *Reformation Divided*; DUFFY, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sediton*.

15 WALSHAM et al., *Remembering the Reformation*; WALSHAM et al., *Memory and the English Reformation*.

16 POGSON, *Cardinal Pole – Papal Legate to England in Mary Tudor's Reign*.

17 POGSON, *Reginald Pole and the Priorities of Government in Mary Tudor's Church*.

18 FENLON, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*.

19 MAYER, *Reginald Pole. Prince & Prophet*; MAYER, *The War of the Two Saints*.

20 MAYER, CRP, vol. 1–4.

21 MAYER, *Cardinal Pole's Concept of Reformation. The Reformatio Angliae and Bartolomé Carranza*.

22 MAYER, *The Success of Cardinal Pole's Final Legation*.

with Carranza²³ have been published in collections in the early 2000s. However, Pole also became a research topic on the continent: for example Martin Trimpe²⁴ and Paolo Simoncelli²⁵ worked during the 1970s on the re-assessment of Pole, although Simoncelli did not review more sources than Fenlon and Tellechea Idígoras in their publications. Trimpe's unpublished dissertation offers additional insights into his ecclesiology, the significance of obedience and his comprehension of the doctrine of justification. The most recent biography of Pole was published by John Edwards following his previously mentioned biography on Mary. Therein, he explores predominantly Pole's years as archbishop of Canterbury and illustrates his undertakings in Italy and England in the light of his close relationship to Henry VIII and Mary.²⁶

In contrast to the recent research revival on Reginald Pole, biographical studies of influential Marian theologians and bishops are still at an incipient stage: In the 1980s, Felicity Heal worked on the English episcopate and their financial situation and patronage in Tudor England.²⁷ A general study of the role and self-perception of the Tudor bishops until 1559 was published by Kenneth Carleton in 2001.²⁸ On a biographical level Glyn Redworth worked on Stephen Gardiner, Lord Chancellor and bishop of Winchester, in 1990²⁹ and reassessed the first biography by James Muller in 1930³⁰ based on his edition of the *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*.³¹ Gina Alexander studied the persecutions of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, re-examining his biased reputation as ›Bloody Bonner‹.³² Despite the studies on his works such as *A profitable and necessary doctrine* for instance by Duffy, Wizeman and Wooding, a biography on his whole life and work is still missing. Although Gardiner and Bonner have usually been considered as more luminous protagonists in Mary's Church, Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, caught Timothy Shirley's attention in the 1960s.³³ This study focuses primarily on Thirlby's role as a diplomat and politician. The sermons of Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln, are discussed in an article by William Wizeman.³⁴ Works on Tudor bishops such as Thomas Watson, Cuthbert Scott (Chester), John White (Lincoln and Winchester) and Thomas Goldwell (St Asaph) are missing. This might also be due to a lack of sources, although Thomas Watson had been just as active as Bonner and Gardiner in drafting letters, sermons and catechisms. For the majority of the Marian episcopate as well as the university

23 FENLON, Pole, Carranza, and the Pulpit.

24 TRIMPE, Macht Aus Gehorsam.

25 SIMONCELLI, Il Caso Reginald Pole.

26 EDWARDS, Archbishop Pole.

27 HEAL, Of Prelates and Princes.

28 CARLETON, Bishops and Reform in the English Church.

29 REDWORTH, In Defence of the Church Catholic.

30 MULLER, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction.

31 MULLER, LSG.

32 ALEXANDER, Bonner and the Marian Persecutions.

33 SHIRLEY, Thomas Thirlby.

34 WIZEMAN, The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church.

members, who have also not been studied biographically, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* serves as an excellent starting point.

Furthermore, a collection based on a symposium on Carranza and Pole in the early 2000s has been published paying tribute his cooperation with the Tudor episcopate, his concept of *reformatio* as well as his catechism.³⁵ The relationship between Pole and Carranza was also covered by the previously mentioned narrative of Tellechea Idígoras in 1970, which also includes transcriptions of Carranza's letters.³⁶ The publication of the latest biography on Carranza's Spanish colleague de Soto by Venancio Carro laid further back in 1930 and has not yet been revisited.³⁷ Pole's close friend and ally Morone, despite being in Rome, was mainly paid tribute to in reference to his attendance at the Council of Trent.³⁸

1.2 Education studies in Marian England

Contemporary studies on education and education policy during 1553 and 1558 remain a research desideratum. Apart from surveys of education in early modern England, they primarily refer to the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Although they touch Mary's reign only marginally, the following works can be pointed out: in the 1960s, Joan Simons and Kenneth Charlton generally explored education in Tudor England.³⁹ Nicholas Orme, an expert on medieval education in England, also worked on early Tudor schools, particularly Magdalen School and College in Oxford, but only until 1540.⁴⁰ Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders explored the history of the London Merchant Taylor Group touching its impact on education peripherally.⁴¹ More recent studies are from Aysha Pollnitz who examined the contents of aristocratic education in Tudor England and also covered Mary's upbringing.⁴²

Academic education in Mary's reign – particularly at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge – has only recently been addressed by historians and still requires further research. Claire Cross published an overview of the university developments in Mary's reign in her article covering both Oxford and Cambridge.⁴³ In her dissertation on religious-political developments in Cambridge between 1547 and 1584 Cerianne Law explored the extensive sources in the Cambridge University Library

35 EDWARDS/TRUMAN, *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor*.

36 TELLECHEA IDÍGORAS, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y El Cardenal Pole. Un Navarro En La Restauración Católica de Inglaterra (1554–58)*.

37 CARRO, *El Maestro Fr. Pedro de Soto y Las Controversias Político-Teológicas En El Siglo XVI*.

38 LUTZ, *Kardinal Morone*.

39 SIMON, *Education and Society in Tudor England*; CHARLTON, *Education in Renaissance England*.

40 ORME, *Education in Early Tudor England*.

41 DAVIES/SAUNDERS, *The History of the Merchant Taylor's Company*.

42 POLLNITZ, *Humanism and Court Culture in the Education of Tudor Royal Children*; POLLNITZ, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain*.

43 CROSS, *The English Universities, 1553–58*.

(CUL) and the college archives systematically and thoroughly.⁴⁴ In the publication of her thesis, the reign of Henry VIII is also included.⁴⁵ In addition, Law worked on the 1557 university visitation.⁴⁶ There is no comparable publication to Law's thesis for the University of Oxford but several aspects of the academic developments in Mary's reign are covered in James McConica's volume in the University of Oxford's history series.⁴⁷ Thomas Carpenter wrote a dissertation on Marian Oxford in 2015, which has not been published.⁴⁸ Furthermore, Elizabeth Russell explored Mary's involvement at Oxford and associated with that the relationship between the University and the Crown.⁴⁹ In his article, Andrew Hegarty reconstructed Carranza's involvement in Oxford in 1555/56, addressing the issue that the poor supply of sources does not allow for a deeper investigation of the Spanish Dominicans' influence there.⁵⁰ Mary's reign is treated only marginally – and if so, very negatively – in most histories of the colleges and the universities. Most of those works date from the 19th until the mid-20th century and thus represent the traditional English historiography up to the 1980s. However, regarding the University of Oxford, a whole series of college histories has been published in the last 15 years – such as the ones on Magdalen College, Oriel College, Christ Church, Brasenose College, Exeter College and University College.⁵¹ These works serve as excellent starting points but each of them covers the years 1553 until 1558 only briefly. This is probably due to the small amount of sources in each college archive. The exception is the history of Trinity College, Oxford by Clare Hopkins⁵² in which she explores the College foundation and its founder, Thomas Pope, in a whole chapter. Unfortunately, a contemporary history of the second Marian foundation, St John's College, Oxford, is still missing. For the Cambridge colleges, there is also a lack of contemporary accounts, with the exception of Peter Linehan's work on St John's College, Brooke's history of Gonville and Caius College and the financial history of Trinity College.⁵³

However, it must be pointed out here that the college histories from the 19th and early 20th centuries often illuminate Mary's reign in more detail. Admittedly, these works must be used with the appropriate caution, as they partly unreflectively refer to chronicles without a verification in further sources. In certain cases, older histori-

44 LAW, *Religious Change in the University of Cambridge*.

45 LAW, *Contested Reformations in the University of Cambridge, c.1535–84*.

46 LAW, *The 1557 Visitation of the University of Cambridge*.

47 MCCONICA, *The History of the University of Oxford*.

48 CARPENTER, *Oxford University in the Reign of Mary Tudor*.

49 RUSSELL, *Marian Oxford and the Counter-Reformation*.

50 HEGARTY, *Carranza and the English Universities*.

51 LOCK et al., *The New College, 1486–1558*; CATTO, *Oriel College*; CURTHOYS, *The Cardinal's College*; MORDAUNT CROOK, *Brasenose*; MADDICOTT, *Founders & Fellowship. The Early History of Exeter College, Oxford 1314–1592*; DARWALL-SMITH, *A History of University College, Oxford*.

52 HOPKINS, *Trinity*.

53 LINEHAN, *St. John's College Cambridge*; BROOKE, *A History of Gonville and Caius College*; NEILD, *Riches and Responsibility*.

cal works are therefore consulted.⁵⁴ The extensive work of John Venn on Gonville and Caius College⁵⁵ and the *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, a biographical register for Cambridge alumni, must also be pointed out at this point.⁵⁶ Apart from Venn's work, the literature on the individual university members is almost exclusively provided by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*⁵⁷ or Alfred Emden's *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*.⁵⁸ In addition to the Marian episcopate, a research gap also persists for the university members, college heads and visitors. Their role is only treated peripherally in selected works on the colleges or in Ceri Law's aforementioned dissertation.⁵⁹ Separate biographies on most of these persons are completely missing and are only available on more prominent figures such as Reginald Pole, Stephen Gardiner or Thomas Thirlby. Thomas Pope, Thomas White and John Caius are treated with regard to their role as college founders in the respective college histories and the aforementioned history on the Merchant Taylor Company.⁶⁰

The emphasis in previous research lay on the period of Henrician, Edwardian and Elizabethan Reformations, English humanism as well as the Reformations on the continent. The relationship between England and Rome was mainly explored under the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI for instance by Fenlon, Mayer and Duffy. Studies on humanism in Henrician and Edwardian England were published by James McConica⁶¹ and mostly addressed more famous theologians such as John Fisher⁶² for example. Another well investigated field is the life of Thomas Cranmer, and the persecution of Protestants.⁶³ The most recent publication is Diarmaid MacCulloch's extensive investigation of Thomas Cranmer.⁶⁴ After the revival of interest in Mary's reign in the 1980s, most researchers such as Duffy, Edwards, Loades, Mayer, Walsham, Wizeman and Wooding worked on revising the traditional perception of her reign concerning the political or religious developments in England,

54 COOPER, *Annals of Cambridge*; WALKER, *Peterhouse*; STEVENSON and SALTER, *The Early History of St. John's College, Oxford*.

55 VENN, *The Annals of Gonville and Caius College* by John Caius.

56 VENN, *Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1751*. Venn's biographical register will only be used as a database: ACAD – A Cambridge Alumni Database, URL: <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/> (visited on 07/13/2023).

57 MATTHEW/HARRISON, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

58 EMDEN, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford* a.d. 1501 to 1540.

59 CUNICH, *1539–1558 Magdalene Emergent*; REX, *Lady Margaret Beaufort and Her Professorship 1502–1559*; REX, *Corpus Christi College and the Early Reformation*, 2019; REX, *Ascham & Co*; LAW, *Contested Reformations in the University of Cambridge, c.1535–84*.

60 BROOKE, *A History of Gonville and Caius College*; VENN, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College. Masters, Benefactions, Charters*; HEGARTY, *A Biographical Register of St. John's College Oxford 1555–1660*; HOPKINS, *Trinity*; DAVIES/SAUNDERS, *The History of the Merchant Taylor's Company*.

61 MCCONICA, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI*.

62 REX, *The Theology of John Fisher*.

63 LOADES, *The Oxford Martyrs*; WABUDA, *Thomas Cranmer*.

64 MACCULLOCH, *Thomas Cranmer*.

including biographical studies of the Queen and Reginald Pole. The topic of academic or institutionalised educational policy and the state of the universities between 1553 and 1558 has only received little attention so far – with the exception of Law – and requires a further investigation. In particular, this topic has been completely unexplored under the aspect of the influence of social relations.

1.3 Patronage and network historiography

Alike the previously mentioned studies on the religious history of Tudor England, patronage studies also focused on the Henrician and Elizabethan times.⁶⁵ Educational, humanistic patronage on a private level in the early Tudor period was explored by Marco Neumaier and Mark Loudon in their PhD theses.⁶⁶ Michael Questier examined aristocratic patronage relations in the Catholic community, particularly in the Brown or Montague family, beginning in Mary's reign but focusing on the suppression of the Catholic community in Elizabeth's England.⁶⁷ Previous network studies in Mary's reign explored the persecution of Protestants. First of all, Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert's paper on this topic⁶⁸ is to be mentioned, as well as Martin Skoeries' German study *Flye or dye for the truithe*.⁶⁹ In addition, the project *Tudor Networks of Power* is to be pointed out. It is led by Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert, who compiled a data set of the state papers between 1509 (Henry VIII's accession to the throne) and 1603 (Elizabeth I's death), mostly held at the National Archives. The visualisation of these data can be accessed on their website.⁷⁰ Two publications have already appeared as part of this project;⁷¹ another one entitled *Tudor Networks of Power* has been announced. However, the main focus in these works is to illustrate the benefit of network studies for historical research and the new perspectives it allows. Thus, the present work also fills a research gap here, as a network study on educational policy and the events at the universities and how this contributed to the overall agenda of restoring Catholicism between 1553 and 1558 has been missing until now.

65 CROSS, Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Early Stuart Church; ASCH, Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility; EVENDEN, Patents, Pictures, and Patronage; LEWYCKY, Serving God and King.

66 NEUMAIER, »Milch, Honig und Nektar fließen in Strömen«. Die Patronage von Bildung und Gelehrsamkeit im England der frühen und mittleren Tudorzeit; LOUDON, Cuthbert Tunstall, Humanist Bishop and Counsellor to Henry VIII. Education and Ecclesiastical Patronage in Tudor England.

67 QUESTIER, Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England.

68 AHNERT/AHNERT, Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I.

69 SKOERIES, *Flye or Dye for the Truithe*.

70 <https://tudornetworks.net/>, (visited on 11/01/2022).

71 AHNERT/AHNERT, Metadata, Surveillance and the Tudor State; AHNERT et al., The Network Turn.